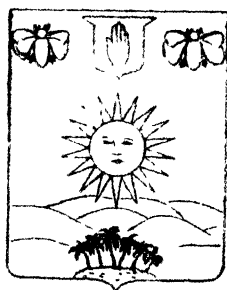








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# THE DECCAN COLLEGE : ITS PAST HISTORY AND ITS FUTURE HOPES

By

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA.

The battle of Kirkee was fought on the 5th of November, 1817 on the grounds of the present Deccan College.<sup>1</sup> This battle decided the fate of Poona and of Maharashtra, for as a result of the battle the Peshwa ceased to rule and the British took over charge of the country. The Peshwas, having been Brāhmaṇas themselves, had always been keen on fostering learning, and a large sum had been set apart annually for the support of learned Puṇḍits and for the encouragement of Sanskrit studies. It has been recorded that at least Rs. 5,00,000 were spent every year for this laudable purpose. Many learned and deserving scholars were certainly supported from this *dakṣiṇā* trust, but, as happens everywhere in times of political turmoil, the original object was in course of time lost sight of and "the fund was in practice open to every claimant; and the distribution became in fact an almsgiving on a vast scale".<sup>2</sup> The *dakṣiṇā* money was of course confiscated by the Bombay Government, but a promise had been given that it would be devoted to the cause of learning for which it had been originally intended. It was, however, that great Englishman, Mountstuart Elphinstone, who insisted that this promise must be kept, and through his exertions it was proposed that Brāhmaṇa scholarship should be encouraged by instituting "*dakṣiṇā* prizes" and by establishing two Hindu Colleges at Nasik and Wai. Finally in 1821 it was decided to start a college at Poona and to pay Rs. 50,000 a year for its upkeep. This was the Poona Sanskrit College, and Sanskrit studies usual in an ordinary *pāṭhaśālā* were carried on there. The Directors in London raised serious objections to the maintenance of a Sanskrit *pāṭhaśālā*, but finally in 1824 the plan of Elphinstone was definitely accepted and the College started on its prosperous career. At the same time the management was vested in "the Education Society", which was a mixed body of Indian and English gentlemen interested in the spread of learning.

In 1842 an English School was started in Poona and was placed under the management of the same Education Society. Some years later the two institutions were amalgamated to form the Poona College, which was formally opened on the 7th of June, 1851. The College was located in the Viśrām Bāgh an old palace of the Peshwa in the heart of the city. The locality was very unsuited for the pursuit of learning on account of the noise and the other unfavourable surroundings.

<sup>1</sup> The site where Bungalow No. 2 now stands has been pointed out as a part of the actual battlefield.

<sup>2</sup> J. Nelson Fraser, *Deccan College, A Retrospect, 1851-1901*, p. 3. I am indebted to this book for much of the information contained in this paper.

The first Principal of the Poona College was Major Thomas Candy,<sup>3</sup> who held this appointment till 1857. Major Candy's learning and high character were greatly respected ; still it was felt that an educational institution should be guided by a professed and experienced teacher. This idea gained strength particularly after the creation of the post of the Director of Public Instruction by the Government of Bombay in 1855. In 1857 Mr. E. I. Howard,<sup>4</sup> the second Director, got out Mr. Edwin Arnold,<sup>5</sup> a teacher from Birmingham, to succeed Major Candy as Principal.

About this time the teaching of Sanskrit, too, was reorganised. During the early years of the Poona College the Sanskrit classes continued to work along the old *pandit* lines. The close contact with English teaching and English methods called for a radical change in the old methods of teaching. In 1856 the Rev. Murray Mitchell made a report on the teaching of Sanskrit. He suggested that "the judgments of the pupils should be exercised as well as their memories ; Sanskrit literature should be studied æsthetically . . . . systematic comparisons of Sanskrit and English should be made both in matters of philosophy and principles of literary composition."<sup>6</sup> In carrying out these suggestions in their true spirit the greatest help was rendered by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar. The son of a *bhikṣu* of Trimbak near Nasik, he had been educated at the old Poona *pāṭhaśālā* and joined as a teacher there in the year 1850. When Sanskrit teaching was reorganised, Krishna Shastri was the only one of the old staff who chose to continue. He loyally carried out the new programme as outlined by the authorities and was appointed to the Sanskrit chair at the College and continued there until the arrival of Dr. Martin Haug in 1859. Krishna Shastri was also a great writer in Marathi and enriched his mother-tongue with many learned works. He was also one of the early stalwarts of social reform, although he did not like to go beyond a certain limit.

Edwin Arnold organised the administration of the College, introducing system and method and laying down rules for the guidance both of the staff and the students. He separated the school from the college department.

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<sup>3</sup> The joint compiler with Captain Molesworth of the *Marathi-English Dictionary* (1831). His son was Judge E. T. Candy of the Bombay High Court, who after his retirement was Lecturer in Marathi at the University of Cambridge upto his death in 1912.

<sup>4</sup> The first Director was Mr. C. J. Erskine, who held office for only one year and was succeeded by Howard, who held the post from 1856 to 1867, when he was killed in a railway accident at Lonavla. Howard might be regarded as the real founder of the Department of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency. His views on education were very sound and his sympathies were wide and genuine. A very readable account of his work is to be found in Fraser's book, pp. 52-59.

<sup>5</sup> He was later Sir Edwin Arnold, the famous poet and author of *The Light of Asia*, *The Secret of Death*, *The Song Celestial*, and *The Pearls of Faith*, to mention only the more famous of his writings.

<sup>6</sup> Fraser, op. cit., p. 23.

He did not continue long at the head and resigned in 1860. In 1862 William Wordsworth<sup>7</sup> became the Principal. He carried forward the work of his predecessor and erected a solid superstructure upon the foundations so firmly laid by Edwin Arnold. He continued at the Deccan College until 1874, when he was transferred to the Elphinstone College at Bombay. Almost the first thing he did as the Principal of Deccan College was to set about finding a better habitation for it. *Viśrām Bāgh* was clearly most unsuitable in every way. So a large bungalow was rented at Wanori, outside the city limits.<sup>8</sup> A new site had already been selected, a little below the *sangam* of the *Mūlā* and the *Muthā*, just across the river, and including the historical battlefield of Kirkee. Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy (second Baronet offered Rs. 1,00,000 for the buildings and the foundation-stone was laid on the 15th of November 1864, by the Governor of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere. The new buildings were occupied on the 23rd of March 1868, from which day the college received the name of DECCAN COLLEGE.<sup>9</sup>

It was chiefly the result of the administration of Wordsworth that the College came to occupy such a large place in the minds of the public of Poona. Wordsworth was truly one of the greatest of educationists England had sent out to this land. A man of sterling character, he was genuinely devoted to the welfare of his students. He despised all cant and hypocrisy and, above all, utterly detested "pride of race". Wherever he detected the least trace of it he never hesitated to attack it vigorously. Education to him was a religion, the very purpose of his life. Those students who have had the good fortune to have come under his influence still cherish his memory with reverent affection. As Principal of the Elphinstone College also Wordsworth left a name equally cherished and beloved.

It was shortly before Wordsworth's period of office that one of the greatest of the Orientalists of Europe came out to the Deccan College. He was Martin Haug, Professor of Oriental languages from 1859 to 1865. Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar had been trying his best to break away from the old methods of the *Paṇḍits* in teaching Sanskrit, but it was Haug who clearly showed how it could be done. He brought to the teaching of Sanskrit the one thing it most needed—the touch of the critical methods of the West. He was deeply appreciative of the great learning of the older *Paṇḍits*, for he knew that without their labour throughout the past centuries Sanskrit learning might have died out altogether. He cultivated their friendship, and sat at their feet as their pupil, eager to learn all that they could teach. He greatly admired these truly great *Paṇḍits* and has recorded about one of

<sup>7</sup> He was a grandson of the famous poet.

<sup>8</sup> The site of that bungalow is now occupied by the military barracks. One of the old "Deccanites", the late Diwan Bahadur Godbole, used to be seen there every day in the evening walking about slowly, reviving the memories of the happy days he had passed at the College. He kept up this habit until his death at a very old age about a couple of years ago.

<sup>9</sup> The 23rd of March has ever since been observed as the "College Day".



them, Ananta Shastri, that he was "the most able Brāhmaṇa he had ever met, the last of the Mahāpāṇḍits". Haug had himself the gift of languages and he knew a good many quite thoroughly, but he was never a pedant. He was very amiable in spite of his undoubted talents, and so he was very dear to his pupils, for he led them along the paths of scholarship by his own example of *vidyā* united to *vinaya*. "His mind was a storehouse not of rules and exceptions, but of fruitful comparison between the East and the West ; he was in the older and nobler sense of the word a ripe philologist". When he retired, Mr. Howard, the Director, rightly said of him that "to him belongs the honour of reorganising and almost creating the study of Sanskrit in Western India".

Haug was an authority not only for Indian but also for Iranian languages. He can with equal truth be called the organiser and creator of Iranian studies in Western India. In Poona he found a worthy collaborator, who was also eager to learn. This was Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, the High Priest of the Parsis of the Deccan and Malwa. After Haug's retirement from Poona he carried on his work with great success. Dastur Hoshang was Professor of Oriental languages at the Deccan College from 1874 to 1892. He edited several difficult Pahlavi texts in collaboration with Haug and he was the first among Parsi priests to study his own scriptures through Western methods of "comparative philology". Before he had come into contact with Haug, Dastur Hoshang had already received the traditional training of a Parsi priest. Besides being fully conversant with the intricate details of ritual, he had a thorough knowledge of Pahlavi, Avesta and also of the modern languages of Iran, and he was fully conversant with the traditional interpretation of the Avesta. He possessed besides a very sound knowledge of Sanskrit.<sup>10</sup> So Dastur Hoshang represented Iranian scholarship at its best in India at that time, and so he could appreciate very fully the benefits of Western methods, and while learning himself he could also teach a great lot to Haug. The joint work of these two great scholars represents the best that is in Parsi tradition as well as in European methods.

Unfortunately Dastur Hoshang's tradition of Iranian scholarship was not kept up in Poona ; but in Bombay, about the same time, Iranian studies along Western lines were introduced by a *behedīn* (layman), Kharshedji

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<sup>10</sup> This was demanded at that time (though unfortunately not now) in order to understand Dastur Nairiyosang Dhaval's Sanskrit rendering of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts. These Sanskrit works were written some time during the 13th century (A.C.). They are probably the work of several people, but they clearly show a certain uniformity of style and purpose and it is not therefore quite wrong to ascribe them to the "generic" name of Nairiyosang, the *guru* who had inspired them all. These writings have been published by the Trustees of the Parsi Pan-chayat at Bombay in five volumes under the title of *The Collected Sanskrit Works of the Parsis*, edited with copious grammatical and other notes by Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha. It may also be added that the learned editor has endeavoured to supply the lacunæ in the translations by giving his own Sanskrit renderings.

Rustamji Cama.<sup>11</sup> Fortunately Cama's work in Bombay is still being carried on by his pupils.<sup>12</sup>

Franz Kielhorn succeeded Haug as Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College and he also acted as Principal for short periods. He was essentially a Sanskritist and there, too, he was definitely a grammarian. He could trace a direct "*guruparamparā* descent" from the great Sanskrit grammarian Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa.<sup>13</sup> Kielhorn introduced into Western India the new method of teaching Sanskrit grammar, which was a happy fusion of the traditional *Siddhānta-kaumudī* with Western Philology.<sup>14</sup>

But it was Kielhorn's successor, Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, who represented the highest level of pure scholarship attained in the Deccan College. He was one of the earliest pupils of the College and graduated from here, with first class honours, in 1862. Incidentally he was also the very first graduate of the University of Bombay. He took his M. A. in 1866. And after serving in the education department for several years, he succeeded Kielhorn in 1882. But already in 1876 he had delivered the first "Wilson Philological Lectures" at the University of Bombay. These lectures form an important landmark in the history of Sanskrit studies in India. In 1893 he became the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay. He retired from the Deccan College in 1894 and had the gratification of seeing his eldest son Prof. Shridhara Bhandarkar, succeeding him in the chair. This is not an occasion to enumerate the numerous works of this great pioneer of Sanskrit learning and research, but it might be mentioned that there was not a branch of Sanskrit lore that he did not touch and did not enrich from his immense store

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<sup>11</sup> K. R. Cama was originally a Parsi merchant who had gone to England in the fifties of the last century as a representative of his firm in Bombay. But his great love for learning led him to give up the pursuit of wealth for that of Iranian lore. He studied for a couple of years under the best teachers of the day, both at Paris and at Berlin. Returning to Bombay about 1861 he gathered round himself a band of enthusiastic pupils, (all priests, though he himself was a layman) and taught them the methods of western scholarship. He was the "spiritual grandsire" of the Parsi Iranists of to-day. On account of his great learning and the spotless purity of his life he was called "*le Destour Laïque*" by James Darmesteter.

<sup>12</sup> To commemorate the great services of K. R. Cama to Iranian learning a fund was started by his friends, pupils and admirers after his death. Mr. Damodar Sukhadwala (known to his friends as Damodar Bhā) gave Rs. 1,00,000 towards the fund, out of which the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute was founded. The Institute is doing good work for Iranian scholarship. Among the most strenuous workers in this Institute may be mentioned two of Cama's own pupils, the late Sir J. J. Modi and Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, happily still living and working vigorously.

<sup>13</sup> I had this information from Prof. Berthold Liebich (then at Heidelberg) many years ago. Liebich himself was a pupil of Kielhorn, and so, as he proudly asserted, he had carried forward Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa's *guruparamparā* in Germany also.

<sup>14</sup> Kielhorn's *Sanskrit Grammar* was until recently the standard book for beginners of Sanskrit. It was doubtless on this work that the two books of Bhandarkar, the works of V. S. Apte, and the *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* of Kale and other similar works had been modelled.

of knowledge. It would be sufficient to say that he was in very fact the *pitā-maha* in direct *guruparamparā* of the present generation of Sanskritists in every province of India.<sup>15</sup> In his retirement he was looked upon with all the respect due to a great Ṛsi of old. His home in Poona, the Sangamāśrama,<sup>16</sup> became a veritable place of pilgrimage for students of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture. His pupils and admirers celebrated his 80th birthday (6th July, 1917) in the most befitting manner by founding the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to commemorate his great services to learning and, what is more, to continue the work he had begun. And indeed this Institute is carrying on most worthily the work of our great *pitā-maha*. The whole collection of manuscripts which Bhandarkar had collected in collaboration with Bühler had been placed in the Deccan College, but on the occasion of the foundation of the Bhandarkar Institute these manuscripts, together with a life-size portrait of Bhandarkar, were handed over to them.

Keru Lakshman Chhattre, or Kerupant as he was more familiarly styled, was the son of a *bhikṣu* at Walkeshvar. He was the nephew of one of the old Paṇḍits of the old Board of Education. He studied at the Elphinstone Institution and later at the Elphinstone College and quite early showed a genius for mathematics. His first appointment was at the Bombay Observatory when he was only fifteen. In 1865 he became Professor of Mathematics in Bombay. After a short time he came to the Deccan College, where he continued till 1879. He was acting Principal in 1875-76. His mathematical genius was undoubted as evidenced by the high praise he received for his *Astronomical Tables* published in 1872. A very simple and unassuming person, he was keenly anxious for the well-being of his students and so he was very genuinely loved by all. It is recorded, as an example of the simplicity of his living, that at one time he lived for several months in the little Temple of Khaṇḍobā on the west side of the College compound.<sup>17</sup> But he was by no means "religious-minded", and as a matter of fact he had the reputation among his students of being an unbeliever.

Among the great teachers and administrators of the Deccan College a high place must be given to Principal F. G. Selby. He had charge of the College from 1885 to 1906 when he became Director of Public Instruction. During this long period he worked indefatigably for the progress of the College. His regime might be looked upon as the most prosperous period in the history of the College, when the College came to be regarded as one of the two leading Colleges in the Presidency.<sup>18</sup> Selby's successful administration and his personality are still living memories to old Deccanites, many of whom are now among the leading citizens of India.

<sup>15</sup> I myself claim Ramakrishna Bhandarkar as my *pitā-maha* in this sense, for I learnt Sanskrit, specially the *Rgveda*, at the feet of his son, Prof. Shridhara.

<sup>16</sup> Appropriately enough the present Office of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, is located in the compound of the Sangamāśrama.

<sup>17</sup> Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Perhaps this was a trait inherited from his *bhikṣu* father.

<sup>18</sup> The other was the Elphinstone College, Bombay.

Principal F. W. Bain has left behind him memories of another type, though as an administrator and teacher he was not at all inferior to Selby. He was the author of a set of books of delightful Indian stories of which *The Digit of the Moon* was the first. He pretended that he had received an ancient Sanskrit manuscript from an old Pandit and that he had translated these tales from this. So cleverly are the stories composed and so thoroughly has Bain imbibed the spirit of Sanskrit literature that he kept up this illusion for years.<sup>19</sup> Even to-day, when we know that these were really creations of Bain's fancy, we still find it hard to believe that we are not reading the translation of some unknown Sanskrit manuscript. Judging by these works Bain seems to have been a very sympathetic person, who thoroughly understood the people among whom he had made his home for the whole of his active life. He passed away only a few months ago.

The last Principal of the Deccan College was E. A. Wodehouse,<sup>20</sup> who had also won for himself a niche in the hearts of his students. He was among the finest Englishmen who ever came out to India. He was deeply sympathetic to all Indian aspirations and was a great admirer of Hindu culture. For many years he served outside Bombay, at Benares and elsewhere, and wherever he went he won the esteem and affection of his pupils and his colleagues.

Among the teachers of the Deccan College mention must be made of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, happily still alive and living in quiet retirement in Poona. He was himself a brilliant student of the Deccan College and acquired high academic honours both here and in America. After his return from Harvard he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in his old College and held that post until the close of the College in 1934. He took a leading part in the founding of the Bhandarkar Institute and for many years directed it. He was also one of the founders of the All-India Oriental Conference and worked as its secretary for nearly twenty years. But his greatest claim to be remembered in connection with the College is the leading part he played in its revival.

In 1933 the Government of Bombay decided, for reasons of retrenchment, that it was necessary to close down the Deccan College. Plausible enough reasons were advanced for this decision. The Ismail College had been started in Jogeshwari, one of the suburbs of Bombay, two new Colleges had been started at Poona, and new Colleges were springing up at Sangli, Dharwar and other places. The Government maintained, with some amount of reason, that higher education ought to be provided through private donations. The staff and students were accordingly notified that the Deccan College would cease to exist after May 1934, and this rather abrupt decision aroused a good deal of resentment among the public. The Old Boys of the College

<sup>19</sup> The earlier books of his series were actually entered as "translations from Sanskrit" in the British Museum Library.

<sup>20</sup> He was a brother of the famous humorist, P. G. Wodehouse. He himself had written a number of fine essays on English literature and his verses, very elegant and polished, often appeared in *The Times of India* over his pen-name "Senex".

began to move in the matter, and when the Government announced that the lands and the buildings of the College were to be sold to the Parsi Public School Society, a suit was filed on the 22nd of October, 1934. After a long and careful hearing judgment was delivered by the late Mr. D. D. Nanavati, I.C.S., District Judge of Poona, on the 17th of January, 1936.

The case had aroused the keenest interest among the public. "The question at stake was not the private interest of an individual or a group of individuals, but the future of a great educational institution of standing and prestige, which visibly embodied the transformation of the pre-British educational notions into the most liberal and advanced educational ideas of the West as formulated and put into effect by some of the most eminent British and Indian Statesmen and Educationalists, like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Major T. Candy, Dr. William Wordsworth, Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy (2nd Baronet), Prof. Keru Laxman Chhattre, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. F. G. Selby."<sup>21</sup> The Old Boys had rallied round most nobly to help their beloved College and worked hard to collect all relevant documents and information. A "Plenipotentiary Committee" of the Old Boys was appointed with full powers to act on their behalf. Prof. D. D. Kapadia (Secretary of this Committee) together with Dr. S. K. Belvalkar and Dr. S. G. Sathe were among those who worked the hardest on behalf of the College. The finding of the Judge was that the College was a Trust for the definite purpose of furthering the spread of Education. Quite apart from the donation of Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy for this specific purpose, the original *dakṣiṇā* fund, which furnished the first nucleus of the College grant, was a Public Trust. Therefore, the Judge held that the Government was bound to maintain it for the purpose of furthering education in Poona. It seemed at first that the Government was going to appeal against this judgment, but wiser counsels prevailed and finally the Government decided to revive the Deccan College as an Educational Institution.

(To be continued.)

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<sup>21</sup> Prof. S. G. Sathe, in the Foreword to the reprint of *The Judgment delivered by the District Judge, Poona in the Deccan College Suit*. The Judgment is very exhaustive and covers 46 printed pages of foolscap size. Prof. Sathe was himself an old Deccanite, and had been Professor of Philosophy. His love and devotion for the College is unbounded.

# KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES OF THE MARĀTHĀ COUNTRY

## PART II.

By

IRAWATI KARVÉ.

The first part of this paper<sup>1</sup> was of a purely descriptive nature dealing with the kinship terms in use in the different parts and among various castes in the Marāṭhā country. It was attempted there to fix the meaning of these terms by reviewing the way in which they were used in literature, old and modern, and in the spoken language of to-day. In the present paper an interpretation of the social organisation of the people of the Marāṭhā country is sought with the help of the kinship terms already described. In the last paper the primary classification of kinship terms as attempted by W. H. R. RIVERS was given. In this paper the same methods as those employed by Rivers, are used for a sociological interpretation of the terms, but the result of the investigation is opposed to some generalisations reached by Rivers, as regards the importance of clan and moiety in the social organisation of the people. How a historical reconstruction about the colonisation of Mahārāṣṭra can be undertaken by the help of this and socio-anthropological investigations is indicated in the present paper.

In the discussion that follows, a continuous reference to the kinship terminology will be unavoidable and hence the terminology described in the last paper is given below in a tabular form. Where a number of terms with a similar meaning exist for one and the same relation, only one or two, i.e., those which are most frequent, are used in the discussion in this paper. The terms are arranged according as they refer to individuals of different generations. Thus, all people belonging to the speaker's generation (collaterals) are placed in one group, whether they are relations by blood or by marriage. This is called the *Ego's generation*. The collaterals of the parents of the *Ego* are placed in  $P_1$  generation, those above them are in the  $P_2$  generation and so on. In the same manner all the collaterals of the children of the *ego* are placed in the  $F_1$  generation, the generations that follow being called  $F_2$ ,  $F_3$ , etc.

*A table of the kinship terms of the Marāṭhā country.—*

### $P_4$ GENERATION.

#### (a) Males.

Great-great-grand-father on father's as well as the mother's side—

*khāpara-panajā, ni-panajā, nit-panajā, ninajā, śenajā, śenajo, paḍa-panajā, para-pājā.*

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<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of the D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 2-4, March 1940.  
BULLETIN D. C. R. I. VOL. II.

## (b) Females.

Great-great-grand-mother on the father's as well as the mother's side—

These terms are the feminine forms of the above terms, e.g. *khāṇṇa-panajī*, *ni-panajī*, etc.

P<sub>3</sub> GENERATION.

## (a) Males.

Great-grand-father on the father's as well as the mother's side—

*panajā*, *panajobā*, *pijjo*.

## (b) Females.

*panajī*, *pijī*.

P<sub>2</sub> GENERATION.

## (a) Males.

1. Father's father—*thoralā bā*, *mhātārā bā*, *ājā*, *ajlā*, *ājobā*, *ājjo*, *dādā*, *ājjābā*.

2. Mother's father—*ājā*, *ajlā*, *ājobā*, *ājjo*, *ājjābā*.

P<sub>1</sub> GENERATION.

## (a) Males.

1. Father—*bāpa*, *bāpu*, *bābā*, *bāpus*, *bāpusu*, *bāvā*, *ābā*, *āpā*, *dādā*, *dāñī*, *dādulā*, *amṇā*, *āṇu*, *vaḍila*, *mhātārā*, *tīrtha-svarūpa*,<sup>2</sup> *janaka*, *kartāra*, *pitā*, *pītā*, *pītāñī*, *tāta*, *tātyā*, *tātubā*.

2. Father's brother—*bāpulyo*, *culatā*, *kākā*, *dhākālā-bā*, *thoralā-bā*.

3. Mother's sister's husband—*māvasā*, *kākā*.

4. Mother's brother—*māmā*, *māvaḷā*, *mātuḷa*.

5. Father's sister's husband—*māmā*, *māvaḷā*.

6. Wife's father—*śāsarā*, *māmā*, *māvaḷā*.

7. Husband's father—*sāsarā*, *māvaḷā*, *māmāñī*.

## (b) Females.

1. Mother—*āī*, *āīsa*, *āīyā*, *āīya*, *yāī*, *āvasu*, *āvāī*, *bā*, *bāī*, *jananī*, *sūtī*, *ammā*, *mātā*, *māya*, *māī*, *māyabāī*, *māvaī*, *māulī*, *mātuḷśrī*.

2. Step-mother—*culatā-āī*, *māvaśī*, *māī*, *sāvatra-āī*.

3. Mother's sister—*māvaśī*, *moḥī māya*, *jīñī*, *pāccī*.

4. Father's brother's wife—*culatī*, *kākī* or *kāku*, *pāccī*.

5. Mother's brother's wife—*māmī*, *māvaḷñī*.

6. Father's sister—*māvaḷñī*, *māvaḷaṇa*, *ātyā*, *āto*, *āte*, *phuī*, *kākā*.

7. Husband's mother—*sāsu*, *māvaḷaṇa*, *ātyābāī*.

8. Wife's mother—*māmī*, *sāsu*, *māvaḷñī*.

<sup>2</sup> Though the word *tīrtharūpa* is used at present for parents, I found the word *tīrthasvarūpa* used in the same sense in an old verse. The full quotation is given in the 1st part of this article, *Bull. DCRI*, I. p. 334.

## EGO'S GENERATION—

## (a) Males.

1. Brother—*bhāū*, *bhāi*, *bandhū*, *bandū*, *dādā*, *nānā*, *aṇṇā*, *appā*, *tātyā*, *dādājī*.
2. Father's brother's son—*bhāū*, *culata bhāū*.
3. Mother's sister's son—*bhāū*, *māvasa-bhāū*, *jija-bhāū*.
4. Father's sister's son—*mehunā*, *bhāvoji*, *dīra*, *āte bhāū* (among certain castes).
5. Mother's brother's son—*mehunā*, *bhāvoji*, *dīra*, *māmebhāū* (among certain castes).
6. Husband's brother—the modern term is *dīra* and *bhāvoji* for both elder and younger brother but in old literature and among certain castes the following words are found :—  
Husband's elder brother—*bhāvoji*, *bhāva*, *bhāsarā*, *bhāva-sāsarā* (the last two terms mean literally "brother-father-in-law").  
Husband's younger brother—*dīra*.
7. Wife's brother—*sālā*, *mehunā*, *bhāto*.
8. Sister's husband—(i) elder sister's husband, *bhāvoji*, *mehunā*, *pāvaṇa*, *sālā*. (ii) Younger sister's husband (woman speaking) is sometimes called *bahiṇa-jāvaī* which means "son-in-law through the sister."
9. Son's wife's father
10. Daughter's husband's father } *vyāhi*, *wāhi*.
11. Wife's sister's husband—*sādu*, *sāda-bhāū*.

## (b) Females.

1. Sister—*bahiṇa*, *bahina*, *bhāṇa* or *bhāna*, *bāi*, *akkā*, *tāi*, *māi*.
2. Father's brother's daughter—*bahiṇa*, *culata-bahina*.
3. Mother's sister's daughter—*bahiṇa*, *māvasa-bahina*.
4. Father's sister's daughter—*mehunī*, *hunji*, *āte-bahina*.
5. Mother's brother's daughter—*mehunī*, *hunji*, *vahinī*, *māme-bahina*.
6. Husband's sister—*nananda*, *vansā*, *hunji*, *honni*.
7. Wife's elder sister—*akkaḍa-sāsu* (sister-mother-in-law).
8. Wife's younger sister—*mehunī*.
9. Husband's brother's wife—*jāū*, *jāv*.
10. Brother's wife—*bhāvajaya*, *bhāvajā*, *vahinī*, *hunji*, *honni*.
11. Son's wife's mother
12. Daughter's husband's mother } *vihina*.

F<sub>1</sub> GENERATION—

## (a) Males.

1. Son—*pūtu*, *pūta*, *putur*, *mulagā*, *mulā*, *mūla*, *leka*, *lyoka*, *lekaru*, *ceṭa*, *ceḍa*, *cerḍu*, *boḍhyo*, *āṇḍora*, *dingara*, *jhilā*, *jhilgo*, *vilā*, *pōra*, *poragā*, *bāla*, *bālā*, *bhurgo* (words which occur only in literature are not given here).
2. Brother's son (man speaking)—*mulagā*, *lyoka*, *putanyā*.



3. Sister's son (woman speaking)—*mulagā, lyoka*.
4. Husband's brother's son—*mulagā, lyoka, putanyā*.
5. Brother's son (woman speaking)—*bhācā, bhacco*.
6. Sister's son (man speaking)—*bhācā, bhacco*.
7. Husband's sister's son—*bhācā, bhacco*.
8. Daughter's husband—*jāvāi*.
9. Daughter's husband's brother (younger)—*karawalā, varadhāvā, murārī, murhāṭī, tokanā, dhedā*.

(b) Females.

1. Daughter—*mulagī, mulī, pora, poragī, bālā, bāi, leka, lyeka, ceḍu, dhu, āṇḍera, āṇḍyera, beṭī, putī, kanyā, calī, calo, kāra*.
  2. Brother's daughter (man speaking)—*mulagī, dhuvadī, dhādī, dhāvadī, putanī*.
  3. Sister's daughter (woman speaking)—*mulagī*.
  4. Husband's brother's daughter—*putanī, mulagī, dhuvadī, dhādī, dhvādī*.
  5. Brother's daughter (woman speaking)—*bhācī, bhaccī*.
  6. Sister's daughter (man speaking)—*bhācī, bhaccī*.
  7. Husband's sister's daughter—*bhācī, bhaccī*.
  8. Son's wife—*sūna, vaharī, hokkala*.
  9. Daughter's husband's (groom's) sister—
  10. Son's wife's (bride's) sister—
- } *karavālī*.

F<sub>2</sub> GENERATION—

(a) Males.

Son's son and daughter's son—*nātū*.

(b) Females.

Son's daughter and daughter's daughter—*nāta, natī*.

F<sub>3</sub> GENERATION—

(a) Males.

1. Son's grandson
  2. Daughter's grandson
- } *paṇatū*.

(b) Females.

1. Son's grand-daughter
  2. Daughter's grand-daughter
- } *paṇatī*.

F<sub>4</sub> GENERATION—

(a) Males.

1. Son's great-grandson
  2. Daughter's great-grandson
- } *khāpara-paṇatū, khāpara-tonḍ, ni-paṇatū, nit-paṇatū, śeṇtrū*.

(b) Females.

Son's and daughters' great-grand daughter } *khāpara-paṇatī, ni-paṇatī, nit-paṇatī, śeṇtrī*.

Leaving aside for the present the terms for the kin beyond the parent's generation and for those below the son's generation, it will be noticed that the whole terminology is built on an extremely simple plan. In the  $P_1$  generation four types of relationship are distinguished. The father, the mother, the father's sister and the mother's brother. Father's brother is called *culatā* or *bāpulyo*, a term which is, as already explained in the first part of this paper, a diminutive for the term for father. Mother's sister receives a distinct term, but is equated to step-mother or own mother.<sup>3</sup> Father's sister's husband is called by the same term as mother's brother and mother's sister's husband is called *kākā*, that is father's brother, though another term also exists. So also father's sister is equated to mother's brother's wife among many castes,<sup>4</sup> while amongst others the term used by one caste for one relative is used by a neighbouring caste for another relative. Thus we may say that in the  $P_1$  generation relatives are distinguished as father and non-father, mother and non-mother.

The same principle is also found in the terms used for one's own generation. Certain relatives are classed with one's own sisters and brothers, while certain others are classed as non-sisters and non-brothers, receiving the specific application *mehuṇā* or *mehuṇi*, i.e. "marriage-mate", in the majority of the castes. The relatives classed with one's own brothers and sisters are father's brother's children and mother's sister's children; while mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are called *mehuṇā* or *mehuṇi*. It may be noted, that while there is no reciprocal term between brothers and sisters, the terms *mehuṇi* or *mehuṇā* are used reciprocally by cross-cousins. It may also be noted, that the concept of cousinship is entirely absent, though own brothers and sisters are always clearly and unequivocally distinguished from father's brother's children by the device of using the adjective *sakḥkhā* before own brothers and *culata* before the father's brother's children. So also mother's sister's children received the prefix *māvasa*. Among castes which do not use a special term for cross-cousins, but who classify them with brothers and sisters, the adjective *āte* is prefixed before the term *bhāū* or *bahīṇa* to denote father's sister's children and *māme* before the mother's brother's children. By the aid of this device the exact relationship of even very distant relations can be expressed briefly and correctly. Thus the compound word *māvasa-culata-bhāū* denotes a man who is the son of one's father's mother's sister's son.

From the point of view of social and ceremonial behaviour, persons of one's own generation related through marriage form a very important group of relations. Certain principles, which are entirely absent in the kinship system for the brother and non-brother categories described above, enter into the formation of this terminology. One such principle is the reciprocal use of kinship terms and the second is the differentiation of kins according to

<sup>3</sup> The step-mother is called *māvaśi* (mother's sister); among Chitrapura Sāraswats the term for father's brother's wife and mother's sister are the same, i.e. *pāccī*.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Chitrapur Sāraswats.

their juniority or seniority to the speaker. The juniority is not dependent on the absolute ages of the two individuals, but on the status of each in the family. Thus the elder brother's wife is always senior to all the younger brothers of the husband, even though she may actually be younger in age. Different terms for the same kind of relatives according to their ages always imply different behaviour towards them. These also imply certain privileges. A man calls his wife's elder sister by the name *akkaḍa-sāsu*. The first part of this term means either mother or sister and the second part means wife's mother. The whole term implies that wife's elder sister is to be treated with the same respect and circumspection as the wife's mother. The younger sister of the wife is called on the other hand *mehuṇī*, i.e. marriage-mate. A man and his *mehuṇī* may marry each other and are on terms of great familiarity and jocularity. Many examples can be cited from the present-day society, where sisters are co-wives. Song and proverb testify to the usage, while certain ceremonies strengthen the evidence for the custom of junior sororate. Thus among castes and communities of Mahārāṣṭra before the solemnities for a younger daughter's marriage commence, the husband of the elder daughter is invited, honoured and given costly gifts. Among some Marāṭhās the senior son-in-law and the prospective junior son-in-law are made to sit on the two sides of the village god Mārutī and gifts of wearing apparel and money are given to both of them. The gifts of the senior son-in-law must exceed in value, be it ever so slightly, those that are given to the prospective son-in-law. I know of an incident where a family feud of great and enduring bitterness had resulted, because a man felt that his gifts were inferior to those given to his wife's younger sister's prospective husband. This ceremony seems to symbolise formal renouncing of the right over the younger sisters of the wife. In the same way a woman calls the elder sister's husband *mehuṇā*, while she calls the younger sister's husband *bahīṇa-jāvā* i.e. son-in-law through the sister.

A woman calls the elder brother of her husband *bhāva-sāsarā* or *bhāvā*, which means father-in-law or brother, and the younger brother of her husband *dīra* which probably means playmate from Sanskrit *devr*.<sup>5</sup> A man calls his elder brother's wife *vahinī* or *hunji* and calls the younger brother's wife by name. These two usages however are not strictly adhered to. In modern times a woman designates all her husband's brothers as her *dīra* and calls them by the honorific title of *bhāvoji*. Similarly brother's wife is called *vahinī* irrespective of whether she is the elder brother's wife or the younger brother's wife. Neither song and proverb nor ceremonial usage differentiate between these relatives to the same extent and clearness as they do between a man's wife's elder and younger sisters. Among certain Brāhmaṇas the newly-wed bride is not allowed to see the face of the husband's elder brother during the month of *Jyeṣṭha*. The bride has to bow down before her husband's elder sisters and brothers, as they are her husband's elders and is in turn saluted and paid reverence to by her husband's juniors, i.e.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, p. 135.

his younger brothers and sisters. Even in castes, which allow the remarriage of widows, the marriage of a widow with her husband's younger brother is not allowed. A woman is however on terms of jocularly with her younger brother-in-law, who in turn may joke with her, while she must be respectful to her elder brother-in-law, who is called *bhāva-sāsarā* and is thus equated to the father-in-law.

Kinship terms which can be reciprocally used are also found in this group of relations. There are no reciprocal terms between relatives belonging to different generations, like, aunt and niece, or uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. The reciprocal terms are used by people who are relations by marriage or who may stand in such relationship and who belong to the same generation. Thus husbands of sisters call each other *sāḍabhāū*, wives of brothers are one another's *jāū*, the fathers of the bride and groom are each other's *vyāhī*, husband's sister and brother's wife are each other's *hunḥī* or *vahinī* or *vansa*.<sup>6</sup> Cross-cousins are each others' *mehuṇā* (the masculine form) and *mehuṇī* (the feminine form). Wife's brother and sister's husband are called *mehuṇā* or *sālā*. This usage and the one about calling husband's sister and brother's wife by the same term, suggests the custom by which a pair of brother and sister marries another pair of sister and brother.

When we examine the terminology for the  $F_1$  generation, we find analogies with the  $P_1$  generation. All relations are divided between four categories, namely that of son and son-like, daughter and daughter-like, non-sons and non-daughters. A man speaking of his own sons and those of his brother's uses terms meaning son or son-like. A woman does the same when she speaks of her own sons or those of her sister's or those of her husband's brother. A man speaking about his sister's children and a woman speaking about her brother's and husband's sister's children puts them in the categories of non-sons and non-daughters. These are prospective sons- and daughters-in-law. Only in two cases did the informant give terms which were identical with those for son and daughter-in-law, but as a rule though these relatives are prospective sons-in-law the terms for them and the son and daughter-in-law are distinct. For the present the consideration of the terminology for the  $F_2$ ,  $F_3$  and  $F_4$  generations may be postponed, to be taken up later with the discussion on the terminology for the  $P_2$ ,  $P_3$  and  $P_4$  generations.

In the discussion that follows, one thing must be borne in mind, namely that the kinship terms are never applied to individuals with whom relationship cannot be traced by the help of genealogy. An old lady may be called grand-mother, or a middle aged one aunt, or mother, but in such cases no kinship significance is attached to these terms. All the persons related to one, and denoted by the kinship terms given above, require a certain kind of social behaviour towards them and expect certain definite kind of obligations to be fulfilled on certain occasions. No such behaviour is expected from

<sup>6</sup> The term *vansa* is applied to husband's sister but it is only a modification (plural) of the word *vahinī* used for brother's wife.

people, who are called mother or uncle merely by way of showing respect. Neither does the terminology normally extend to people who belong to the mother's or father's clan unless the relationship, however remote, can be definitely traced. There are evidences of exogamic clans among the Marāṭhā people but the kinship terminology points primarily to a strong family organisation and not to the clan.

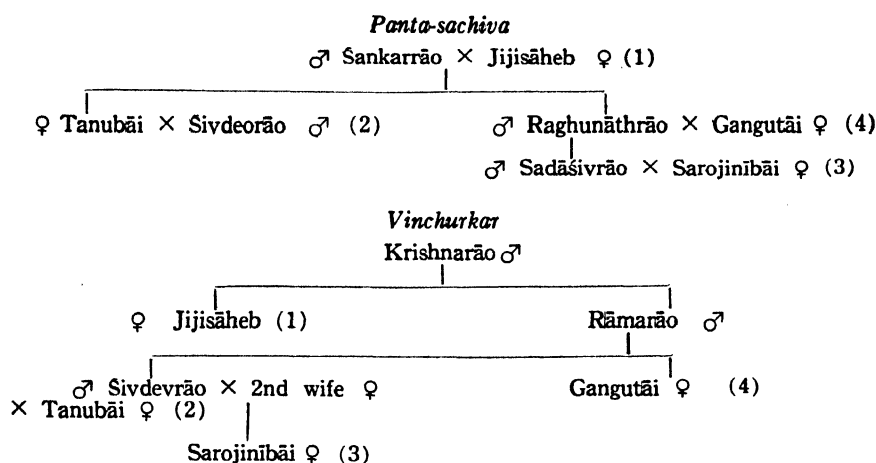
The kinship terminology as prevalent in the Marāṭhā country would fit perfectly a case where two families continued exchanging daughters for generations, and where therefore there is cross-cousin marriage both ways. In the case of such families a man's father's sister becomes his mother's brother's wife. A man's sister becomes the wife of his wife's brother. There are some castes in the Marāṭhā country which allow these marriages; among a vast majority of castes and tribes however, there is a very mild taboo against a man marrying his father's sister's daughter, while his marriage with his mother's brother's daughter is prescribed by custom. There is also a very mild taboo on exchange marriages among certain communities. However, both these taboos are more in the nature of a popular prejudice rather than that of a definite taboo. There are instances in communities allowing cross-cousin marriage, of many marriages where the two taboos are broken without any social consequences.

The marriage rules envisaged above, if brought into practice, give a very closed family circle with consanguineous marriages. If two families went on marrying in this way, the degree of consanguinity increases with each generation and we have the phenomenon called "the loss of ancestors" (*Ahnenverlust*). An individual who has no consanguineous marriage among his ancestors, will have two direct ancestors in the father's, four in the grand-father's, eight in the great-grand-father's and sixteen in his great-great-grand-father's generation. If however there is cross-cousin marriage both ways in each generation, a person will have only eight different ancestors instead of the possible number of sixteen. In a society, like that of the Marāṭhī speaking people, where the endogamous sub-castes are not very small, this extreme consanguinity is but rarely reached. Though cross-cousin marriage is the orthodox kind of marriage, there is among many castes a mild prejudice against a man marrying his father's sister's daughter, so that in the majority of cases one finds only a one-way cross-cousin-marriage. Secondly, marriage of persons who are not cross-cousins also occurs in many cases. Especially in our modern days when the old self-sufficient village communities are broken up, the old ideas of family-obligations, as exemplified in the custom of the cross-cousin marriages, are also slowly dying out. The old customs and old prejudices however die very hard and there are endogamous communities which contain within them smaller endogamous units made up of a few families. The marriage rule followed among all communities is expressed in Marāṭhī by the phrase that "one marries where one can trace the end of a garment" (*padara lāgela tethavar lagna karāve*). The phrase means, that a family should enter into a marriage alliance with another family, only if

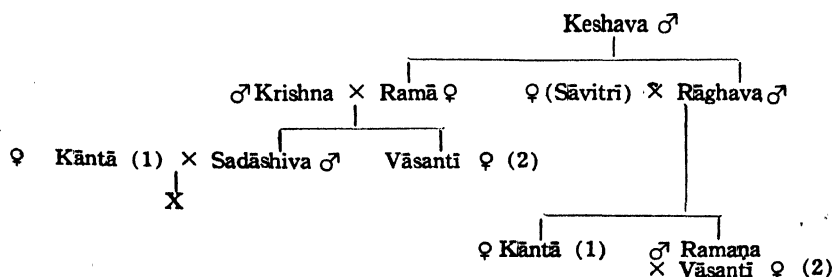
there is an authentic record of a former marriage between these two families. Thus a Marāthā from Poona will not marry as a rule into a Marāthā family belonging to the coastal strip. Only a few years ago Bombay Sāraswats did not contract marriages with Goa Sāraswats and even to this date a *Śukla Yajurvedi* Brāhmaṇa at Nasik is reluctant to give his daughter in marriage to another Brāhmaṇa of the same caste living outside the ten miles radius from the city of Nasik.

Below are given some genealogies, where this kinship system is more or less completely realised.

The family of the rulers of Bhor (Panta-sachiva) and the family of Sardar Vinchurkar are well known historical families and are *Deśastha Rgvedī* Brāhmaṇas by caste. There has been close inbreeding between these two families for the last three generations as will be seen from the genealogy given below :—



The following example is taken from the *Chitrapur Sāraswat* community. In it the kinship terminology as given in the table is realised to a very great extent.

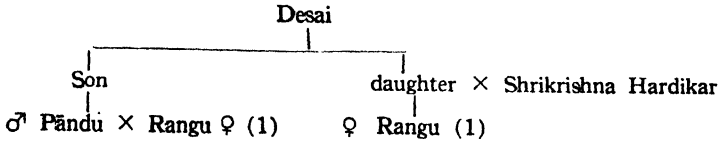


For the child X of Kāntā and Sadāśhiva the father's sister is identical with the mother's brother's wife. From the point of view of the two pairs

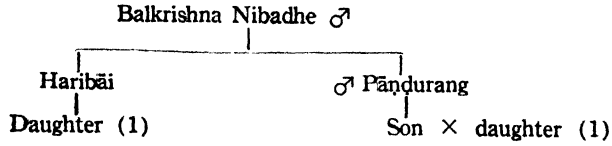
of brothers and sisters Sadāshiva and Vāsanti and Kāntā and Ramaṇa, the two women are each other's *hunji*, or *wahini* i.e., they are each other's brother's wife and husband's sister at the same time ; and the two men are each other's *mehune* or *sāle* inasmuch as they are each other's sister's husband and wife's brothers.

Similar marriages take place among other castes, where cross-cousin marriage is the orthodox form of marriage. Below are given a few cases of marriages between a man and his father's sister's daughter.

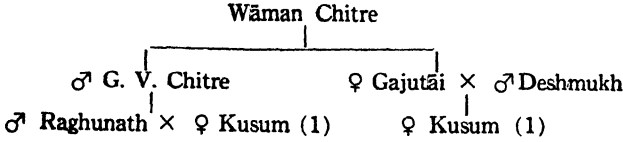
(1) Karhāḍa Brāhmaṇa family.



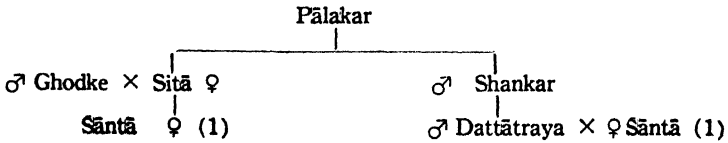
(2) Deśastha Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇa.



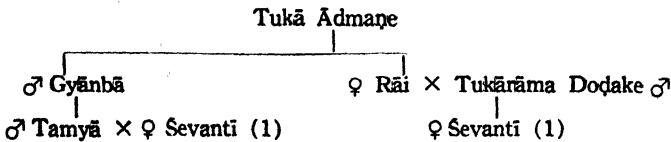
(3) Prabhu Community.



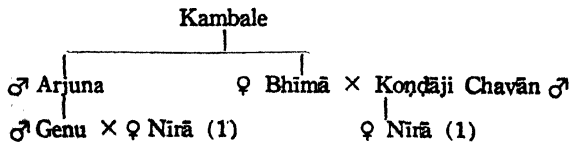
(4) Panchal Sonār



(5) Māng Community.



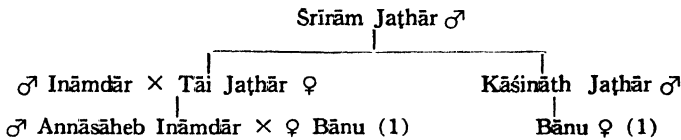
(6) Mahār Community.



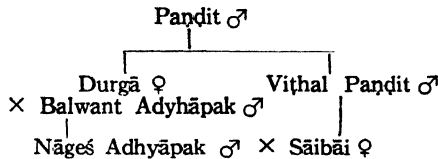
The examples given above are of the marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter, which is, as stated already, mildly tabooed. It is a rule that if the children of a brother are to be married to the children of the sister, the marriage of the brother's daughter to the sister's son must always precede the marriage of the sister's daughter to the brother's son. The obligation for a brother to give his daughter in marriage to the sister's son is far more binding and must be fulfilled before the other kind of marriage can be allowed. The marriage of a girl to her mother's brother's son is said to constitute, "the returning of the creeper" (*parat-wela*). The girl's mother is the creeper or *wela* which had been given over to and thus planted in a particular family. If now the daughter (the child of the creeper) returns back to her maternal uncle's house as the bride, the creeper is said to have turned back to her original home. This is supposed to bring ill-luck and to avert it some ceremonies are performed. The most usual of these, is giving of a double chain as a gift to the bride; another is the throwing of a creeper made of goldleaf over the bride's head and then presenting it to the priest who officiates at the ceremony.

Below are given a few examples of this more preferred and therefore more frequent form of marriage between a man and his mother's brother's daughter.

(1)

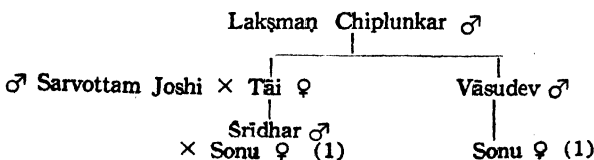


(2)



These two examples are taken from the community of the Karhādā Brāhmaṇas. These Brāhmaṇas practise cross-cousin marriage. The next example is from the Chitpāvana Brāhmaṇas among whom cross-cousin marriage is tabooed, but in modern times a few such marriages have taken place in certain cities.

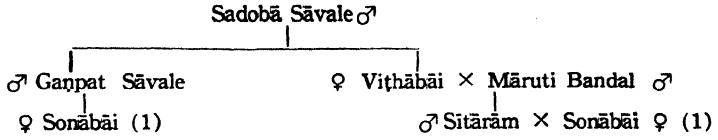
(3)





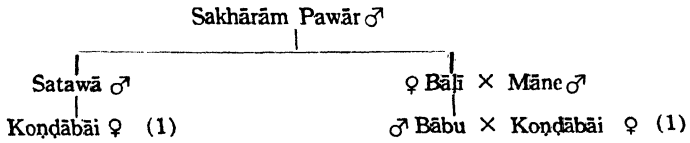
The following example is from the Marāṭhā community.

(4)



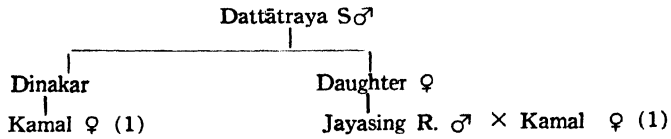
The following is from the Mahār community.

(5)



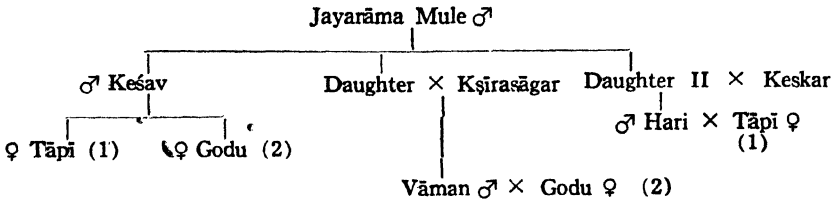
Example No. 6 is from the Prabhu community.

(6)



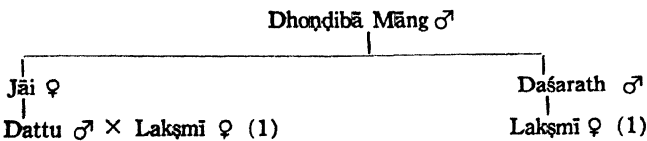
Example 7 is from the Deśastha Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇa community.

(7)



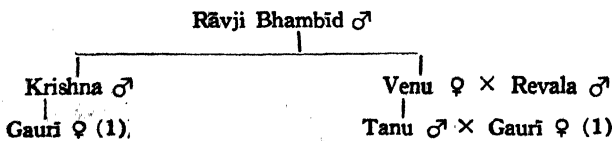
Example 8 is from the Māṅg community.

(8)



Example 9 is from the Konkan Kunabi caste.

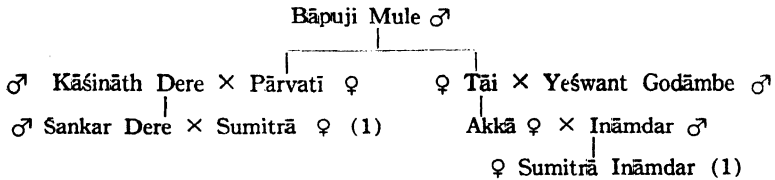
(9)



There is yet another form of preferential marriage besides the two discussed above. This form cannot be deduced from the kinship system, but it is found among some castes practising cross-cousin marriage. It is the custom by which a girl is given in marriage to the mother's brother, i.e. to the maternal uncle. The factor of age enters into consideration here. In the Marāthā country the wife is generally younger than the husband. A few cases exist in which the husband is younger than the wife, but such a couple is generally the subject of universal jest. If the maternal uncle has no daughter of the suitable age, a daughter from some other house or a more distant cross-cousin is sought in marriage. So also a man may demand in marriage his sister's daughter if he is unmarried. Generally if there is compatibility of age, such a marriage takes place amicably; if however the man is much older than the girl there is the unwillingness on the part of the girl's parents, but ultimately they have to yield. Such marriages are not as frequent as the cross-cousin marriages but they can be found in almost every community which allows cross-cousin marriage. Below are given some cases of marriages of a girl to her mother's brother.

The following is an example from the Tvaṣṭā kāsāra community.

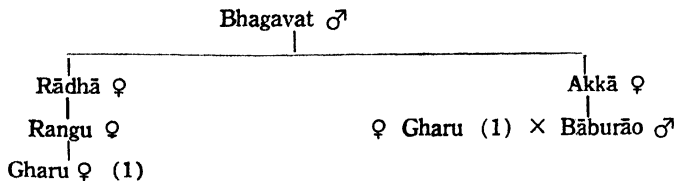
(1)



Sumitrā is the daughter of the maternal aunt's daughter of Śankar. Akkā, the mother of Sumitrā, is *māvasa-bahīna* (sister) of Śankar and in marrying her daughter he is marrying his niece.

This example is from a Karhāḍa family :—

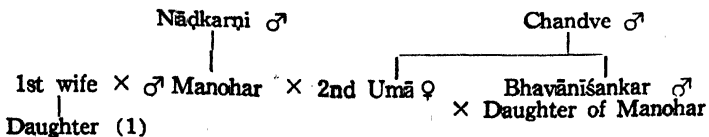
(2)



Gharu marries the parallel cousin or *māvasa-bhāu* of her mother, i.e., her maternal uncle.

Sāraswat Brāhmaṇa family :—

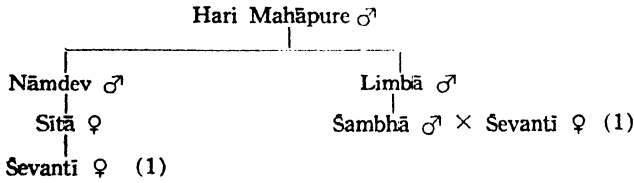
(3)



The step daughter of Umā is given in marriage to her own brother. Bhavānīśankar, however, is no blood relation of the girl, but is her maternal uncle by status.

Māng community :—

(4)

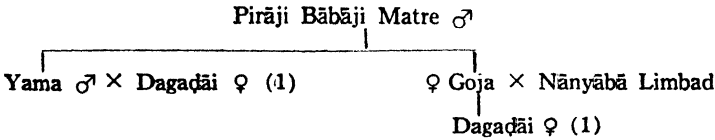


Śambhā marries the daughter of his parallel cousin Śītā and is thus the maternal uncle of his wife Śevanti.

The following are some cases in which a man has married his *own* sister's daughter.

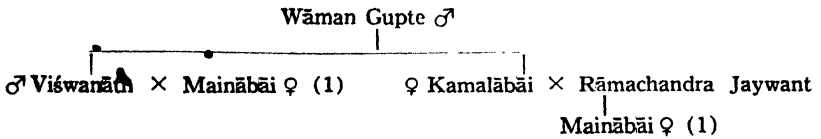
Māng community :—

(1)



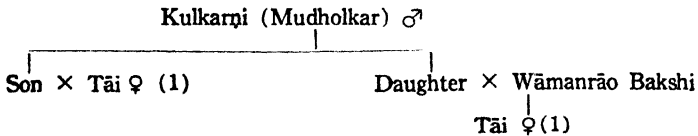
Prabhu community :—

(2)

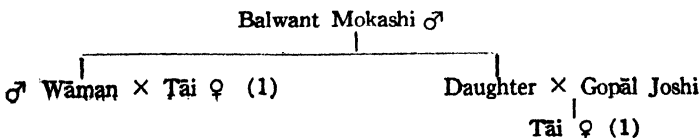


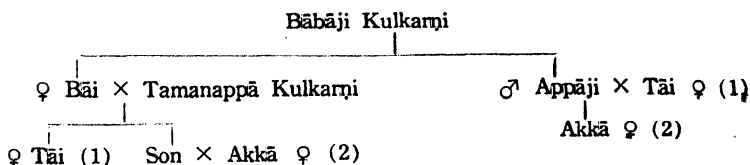
Deśastha Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇa community :—(cases Nos. 3, 4, 5).

(3)



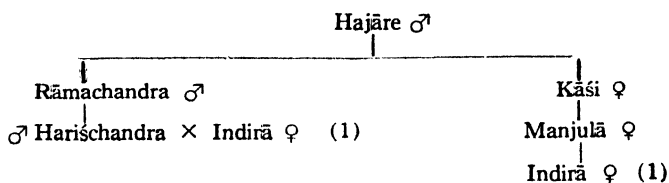
(4)



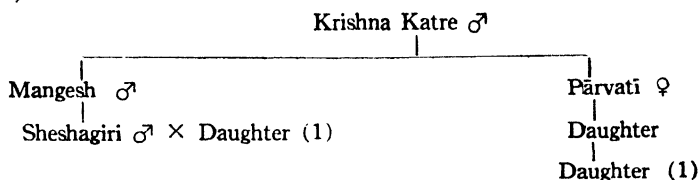
(5)<sup>7</sup>

The following cases are those in which a girl has married a cross-cousin of her mother. In the examples given above the man whom the girl has married could not become the mate of the mother as he was her own brother, or a parallel cousin. In the following examples the marriage is between a girl and a boy, who could have been the mother's mate, i.e., it is a relationship not in the direct or parallel line but in the crossed line.

(1)



(2)



The marriage of a girl with her maternal uncle is very rare. Enquires among certain Marāthās show that they have not even heard about it, but I have come across such marriages now and then throughout the Marāthā country. Among the Telugus, who are the neighbours to the south-east and the Kannaḍigās, who form the southern boundary of the Marāthā country, the marriage of maternal uncle and niece is known and practised. Thus this custom in the Marāthā country may be an old heritage from the culture complex of a southern people. We shall discuss the point further when the other features of the kinship terminology are discussed together with kinship usage.

According to this scheme of marriage regulations certain relatives are definitely debarred as marriage mates. These are parallel cousins, i.e. the children of one's father's brother and mother's sister. I have not been able to find a single example among the Hindu castes of Mahārāṣṭra where the

<sup>7</sup> This case is from the southern Marāthā state of Jāmkhindi and comes from a village which is situated on the borders of Karnāṭaka, the land of the Kannaḍa speaking people.

taboo on the marriage with one's father's brother's child has been broken. There have been however very rare cases of marriages between the children of two sisters. In every case such marriages have been condemned by the relatives on both sides, as incestuous unions, but after a time the community has tolerated them. The cases known to me are all from the educated circles, who feel that they have a certain immunity from old regulations and therefore need not fear the consequences of social disapproval because of their life in the cities. Another factor which contributes to lessening the severity of this taboo, is that all the castes in Mahārāṣṭra are patriarchal and a woman goes to live with her husband's people after marriage. The children of the brothers of one's father grow up in the same household as brothers and sisters. The mother's sister may however be given in marriage to a family in a distant village and so the consanguinity is not *felt* to the same extent. However, the marriage of a man with the daughter of his father's brother or of his mother's sister is forbidden and is definitely tabooed. The sentiment against such a marriage is not a mere popular prejudice and the fact that a few very advanced families, living in cities, under the influence of a foreign culture contract it and defy public opinion is no proof of the absence of the ancient taboo.<sup>a</sup>

Thus cross cousin marriage can be held to be an integral part of the cultural complex of the Marāṭhī-speaking people. The kinship terminology, the social behaviour, folksongs, proverbs and kinship usages point to this custom and can be explained only through it. Many of the proverbs and songs and sayings have been fully quoted in the previous part of this paper. A few more usages might be described here, to show the intimate connection of a male child with his maternal uncle and the uncle's daughter. (1) When a child is about nine months old, an auspicious day is set aside for his first meal. The maternal uncle is invited and gives the first feed of rice to the baby. On this occasion a brass or silver dish and a drinking cup is presented by the maternal uncle to his nephew or niece. (2) When a boy attains the age of eight he undergoes the ceremony of initiation as a bona fide pupil, taking a vow of celibacy. During this ceremony the following drama is regularly enacted. The young novice starts to go to Benares to learn the sacred lore when the parents plead with him to turn back. The boy does not listen to his parents but resolutely goes his way. Then the maternal uncle comes and begs the boy to desist from his resolve and offers to give his daughter to the nephew. The nephew accepts the offer and comes back to the parental home. (3) When a man brings his bride home, his sister stands barring the way, and the man

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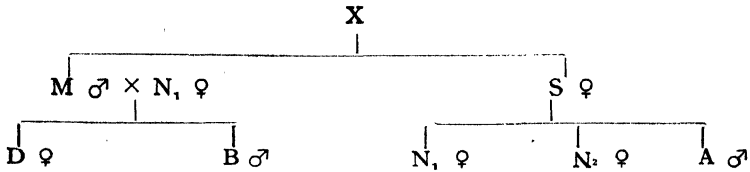
<sup>a</sup> How the old social system is slowly crumbling, will be evident from the following two examples. Recently in the Satara district a marriage was contracted between two first cousins, children of two brothers. These belong to the Jain community. Though the Jains are not technically Hindus, all their marriage customs are governed exactly by Hindu laws. Such a marriage is abhorrent to Jains and Hindus alike and yet it was performed and a priest was found to solemnise it. I have also on record a marriage of the same nature from a Hindu community. In this case, however, the girl has married her father's father's brother's son's son.

and the bride have to promise to give their daughter to the sister's son before he can enter his home with the bride.

There is another set of customs which point to certain rights which the maternal uncle has over his niece. (1) At the time of the marriage ceremony, the parents of the bride formally make a gift of their daughter to the groom. This ceremony cannot be completed unless the bride's maternal uncle also gives her away formally and makes a verbal declaration to that effect before witnesses. (2) Just before the marriage ceremony, after the groom's arrival at the bride's house, the bride is to be fetched from the interior of the house and placed before the groom. This duty is always performed by the maternal uncle, who, in the days when girls married young, had to lift the bride in his arms and bring her before the groom. (3) An old custom, which is now vanishing, was that after the marriage was solemnised, a dance was performed. This was a kind of a dancing competition between the bride's and the groom's party. The respective maternal uncles of the bride and the groom took their niece and nephew on their shoulders and danced until one of them was exhausted. This custom is still practised among the Telugu people. Among them an alternative term for husband is the word *māmā*,<sup>9</sup> which ordinarily means, the mother's brother. As the custom of the maternal uncle marrying the niece is most frequent in the Telugu country the term reflects correctly a social institution. Such marriages are also practised by the Kannada and Tamil people.

These three customs accord very well with the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter. The custom of the marriage of a man and his niece (sister's daughter), explains in turn the mild prejudice against the marriage of a man with his father's sister's daughter. Let us take a concrete example. Suppose a man M marries his niece N, one of the daughters of his sister S. Suppose this sister S has one other daughter  $N_2$  and a son A; and also suppose that the man M has two children, a daughter D and a boy B. Let us consider the relationship of the boy B to the girl  $N_2$ . The girl  $N_2$  is the daughter of the father's (M's) sister (S) and thus a cross-cousin and therefore the marriage mate; but on the other hand she is the sister of his mother. By the sororate rule, which is reflected in the kinship terminology, she could be his step-mother, and so the marriage between B and  $N_2$  is tabooed. If we consider the case of D the daughter of M and A the son of S, their relationship is as follows. A is the son of the father's sister i.e. cross-cousin and therefore the marriage mate of the girl D. He is also the brother of her mother  $N_1$ , i.e., the maternal uncle of the daughter D and so there is no bar to the marriage either from the point of view of the father's kin or the mother's kin. This complicated relationship will be clear from the table given below. It is realised in the genealogy given above on p. 22, of a Rgvedi family of Kulkaṁṁ.

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted to Mr. C. R. SANKARAN for this information.



D can marry A without infringing any of the current rules about marriage. B cannot marry  $N_2$  as she is his maternal aunt and is therefore, equated to his mother.

This explanation of the popularity of the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, and a slight prejudice against the marriage of a man with his father's sister's daughter, though logically satisfying and though applying to the conditions in the Marāṭhā country, fails to convince if we consider the marriage customs of the Telugu and Kannaḍa people. Among these people living to the south-east and to the south of the Marāṭhās, the marriage of a man to his sister's daughter is quite a well established usage, and not at all as infrequent as in the Marāṭhā country. But side by side with this marriage, cross-cousin marriage is practised both ways, there being no prejudice against a man marrying his father's sister's daughter, provided she is not his maternal-aunt at the same time. Thus in the Kannaḍa and Telugu countries, the lands where the marriage of the maternal uncle and niece is not at all uncommon, the prejudice against the marriage of man with his father's sister's daughter does not exist, or it exists in a much milder form than in the Marāṭhā country.<sup>10</sup>

My enquiry in the Marāṭhā country gives the impression that the maternal-uncle-niece marriage is practised by a very few communities. The Deśastha R̥gvedi Brāhmaṇas and the Deśastha Kṛṣṇa Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇas practise such a marriage. The Phulmālis and the Lingāyata Gavalis also practise this custom. Examples are also found among the Marāṭhās, the Prabhus, the Māngs and Sāraswats, and other castes allowing cross-cousin marriage, but the occurrence of such marriages is much rarer among these than among the four castes mentioned first. The Prabhūs and the Sāraswats are very small communities and one finds among them both, that there are small groups of two or three or four families who always exchange daughters. I have already recorded marriages of two sister's children in these communities. According to my informant, one marriage between a boy and his father's

<sup>10</sup> Enquiry has shown that the marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter is not rare among the Dravidian speaking people. Still, the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter seems to be the more practised even among these people as the following remark by THURSTON shows : " It is a prevalent custom throughout Southern India that a girl's father's sister's son has the first right to her hand in marriage. If a stranger should marry the girl . . . . the nephew having the first right to the girl must be paid eight annas. A sister pays forty-two perans for her brother's wife. When the product, i.e. the daughter, is transferred to a stranger, the son claims compensation on her mother's investment at the same rate as that at which a cocoanut tree is valued—eight annas." *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, page 60.

father's brother's daughter's daughter has taken place. Such a marriage cannot be valid under the tradition of the Marāṭhā country, nor I believe, under the Hindu Law, but this community is simply an illustration of the slow dissolution of old social bonds under the pressure of new urban conditions. When inter-caste marriages become more common, these consanguineous marriages will disappear.

Among Marāṭhās extensive inquiries in Poona have elicited the fact, that the uncle-niece marriage is not known here, but I have known a case from Berar and another is reported from Kolhapur where such a marriage has taken place. The Māng example also revealed, that the family who allowed the contraction of this marriage, was nearly excommunicated, but a heavy fine pacified the communal council.

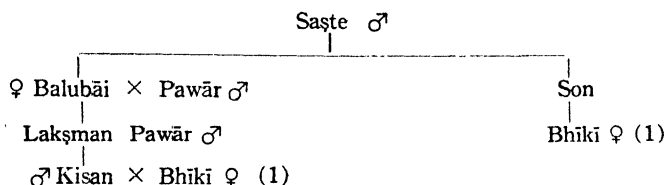
The Ṛgvedi and Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇas and the Telangi Phulmājis and Lingāyata Gavaḷis have definite long established connections with the Kannaḍa and Telugu-speaking people. Generally there is no intermarriage between Marāṭhī-speaking and Kannaḍa- or Telugu-speaking people except among the Deśastha Ṛgvedi and Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇas. The other two castes, as their names show, are of Telugu and Kannaḍa origin. It appears therefore, that this custom originally belonged to the south and was taken up by those people who came most in contact with the southern people. Among the Telugu-speaking people an alternative term for the husband is *māmā*, i.e. maternal uncle, and clearly reflects the usage of a girl marrying her maternal uncle. The marriage of maternal uncle and niece is practised by all Dravidian-speaking people, except on the Malabar Coast.

The people who practise cross-cousin marriage, i.e. the Marāṭhās, the Telugus, the Tamilians and the Kannaḍigas are all people who follow the patriarchal rule of inheritance and among whom the bride lives in her husband's household. A woman and her maternal uncle are always members of two separate households and are therefore allowed to marry. This marriage seems to point out to a clan system, where there were exogamous father clans. On this analogy one would expect marriage between a man and his father's sister to occur rarely in the countries where matriarchal households exist, i.e., among Khasis of Assam and among the Nāyars and other matriarchal communities of Malabar.

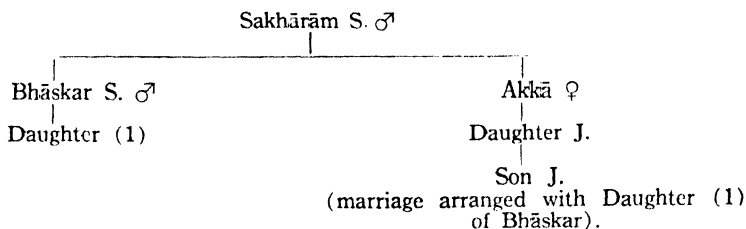
The term uncle (maternal) can be applied only to the mother's brother, and the term aunt (paternal) to the father's sister. Father's or mother's cross-cousins cannot be classed among aunts and uncles according to the true Marāṭhā usage. Among certain Brāhmaṇas, who do not allow cross-cousin marriage, all collaterals of the father and mother are classed as brothers and sisters of the father and mother—and they consequently become uncles and aunts of the Ego. I have on my record certain marriages between a boy or a girl and his or her mother's cross-cousin. These, as already pointed out, should not be called uncle-niece or aunt-nephew marriages. One such example is given below. Here the boy Kisan was married to his father's cross-cousin Bhikī. I told my informant, who is a Marāṭhā woman,



that Bhikī was Kisan's aunt, but I was quickly corrected by her. She told me "No, Bhikī is not the sister (*bahīna*) of Kisan's father, she is his *mehūṇī* and so cannot be called Kisan's aunt."



In the next example a man's marriage with his mother's female cross-cousin is shown. This marriage was arranged, but did not take place owing to an accident.



As regards the kinship terminology for the relations in the  $P_2$ ,  $P_3$ , and  $P_4$  generations as also that for the  $F_2$ ,  $F_3$  and  $F_4$  generations, it is very well developed in the Marāṭhā Country, but applied primarily to the direct ascendants and descendants in the male line and then extended towards other relations. Some very interesting facts emerge from the study of some of these terms.

The term for the father of the mother and the father of the father is the same i.e. *ājōbā* or *ājā*. The father's father is however also termed *thorālā bā* (big father) or *mhātārā bā* (old father) among agriculturists. The mother's father is not called so. In a similar manner, though the father's and the mother's mother are both called by the common term *ājī*, the father's mother is also called *thorālī ā* (big mother) or *mhātārī ā* (old mother). This usage and the way in which the term *ājōḷa* (i.e. grandfather's house) is used, suggests that the term *ājā* was first coined for the mother's father and then applied to the father's father. The Vedic terminology in its primary stages lacks any term for the grandfather, the male above the father's generation being variously called *mahāpitā* (big father), or *pratnaḥ pitā* (old father), as in Marāṭhī. Later the compound term *pitā-maha* or *tatā-maha* was coined. In Northern Indian dialects the words for grandfather are all derived from, or equivalents of, the word for own father. In the Vedic family, as also in the patriarchal modern family, the eldest male who rules the household is the "big-father." The same concept is expressed in the *Mimāṃsā* literature in such words as *uttama-vṛdhak* (the oldest), *madhyama-vṛdhak* (the elder) and the *bāla* (the child) by which the three male generations in a household are men-

tioned. The term *ājōbā* or *ajjā* on the other hand seems to be derived from the term *ārya*, which in Sanskrit is a term of respect for an elderly stranger. In the Marāthā country, where the wife's father was a man of importance, he received the appellation of *ārya* or *ajjā* and was so addressed by all the children of the daughter. The *ajjā* was not a member of the same household as the child and was not to be confused with the own father or the big father. Later the term *ajjā* came to stand for the grandfather in general and was applied to the father's father also. The older usage is retained in the use of the term *ājōla*, which is made up of two Prākṛt words *ajja* and *ula* which are in turn to be traced to *ārya-kula*, meaning the household of *ārya* or the house of *ārya*. The word *ājōla* is used in Marāthi literature, folklore, song, proverb and daily modern speech, for the mother's father's house. The Marāthi term for the grandfather is a new word which is not found either in the Northern or in the Southern languages.

I have compared above the Marāthi usage of calling the father's father, the "big father" with the ancient usage. The custom is also comparable to the Dravidian usage, by which the grandfather is also called variously by such terms as *peddappā*, *mulyā*, *peri-appā* and *muttachhan*, which all mean "the big" or "the elder father". The Marāthi usage may be due to contact with the southerners, but it may very well be a reflection of the original patriarchal pattern of the family. The Dravidian systems of kinship terminology are entirely undeveloped as regards the terms for relations above the father's and below the son's generation. There are no independent terms for grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, or grandson, great grandson and great-great-grandson or the female relations corresponding to these.<sup>11</sup> As pointed out in a previous paper<sup>12</sup> these terms were developed gradually by the Vedic people probably due to the elaboration of the ancestral offerings and the banning of consanguine marriage. A man has to give offerings to his dead father, father's father and father's father's father, the other ancestors being mentioned as those beyond these.<sup>13</sup> In the marriage ceremony, the priests on both sides have to recite the names of the three direct ancestors of the bride and the groom before the assembled witnesses. Though the ceremony for the giving food to the Manes is also performed by the Dravidians, the kinship terminology has remained undeveloped.

The Dravidian terminology makes use of the principle of juniority and seniority for all relations. There are no generic terms for brother or sister. Those that are used among higher castes are all derived from Sanskrit and quite modern. There is one term for the elder brother, another for the younger; one term for the elder sister, another for the younger and so on.

<sup>11</sup> In Tamil the term *pāṭṭan* is used for grandfather. It is also applied to other ancestors. The word *peran* is also used in Tamil for grandchild. It means one who bears the grand-father's name and refers to the custom by which a boy receives the name of his grandfather.

<sup>12</sup> *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 72-74.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

The same applies to the terms used for father's brother. The elder brother of the father is "elder father", the younger brother of the father is "younger father."

The Marāṭhī terminology uses generic terms derived from Sanskrit for sister and brother and has no device to show the juniority or the seniority of the speaker. The term for the father's brother is *culata* which means always "younger father." This usage again reflects the custom by which in ancient times only the eldest son was allowed to marry.<sup>14</sup> The father was the eldest among all brothers, while the uncles of a child were necessarily his younger uncles. This usage can also be derived from the polyandrous societies of the south, where brothers share a wife but in actuality the uncle is not invariably called the junior father in the south. It does not appear therefore that the custom of calling the grandfather "big father" is derived from the Dravidian contact.

In the immediate family circle the terminology is that of Northern India and the pattern is the patriarchal pattern of the North. The influence of the South is best seen in the terminology for relations by marriage.

The term *paṇajobā* for the great-grand-father is merely derived from the term for the grand-father (*ājobā*) and denotes a relative inferior in status to the *ājobā*.

The terms for the grand-son and great-grand-son are derived from their Sanskrit equivalents. Throughout the Marāṭhā country it is supposed to be the height of blessedness to live long enough to see the face of the son of one's grandson (son's son). This brings as much merit as a pilgrimage to Benares. But it is just as unlucky to live so long as to see the face of the son of the great-grandson. The terms for the great-great-grandfather are all very significant. *Ni-paṇajā* contains the negative prefix *ni* or *nit*, so that the term simply means "not-*paṇajā*", and signifies denial of kinship. The term *śeṇajā*, used on the south-west coast of Mahārāṣṭra is even more significant. The prefix *śeṇ* means "to lose" and signifies that all kinship is lost, while the terms *khāpar-paṇajā*, used on the west coast, means a *paṇajā*, who is as inauspicious as the potsherd (*khāpara*). *Khāpar* means especially a potsherd in which is carried the fire to ignite the pyre of the dead. The same prefixes are applied to the term *paṇatū* (great-grand-child) to form the terms for the great-great-grand-child. These terms again take us back to later Vedic times, where only the terms for the great-grand-father and great-grand-child existed. Apparently kinship beyond this was not reckoned. Three generations above the Ego and three below the Ego give us the orthodox reckoning of seven generations, beyond which kinship is not to be recognised.

While investigating the kinship usages of the Marāṭhā country, an interesting fact came to my notice. This was the number of folksongs about the affection and mutual behaviour of a brother and a sister. Some of the finest songlets I have heard, commemorate the brother-sister relationship. The

<sup>14</sup> *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 135, 225.

theme of the songs is again and again that of separation of the two who have been born and have played together in the same house. Do those songs commemorate the breaking up of the matriarchal household where brother and sister lived together under the same roof, or are they the natural outlet of the feeling of sorrow on the separation from the playmate of the childhood? In their childhood they live together and they are parted on the marriage of the sister and her going to live in a stranger's house. But the bonds of early affection are strengthened again by the marriage of their children, when the brother's daughter is greeted as a bride in the sister's household. In the folksongs, the wife of the brother plays a double role. In some songs she is flattered, and praised up to the skies; in other songs she is bitterly reproached as the woman who has made the brother forget the sister, or the woman who ill-treats the sister. The relations between a woman and her husband's sister are always shown as inimical in songs and proverbs. Are we to interpret this hatred and rivalry in the Freudian sense by supposing that brothers and sisters married each other in ancient times but later the sister was given away in exchange to a stranger and hence felt herself deprived of her rightful place as the mistress and the ruler in the brother's household? I have no record of a brother-sister marriage, but I have come across two passages in two poems where brother-sister marriage is suggested in jest.<sup>15</sup> Even without assuming the custom of brother-sister marriage, it is a well known fact, that in a matriarchal household the brother and sister share between them the duties and responsibilities of a common household, while the sister's husband and the brother's wife never disturb the unity of the brother-sister house. This system had probably to be given up when the northern men married the southern women and set up patriarchal households in the ancient land of mother-right. Many legends about the colonisation of the Marāthā country state, that while the men came from the north, the women were brought from the south.

This brings us to the important question of whether the custom of cross-cousin marriage implies mother-right and inheritance through female line. Cross-cousin marriage is practised in the continuous tract of country from the south of the river Narmadā, upto Cape Comorin in the south and from the eastern sea to the Arabian sea coast in the west, i.e., over the whole of Peninsular India. It is practised by almost all the Hindu castes, as also

<sup>15</sup> (a) *Siśupālavadha* by Kaviśvara Bhāskara, Edited by V. L. BHAVE, pp. 18, 19, Rukhmiṇī said to Kṛṣṇa : "After thinking over the matter, I believe my brother was wise in not giving me permission to marry you." Kṛṣṇa replied, "I know you are his favourite. Yes, you did commit a mistake. You should have married him. We are but like beggars. He is a prince and you are a beautiful princess. Side by side you would have made a beautiful pair." Then said Bhīmakī (*Rukhmiṇī*) "Oh! how can you speak such poisonous words."

(b) *Strigāyan Saṅgraha athavā Bāyakāncī Gāṇī*, edited by S. P. PANDIT, 1882, p. 13. Subhadrā said in anger "the custom at my brother's wife's house (Rukhmiṇī's father's house) is that the brothers marry sisters. Why did you come to us? Rukhmi (your brother) was beautiful, there was no groom like him. Why did you marry Kṛṣṇa?"

by the primitive tribes living in the hills. The Goṇḍs, the Nāyāḍis, the Cencus, the Tiyaṇs, the Koḷis as well as the agriculturists and most of the Brāhmaṇas practise this custom. In the whole of this tract with the exception of the south-west, i.e., Malabar and Travancore, the patriarchal pattern of the family with succession and inheritance through the male-line prevails. The most ancient record of cross-cousin marriage in this tract is that of the son of Rukhmiṇī the princess of Berar and the daughter of her brother Rukhmi. There is however no mention of matriarchy. The colonisation of the Deccan had commenced long before the times of Rukhmiṇī, i.e. before the great battle of Kurus and Paṇḍus. The east coast was colonised by the sage Agastya, the west coast by Paraśurāma, while the mainland was colonised by Agasti and his disciples. No specific colonisation myth exists for the coast of Malabar, except that for the infiltration of the Nambudrī Brāhmaṇas. It is this corner which has remained predominantly matriarchal, while the rest of the peninsula is patriarchal. The importance of the maternal uncle and the very frequent association in stories and adventures of the maternal uncle and nephew, do suggest that at some very remote times the tract was matriarchal. Most of the mainland between Narmada and Krishna west of the alluvial plains was very sparsely populated and is described as a forest tract. It was colonised from the south and the north. The northern patriarchal family reached upto the southernmost limit of India but the northern language penetrated only to the banks of Krishna.

The Marāṭhā kinship terms and usages and the family organization they mirror are a compromise, which has resulted from the culture-contact of the northern Vedic people and the southern Dravidians. In their family and in the customs of inheritance the northern pattern is preserved, while in the marriage system and in the independence enjoyed by women the influence of the southern culture is clearly seen.

The clan or moiety as an institution regulating marriage is practically non-existent. The family is the institution which decided inheritance, succession and marriage. In almost all castes one finds groups of families which are bound together by ties of marriage and which exchange daughters generation after generation. Thus these consanguineous families form smaller endogamous units within the larger endogamous unit of the sub-caste. This consanguinity is increased by the custom of maternal uncle-niece marriage in certain castes. The father family and the kinship terminology for three ascendant and three descendant males is very well developed in contrast to all the other southern communities, who possess no terms for great-grand-father or great-grand-child.

A few communities do not follow the usages depicted above—usages which may be called collectively as typical of the culture-complex of Mahārāṣṭra. The most important of these communities are the two Brāhmaṇa sub-castes of the Śukla-Yajurvedī and the Chitpāvana Brāhmaṇas. The tiny community of Deorukha Brāhmaṇas also comes within this category. Among these marriage is not allowed between two people who are related within

seven generations from the father and five from the mother, besides the usual *gotra* restrictions which make marriage in the father's line an impossibility. The Śukla-Yajurvedis go a step further by prohibiting marriage with anybody possessing the mother's *gotra*. Numerically these communities form but one per cent of the population of Mahārāṣṭra. They have, however, greatly influenced this country because the former have a great literary tradition going back to the 13th century : and the latter a political and a literary tradition for the last two hundred years. This has not affected in the least the customs of the people ; but it has affected their language, inasmuch as even castes which practise cross-cousin marriage, now use the terminology of these Brāhmaṇas by calling the cross-cousin " brothers and sisters " instead of by the older word " mate ".

The degree to which different communities conform to the marriage-pattern and to the system of kinship terminology may give interesting clues as to the relative antiquity of colonisation or culture-contact with the south, when taken in conjunction with other cultural characteristics. A detailed study of each community and of all bigger provinces as regards their kinship systems may give a rough idea of cultural zones in India. Thus it may be said, that the Mahārs who practise cross-cousin marriage both ways, and the Ṛgvedi Deśasthas who practise uncle-niece marriage, belong to the older communities of Mahārāṣṭra, while the Śukla-Yajurvedis and the Chitpāvans would, by this reasoning, belong to the later period of colonisation. Such a stand taken from the scrutiny of kinship systems alone, may be very misleading and erroneous, but in conjunction with other socio-historical factors the study of kinship terms is a valuable instrument for determining culture-contacts and historical sequences.

# WERE CASTES FORMULATED IN THE AGE OF THE RGVEDA ?

By

V. M. APTE.

So much has been written on the subject of 'Caste in India' that it would seem almost an impertinence to tackle the subject afresh. With regard to one limited aspect of the problem, however, namely, the origins and early stages of the institution of Castes or orders, (or whatever other name we give to those well-known divisions or grades of society), as traced in the RgVeda—the earliest monument of Indian, nay, Indo-European literature and culture, there is still scope for investigation as the position is not quite clear. The diversity of views on the subject is almost bewildering ! ZIMMER<sup>1</sup> stoutly maintains that the RgVeda was produced in a society that did not know the Caste system. This view has not been accepted by scholars like HAUG<sup>2</sup>, LUDWIG<sup>3</sup>, KERN<sup>4</sup>, GELDNER<sup>5</sup> and OLDENBERG.<sup>6</sup> The view that is held fairly widely is that the 'system developed about the end of the Vedic period'<sup>7</sup>; that 'the Vedic Society in its *latest* stage exhibits a definite tendency towards the *formulation of Castes*'<sup>8</sup>; that 'Castes in India, then, must be regarded as a *Brahmanic child of the Indo-Aryan Culture*, cradled in the land of the Ganges and then transferred to other parts of India by the Brahmin prospectors'<sup>9</sup> etc. (italics mine throughout). I now undertake a discussion of this last view, as such a discussion will incidentally clear my position with regard to the other views as well.

One of the chief arguments advanced in support of the last view is that as the division of mankind into four classes : *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra* is mentioned for the first and only time in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (RV. X. 90. 12) one of the latest hymns of the RgVeda, the social orders or castes were in the process of evolution and formulation during the age of the RgVeda, the early and late periods of which were separated by a wide interval of time. Now, my proposition is that although the *Puruṣa-sūkta* may be adjudged on excellent grounds to be a late hymn and although the four orders are there mentioned together under names which became current

<sup>1</sup> *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 185-203.

<sup>2</sup> *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, 1871.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Nachrichten des Rig und Atharvaveda über Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung des alten Indien*.

<sup>4</sup> *Indische Theorien over de Standenverdeeling*, 1871.

<sup>5</sup> *Vedische Studien*, 2, 146, n.

<sup>6</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> BHANDARKAR, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 511.

<sup>8</sup> BELVALKAR and RANADE, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> GHURYE, *Caste and Race in India*, p. 143.

later (with the exception of *Rājanya*), it does not follow that the orders or divisions as such, by whatever name they were known, were being *evolved* during the ṚgVeda age. In my view, even the acknowledgedly early portions of the ṚgVeda presuppose a highly organized, well-consolidated hereditary priesthood distinguishing several grades and specialized groups within its fold—grades and classes familiar to us under slightly different names, in the complicated sacrificial ritual of the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The power of the *Purohita* or the priest over the king is nearly as great as in the post-ṚgVedic age. He was the counsellor supreme of the king in peace and war. The Priesthood was beyond the jurisdiction of the king. An offence against a Brahmin's wife (*Brahma-jāyā*) was a heinous crime, a *Brahma-kilbiṣa*. The four-fold division of society was also well-established. The collective names of the three higher classes that occur often in the ṚgVeda, *not excluding its earlier portions*, are : *Brahman*, *Kṣatra* and *Viśaḥ*. The non-mention of the fourth or lowest class except in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* does not argue its non-existence, as will be shown hereafter. If the earlier and later periods of the ṚgVedic age differed at all with respect to the development of these social classes, it was in the reorganization and consolidation of the fourth class which presumably received, to its ultimate deterioration, vast accretions in the intervening period, in the shape of the natives of the country with whom the ṚgVedic Aryans clashed in their advance into India and who were absorbed into the Aryan fold. Many of these conquered inhabitants were sharply distinguished in their *varṇa* (colour or religious cult) from the Aryan conquerors. Hence arose the necessity of a clear demarcation of the functions of all the classes and particularly of the fourth class from the three higher classes—a matter which was rather vague before the ṚgVedic Aryans had entered India, for the fourth class, consisting presumably of artisans and servants,<sup>10</sup> was culturally not far apart, from the other three classes and almost indistinguishable from the third class. It is more than probable, in my opinion, that along with the so-called aborigines, the people of the Indus valley also came into conflict with the ṚgVedic Aryans. As Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT suggests : "What seems to have happened after the blending of the indigenous civilization with that of the Aryans is that the survivals of the Indus Culture were mostly incorporated in the two lower divisions of Indian Society to which as craftsmen traders and cultivators, they approximated".<sup>11</sup> What appears to have led scholars to suppose that the four orders mentioned in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* had probably not been formulated in the early ṚgVeda period is, that of the terms *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra*, mentioned there, the last three occur nowhere else in the ṚgVeda and the term *Brāhmaṇa* occurs only about fifteen times in the ṚgVeda. I maintain, however, that the absence of the frequent use of these *later* well-known names of the four classes *proves nothing* with regard to the existence or otherwise of these classes in the early ṚgVedic period. In the early ṚgVeda period,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *hūti*, the fourth class among the Iranians.

<sup>11</sup> *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, pp. 35-36.



other names were current, e.g., *Brahmán*, *Ṛṣi* and *Vipra* were names more frequently used to denote the 'priest' than *Brāhmaṇa*. There is not a single passage in the *R̥gVeda* where the sense of 'priest' for *Brahmán* is not permissible along with that of 'poet'. The same is the connotation of *Ṛṣi* and *Vipra* very often<sup>12</sup>.

Similarly with regard to the members of the military order, the words promiscuously used in the earlier and later parts of the *R̥gVeda* are *Kṣatriya*, *Rājan* and *Rājanya*. *Rājaputra* also occurs twice and *Rājaka* once. The military order is often referred to as *Kṣatram* just as *Brahman* (neuter) is the name for the priestly order. There is no clear evidence in the *R̥gVeda* of the existence of an empire. There were numerous small kingdoms, states or principalities scattered all over the country conquered by the Aryans. ZIMMER<sup>13</sup> sees traces in यत्रौषधीः समर्गन्तु राजानः समिताविव । RV. X. 97. 6 : "where (i.e. by whom) plants are collected, like nobles in an assembly", that in times of peace there was no king in some states, the members of the royal family holding equal rights. Even if we do not agree with ZIMMER in his interpretation of the passage, the passage definitely shows that a noble could be called *Rājan*. If then, the word *Rājan* could be applied to a noble of the ruling family or even to a noble not so connected and to all the members of the royal family, it embraced a substantial portion of the fighting classes of the Aryans as the number of petty princes and minor kings was legion. The third class of society devoted to agriculture and the tending of cattle in times of peace was called *Viśaḥ* those who have settled down.<sup>14</sup> The variant names for this class were *Kṛṣṣīḥ* (those that draw the plough, from *kṛṣ*=to draw) and *Carṣanūḥ* (the active folk engaged in various activities connected with a peaceful settlement).<sup>15</sup> This class represented mainly the Aryan peasantry as such. They formed the bulk of the Aryan population who were subject to the authority of the king or kings who ruled over them. In times of war they fought alongside the nobility or the *Rājānaḥ*. It was not rare for a member of this order to lay a false claim to the title of a *Kṣatriya*<sup>16</sup>. But this only emphasises the fact that there existed a clear demarcation between these two classes. As has been shown above, this class like the *Sūdra* class seems to have received some elements of the non-Aryan population of the Indus valley and Hindusthan proper as there are references to *Viśaḥ* as *adeviḥ*, *asikniḥ*, *dāsiḥ* etc., in VIII. 96. 15 ; VII. 5. 3 and IV. 28. 4 respectively.

Another reason why no legitimate reference can be drawn regarding the existence or otherwise in the early *R̥gVedic* period of the four classes from the absence of any reference to them under names familiar to us through

<sup>12</sup> Compare V. 54. 7 where a *Ṛṣi* and a *Rājan* are distinguished exactly as a *brahmán* and *rājan* are in I. 108. 7, quoted below.

<sup>13</sup> *Altindisches Leben*, 176.

<sup>14</sup> From the root *vis*—to enter, to settle.

<sup>15</sup> From *car*—to move ; or 'cultivators', if derived from *kṛṣ* to plough.

<sup>16</sup> Compare RV. VII. 104. 13 : *na Kṣatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam*.

later literature is that *even later literature is not quite consistent in its use of these terms*, e.g., the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* uses the terms : *Brahmán*, *Kṣatram* and *Sūdrāryau* ; the *Kāthaka*, *Maitrāyaṇī* and *Vājaseneyī Saṁhitās* and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* use the terms : *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājan*, *Viśya* and *Sūdra* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* uses the terms : *Brahmán* *Kṣatram*, *Viś* and *Sūdra*.

That the institution of caste or classes had taken very deep root in Aryan Society in the R̥gVedic age is clear from an important piece of evidence which surprisingly enough has not received the attention it deserves. As the devotee, so the deity. *The worshipper is known by the gods he worships*. We find that the four-fold classification of human society finds its counterpart in the divine society of the *R̥gVeda*. Agni is the typical *Brahmán*, the *Purohita*, the *Hotṛ*, the *Polṛ*.<sup>17</sup> Mitra and Varuṇa are the two *Kṣatriya* rulers *par excellence*<sup>18</sup> and the *Ādityas* are also members of the ruling class<sup>19</sup>. Indra is the great warrior as Agni is the great priest. The *R̥bhuv* constitute the artisan class.<sup>20</sup> As Muir points out<sup>21</sup> "Tvaṣṭṛ is the Hephaistos or Vulcan, of the Indian pantheon, the ideal artist, the divine artisan, the most skilful of workmen, who is versed in all wonderful and admirable contrivances"<sup>22</sup>. Finally the hymn IV. 57 is addressed to *Kṣetrasya pati* or *Kṣetrapati*, the master of the field. Various other agricultural personifications such as *Sītā* are also addressed in the hymn. *Sītā* is the Furrow or Husbandry personified. These deities represent in the Vedic pantheon, the third class *Viśaḥ* consisting of agriculturists and cowherds.

Before I proceed to substantiate my proposition that the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* phase of the four-fold social division existed even in the early R̥gVedic period in substance, if not in its nomenclature, by quoting various texts from the R̥gVeda, I may state here some general considerations that predisposed me to such a view.

It is now generally admitted that the R̥gVeda Aryans before their advent into India had had a long past history. A careful study of the R̥gVeda reveals that the Vedic R̥ṣis themselves were conscious of the fact that the subject-matter of the hymns sung by them was ancient, though the expressions were new<sup>23</sup>. The science of linguistics has definitely established that the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian languages form the Eastern branch of the great Indo-European family of languages, to which most of the European languages belong. This epoch-making discovery of the affinity of languages, for which the study of Vedic literature and especially of the *R̥gVeda* itself is responsible, throws astonishing new light on the prehistoric relations between the peoples.

<sup>17</sup> I. 1. 2 ; IV. 9. 3, 4 etc.

<sup>18</sup> VIII. 25. 8.

<sup>19</sup> VIII. 67. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. IV. 35. 3<sup>d</sup> : *R̥bhavaḥ suhastāḥ*.

<sup>21</sup> *Original Sanskrit Texts* (3rd ed.), Vol. V, p. 224.

<sup>22</sup> Compare also I 32. 2 : *Tvaṣṭā 'smai vajraṁ suaryam tatakṣa*.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., X. 72. 1-2.

From affinity to unity of languages was the next step. This presupposed a still closer relationship. One may not go to the length of saying that there was an Indo-European race, but a relationship of mind and culture cannot be denied. Vedic literature thus turns out to be the oldest literature of the "Indo-European"<sup>24</sup> people and the *R̥gVeda* is a valuable literary document for the study of "Indo-European" culture.

In view of this, would it be a wise procedure to try to trace the origin and evolution of caste—which is necessarily a feature of a highly developed social organization—among the Aryans *after* their advent into India? No language, no religion, no culture that has lived long and changed much can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it was before and what it became afterwards. Would it not be more logical to take into account the general parallelism that may be traced between the social organization of the Indo-Aryans and that of the Greeks and Romans in the earlier stages of their national development? One may not agree fully with M. SENART's theory of the origin of caste<sup>25</sup> that it is the normal development of ancient Aryan institutions, which assumed this form in the struggle of the Aryans to adapt themselves to the conditions with which they came into contact in India, but there is a valuable lesson for us when he seeks to show from the records of classical antiquity that the leading principles which underline the caste system form part of a stock of usage and tradition common to all branches of the Aryan people. "He points out the close correspondence that exists between the three series of groups—*gens*, *curia*, tribe at Rome; family, *phratría*, *phulê* in Greece; and family, *gotra*, caste in India. . . . In the department of marriage, for example, the Athenian *génos* and the Roman *gens* present striking resemblances to the Indian *gotra*. We learn from Plutarch that the Romans never married a woman of their own kin, and among the matrons who figure in classical literature none bears the same gentile name as her husband. Nor was endogamy unknown. At Athens in the time of Demosthenes, membership of a *phratría* was confined to the offspring of the families belonging to the group. In Rome, the long struggle of the plebeians to obtain the *jus connubii* with patrician women belongs to the same class of facts; and the patricians according to M. SENART, were guarding the endogamous rights of their order—or should we not rather say the hypergamous rights, for in Rome, as in Athens, the primary duty of marrying a woman of equal rank did not exclude the possibility of union with women of humbler origin, foreigners or liberated slaves. Their children, like those of a *Śūdra* in the Indian system, were condemned to a lower status by reason of the gulf that separated their parents. . . . As with marriage so with food."<sup>26</sup>

Similarly a study of the condition of Aryan civilization as embodied in the literary monuments of the ancient Irano-Aryans should be a *sine qua*

<sup>24</sup> The term "Indo-European" here has no ethnographic signification.

<sup>25</sup> *Les Castes dans l'Inde*.

<sup>26</sup> Risley, *The People of India* 1915, pp. 267-68.

*non* for an understanding of caste-origins in the *R̥gVeda*. If the Veda and Avesta are admitted as having been derived from a common tradition and culture, can we ignore the evidence of Avestan literature with regard to a custom which might be as old as the Aryan community before its break-up into Indo-Aryans and Irano-Aryans? "In Avestan literature we find actual mention of the caste-system and of four castes which must have been originally three in number, the fourth caste of artisans being subsequently added. In Yasna XIX. 17, we find the mention of the four castes as follows : " (Question made by *Zarathustra* to *Ahura-Mazda*). With what classes of men? (Answer) The Priest (*Āθravan*), the Charioteer (*Rathaēstar*) as the chief of warriors, the systematic tiller of the ground (*Vāstrya*), and the Artisan (*Huitay*)."<sup>27</sup> Only the first three castes are called twice-born and undergo the *navajot* ceremony corresponding to the *upanayana* ceremony of the Hindus. "Darmesteter says in his introduction to the translation of the *Vendidad* (Intro., III. 15, p. xlvii) that 'that the priesthood was hereditary, we see from the statement in the *Bundahiś*, that all *Mubads* are descendants of King Minochihr and even nowadays the priesthood cannot extend beyond the priestly families; the son of a Dastur is not obliged to be a Dastur, but none that is not the son of a Dastur can become one.'"<sup>28</sup> If then a mighty current of civilization diverges into two streams, one flowing into Ancient Iran and another into Ancient India and if both these streams have an identical caste-system in common, is it not a fair inference that the institution of caste comes directly from the original tradition of the Aryan people prior to their separation into the two branches of the Indo-Aryans and Irano-Aryans? Again one may not agree with the extreme views of Dr. WADDELL, as expressed in his book : *The Makers of Civilization in Race and History*, but his main proposition is sufficiently thought-provoking from our *limited point of view* to be quoted here. "In the new and truer historical and traditional perspective now opened up for us, the various ancient civilizations, hitherto generally believed to have been separately invented or created *ab origine* by different races as independent species each within its own narrow water-tight geographical compartment in Mesopotamia or Babylonia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, Crete, Greece, Persia and India (and China?) are now seen to be one and the same species evolved and established by one highly specialized Aryan Race at a now relatively fixed and dated epoch, and diffused from one common centre into all those ancient centres of civilization by that race as the ruling imperial caste of the Ancient world who formed a military aristocracy."<sup>29</sup>

#### THE SOURCE-TEXTS FROM THE R̥GVEDA.

I (a) How well-organised and well-consolidated the priesthood was and how very specialized the various branches of the priestly profession had

<sup>27</sup> B. K. CHATTERJEE, "Caste system in the Avesta," in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 494-95.

become in the days of the *RgVeda* can be seen from the quite formidable array of the names of various types, orders, divisions and subdivisions of the priestly class mentioned in the *RgVeda*. I give only some of them below :—

अमित्र, अमिध, अमिमिध, आवयाज्, अयस्, कण्वहोत्, कुरु, ग्रावग्राभ, जूणि, देवधु, धारवाक, नेतृ, पुरएत्, पुरोग, पुरोहित, भारत, यतस्तुन्, वाघत्, वृक्तबर्हिष; व्रत्य, शंस्तु, सबाध सभृति, सामग, सुतेकर, सुहोत् and हव्यदाति.

All these are terms having the general sense of a *rtvij*. The interpretation<sup>80</sup> of some of them is doubtful but that does not affect the main point sought to be illustrated. The names :

अच्वर्यु, आमीध्र, उद्गात्, पोत्, प्रशास्तृ, ब्रह्मन्, ब्रह्मपुत्र and होत्

are names of special types of *rtvij*. The number of principal *rtvij* in the *RgVeda* was probably seven as enumerated in RV. II. 1. 2 (= X. 91. 10). Hymns I. 162, 163, where a horse-sacrifice is described, also mention a large number of priests. Other terms associated with *sacrifice* in general and with the function of a *rtvij* in particular are :—

अध्वरि, अध्वरेस्थ, उक्थभृत्, उक्थशंसिन्, ऋक्न्, गाथिन्, दक्षिणावत्, धृतदक्ष, नित्यहोत्, पुरोहित, यजमान, यज्वन्, यज्यु, यज्ञधीर, यज्ञनी, यज्ञवत्, यज्ञवाहस्, यूपव्रस्क, रास्पिन, वक्मराजसत्य वषट्कृत, विशस्तृ, व्रतचारिन्, सामभृत्, सूरि, स्तुभ, होत्र, होत्रविद् and होत्रिय.

II. The more common name in the *RgVeda* for a member of the priestly class is not the later well-known *Brāhmaṇa*, which occurs in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* and in about fifteen other places, but *Brahmán*. A few of the more important passages may be cited here :—

I. 108. 7<sup>ab</sup> :

यदिद्वाग्नी मदेयुः स्वे दुरोणे यद्ब्रह्मणि राजनि वा यजत्रा ।

‘When, O worshipful Indra and Agni, ye are cheered up in your own abode or with a *Brahmán* or a *Rājan*.’

VII. 42. 1 :

प्र ब्रह्माणो अंगिरसो नक्षन्तु

‘The *Brahmans*, the *Angirasas* have arrived.’

VIII. 7. 20 :

के नूनं सुदानवो मदथा वृक्तबर्हिषः ।

ब्रह्मा को वः सपर्यति ॥

‘Where now, O Bounteous Ones for whom the holy grass is trimmed, are ye exhilarated? What *Brahmán* is serving you?’<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> I am writing a monograph on ‘Caste in the *RgVeda*’ in which the interpretation of every such term and the passage in which it occurs is discussed.

<sup>81</sup> Similar is VIII. 53. 7.

VIII. 31. 1 :

यो यजति यजात इत्सुनवच्च पचाति च ।  
ब्रह्मेदिदस्य चाकनत् ॥

‘He who worships, sacrifices, presses (the juice) and cooks (the offerings)—that *Brahmán* is well-beloved of Indra.

VIII. 32. 16 :

न नूनं ब्रह्मणा मृणं प्रोशूनामस्ति सुन्वतां ।  
न सोमो अप्रता पये ॥

‘No debt is due now by the *Brahmán*s, the zealous pressers (of Soma-juice). Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent.

VIII. 92. 30 :

मो षु ब्रह्मेवं तद्र्युर्धुवो वाजानां पते ।  
मत्स्वो सुतस्य गोमतः ॥

“Be not slothful like a *Brahmán*, O lord of riches.  
Rejoice in the pressed soma mixed with milk.”

This reproach to *Brahmán*s as a class shows that the priesthood formed a profession.

IX. 112. 1 :

नानानं वा उ नो धियो वि ब्रूतानि जनानां ।  
तक्षा रिष्टं कृतं भिषग्ब्रह्मा सुन्वंतमिच्छति ॥

“Different are the thoughts and activities of us different people. The carpenter seeks something cracked, the doctor a patient, the *Brahmán* some one offering libations”.

This verse also proves that the priesthood formed a profession.

The passage II. 43. 2 :

उद्गातेव शकुने सामं गायसि ब्रह्मपुत्र ईव  
सर्वनेषु शंससि ।

(“Like an Udgātṛ a *sāma* verse, dost thou sing, O bird ; like the son of a *Brahmán* at the libations, dost thou sing praises”), has an important bearing on the question whether the priesthood was hereditary.

Muir, in a section on the signification of the words *Brahmán*, *Brāhmaṇa* etc. in the *R̥gVeda*, admits<sup>32</sup> that “*Brāhmaṇa* appears to be equivalent to *brahma-putra* : the son of a *brahmán* (which, as we have seen, occurs in II. 43. 2), and the employment of such a term seems necessarily to presuppose

<sup>32</sup> *Original Sanskrit Texts* (1890), Vol. I, p. 259.

that at the time when it began to become current, the function of a *brahmán*, the priesthood, had already become a profession." And later he says :<sup>33</sup> "The texts which have been quoted, with the exception of the verse in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste or at least, a caste separated from all others by insurmountable barriers, as in later times. There is a wide difference between a *profession or even a hereditary order* and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense." This is a typical example of the confusion that attends a discussion of this question, caused by *the special treatment generally reserved for the Puruṣa-Sūkta verse* ! Why that verse should be taken as implying that the priests formed an exclusive caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense passes comprehension ! My contention is that the use of the word *Brāhmaṇa* in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* verse *as much as in the eight or nine hymns besides the Puruṣa-Sūkta in the earlier as well as later portions of the RgVeda*,<sup>34</sup> shows that the priesthood was all along a profession and a hereditary order as is borne out by the use of the word *brahmaṇputra* in II. 43.2.

III. A very important passage is VIII 35.16-18 because it shows the distinctive class-names of the three higher orders and their characteristic functions and traits :—

ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं धियो' हतं रक्षांसि सेधतममीवाः ।

सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण च सोमं सुन्वतो अश्विना ॥ १६ ॥

क्षत्रं जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं नृन् हतं .... (etc. as above) ॥ १७ ॥

धेनूर्जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं विशो' हतं .... (etc. as above) ॥ १८ ॥

(16) "Stimulate *Brahman* (the priestly class) and stimulate *prayers*, kill the *Rakṣas*, and keep off disease ; of one accord with *Uṣas* and *Sūrya* [come to (or) drink], O *Aśvins*, the *Soma* of the presser."

(17) "Stimulate *Kṣatra* (the military order) and stimulate the *men* ; of one accord etc. (as above)."

(18) "Stimulate the *cows* and stimulate the *Viśaḥ* ; of one accord etc."

*The significance of this passage cannot be over-estimated.* The parallelism of the first pādas of the three verses makes it certain that if *Brāhmaṇa* in the first verse means the priestly order, then *Kṣatra* and *Viśaḥ* in the next two verses must denote the next two classes of the Vedic polity or conversely if *Viśaḥ* in verse 18, associated as it is with *dhenūḥ*, refers to the third social order, then *brahman* (v. 16) and *kṣatram* (v. 17) denote the first two orders. In support of this, may be urged the characteristic features associated with each one of them. *Prayers* and holy thoughts are the peculiar preoccupation of the *priestly class* ; *men*, or man-power, constitute the chief strength of the

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263. The italics in the quotations are mine.

<sup>34</sup> I.15.5 ; 164.45 ; II, 36.5 ; VI. 75.10 : VII. 103, 78 ; X. 66.6 ; 71.8.9 ; 88.19 ; 97, 22.

ruling class and cows form the wealth of the third class devoted to agriculture and the tending of cows. The significance of this passage has been altogether missed by the authors of the Vedic Index of names and subjects in their note<sup>35</sup> on the word *Viś* when they say<sup>36</sup> : " in the later period<sup>37</sup> the sense of *Viś* is definitely restricted in some cases to denote the third of the classes of the Vedic polity, the people or clansmen as opposed to the nobles (*Kṣātra*, *Kṣatriya*) and the priests (*Brāhmaṇa*, *Brāhmaṇa*). " But the learned authors have not pointed out this sense of the word *Viś*, employed as it is in the *Ṛg-Veda*, in the passage quoted above. In my opinion, this passage mentions the first three classes with the same differentiation of privileges and duties that is implied in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* passage which mentions all the four classes. That the names are different has no special significance because they vary not only in the *Ṛg-Veda*, but also in the later Vedic texts which are admitted by all as recognising the well-established four-fold division of society. For example, the names *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra* (the names used in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*) are also found in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (vii. I. I. 4.5) and in the *Aitareya*, *Śatapatha* and *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇas*. *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra* are met with, in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* ; *Brahmán*, *Kṣātra*, *Sūdrāryu*, in the *Taittirīya*, *Kāthaka* and *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitās* ; *Brahmán*, *Rājanya*, *Ārya*, *Sūdra*, in the *Atharva-Veda*, *Brahmán*, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya*, *Sūdra*, in the *Kāthaka Saṁhitā* ; *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājan*, *Vaiśya*, *Sūdra* in the *Taittirīya*, *Kāthaka*, *Maitrāyaṇī* and *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitās* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* ; *Deva*, *Rājan*, *Ārya*, *Sūdra*, in the *Atharva-Veda* (XIX. 62. 1) and the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* ; *Brahmán*, *Kṣātra* *Viś*, *Sūdra*, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Thus the variants for the *Brāhmaṇa* class are *Deva*, *Brahmán*, *Brāhmaṇa* ; for the warrior class, *Kṣātra*, *Rājanya*, *Kṣatriya* and *Rājan* ; for the third class, *Viś*, *Vaiśya*, *Ārya* and *Viśya* ; and for the fourth class the only variant is *Cāṇḍāla* in the *Chāndogya*, *Upaniṣad* (V. 10. 7). So we find in the *Śruti* literature all possible permutations and combinations of these variants. That only three classes are mentioned in VIII. 35.16-18 and elsewhere in the *ṚgVeda* is also nothing to wonder at, since the same tendency is noticed in the other *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, where also the fourth class is but rarely mentioned.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Vol. II, pp. 305-7.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p. 307.

<sup>37</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>38</sup> I have a theory for this neglect. I mention it only as a theory and not as an argument in support of my main proposition. In my opinion, the fourth class in *ṚgVedic* society, corresponding to the *huitay* of the Avestan literature, was not required to observe the *vratas*, which the three upper classes were required to observe. The reference to the three *vratas* in II. 27. 8, or to *vidathāni* in VI. 51. 2 may suggest the three higher classes as Ludwig thinks. The reference to the *Brāhmaṇas* observing the *vratas* in VII. 103.1 shows the same thing. In fact, I have a suspicion that the old name for the specific set of observances incumbent on each of the three higher classes could neither have been *jati* (-*dharma*) nor *varṇa* (-*dharma*), but *varta*. I put forth the suggestion for whatever it is worth, for a consideration of this point will have an important bearing on the significance of the term *vrātya* occurring in post *ṚgVedic* literature.



## IV. The mutual relation of the three upper classes :—

The relevant passages are :

## IV. 50.7-9 :—

स इद्वाजा प्रतिजन्यानि विश्वा शुष्मेण तस्यावभि वीर्येण ।  
बृहस्पतिं यः सुभृतं बिभर्ति बल्यूयति वंदते पूर्वभाजं ॥ ७ ॥

स इक्ष्तेति सुधित ओकसि स्वे तस्मा इळा पिन्वते विश्वदानी ।  
तस्मै विशः स्वयमेवानमते यस्मिन्ब्रह्मा राजनि पूर्व एति ॥ ८ ॥

अप्रतीतो जयति सं धनानि प्रतिजन्यान्युत या सजन्या ।

अवस्यवे यो वरिवः कृणोति ब्रह्मणे राजा तमवति देवाः ॥ ९ ॥

“That King, indeed, overpowers all opposing forces with his valour and might, who maintains Brhaspati well-tended and praises and worships (him) as (a deity) deserving the first share. (8) He verily abides, well-established in his own home ; to him, does holy food flow for ever ; to him the *Viśaḥ* bow down of their own accord—the king with whom the *Brahmán* takes precedence. (9) Irresistible, he wins the riches of his enemies and his kinsmen ; the king who affords protection to the *Brahmán* desiring help—him the gods help.” *I do not think there is any material difference between the power of the Brahmán (Brhaspati) over the king as described in this passage and the power of the Purohita over a king which is associated in our minds with the later stages of the fully developed caste-system.* The expressions *pūrvabhājam*, *pūrvah*, etc. almost suggest the term *purohita*. The *Viśaḥ*, the third class, it appears, formed the bulk of the subjects—the masses. It is clear from this as well as other passages that the fourth class was almost negligible, if not in numbers, at least in importance and that may have been one reason why it is not mentioned more than once in the *RgVeda*.

Particularly interesting in this connection is the hymn X. 173 and especially its first verse. According to the *Anukramanī*, Sāyaṇa and the *Bṛhaddevatā* (VIII. 73) “praise of the anointed king” is the deity or subject of the hymn. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* employs the first verse (the whole hymn according to the commentator Nārāyaṇa) in a battle-context. The Purohita accompanies the king to the battle-field and addresses him seated on the war-chariot : “Here have I brought thee, remain inside ; stand thou firm, unshakeable, let all the *Viśaḥ* want thee : may not thy kingdom slip away from thee.” Whatever context we take for the hymn *which is without doubt addressed to a king by his Purohita*, there is denying that the verse, nay the whole hymn, illustrates the hold of the Purohita and his ritual over the king. Of special significance is the last verse (especially its last two *pādas*) : अथो त इन्द्रः केवलीविंशो बलिहृतेस्करत् । “And then may Indra make the *Viśaḥ* bring tribute unto thee alone.” This shows that the priests were probably exempt from the payment of tributes etc. The hymn X. 109 is very obscure. A *Brahma-jāyā*, the wife of a *Brahmán*, seems to have been abducted and then restored. A *Brahmakilbiṣa* has been perpetrated and then

atoned for. Sāyaṇa quotes a legend according to which *Juhū* or *Vāk*, the wife of *Br̥haspati* (*Brahmán*) had been deserted by her husband. The gods held a conference to find out how to expiate the sin and then brought about a reunion of husband and wife. However obscure the hymn and whatever the element of allegory in it, the very atmosphere of the hymn suggests that an offence against a *Brahmán* was a *Brahmakilbiṣa*—an offence as heinous as the *Brahma-hatyā* of later times which became so sinister a crime in view of the exalted position of the *Brāhmaṇa*. The power of the priest is hinted at, again, in passages like I. 129.4 ; 152.7 ; 157.2 ; III. 53.12, 13 ; VII. 83. 4 ; X. 38. 103 etc.

V. As regards the fourth, the *Śūdra* class, we find no explicit reference to it in the *RgVeda* except in X. 90.12 and that has, in my opinion, led to much confusion of thought. There is, however, a veiled reference to the different functions of the four classes in one other passage, viz., I. 113. 6 :—

क्षत्राय त्वं श्रवसे त्वं महीया इष्टये<sup>1</sup> त्वमर्थं सिव त्वमित्यै ।

विसदृशा जीविताभिप्रचक्ष उषा अजीगर्भुर्वनानि विश्वा ॥

“(Awakening) one to (seek) royal power, another to (go after) fame, another for great endeavour, another to pursue as it were his (particular) object—*Uṣas* awakes creatures to look after their different modes of life.” The four<sup>39</sup> different modes of life referred to here, are evidently those of the *Rājanya*, the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Vaiśya* and the *Śūdra* respectively. Again *Vṛṣala* can only mean a *Śūdra* in my opinion in X. 34.11<sup>cd</sup> — “Since, in the morning he (the Gambler) yokes the brown horses (dice), he falls down (in the evening) near the fire (*agner ante*), a (veritable) *vṛṣala*.” It cannot denote an outcaste (*Vedic Index*, II. 323) as *agner ante* shows. “Yoking the brown horses in the morning” is a striking parallelism to I. 113.6<sup>b</sup> — “another to pursue as it were his (particular) object.”

Even if one does not accept the theory of the evolution of caste on Indian soil in the age of the *RgVeda*, it seems a very tempting hypothesis to put forth, that since there is only one explicit reference to the fourth division in a late hymn (X. 90) and a veiled reference only, in I. 113. 6—a verse which also along with verses 4 and 5 is suspected to be a late addition to the hymn I. 113,<sup>40</sup> the fourth class at least may be said to have originated in India.

<sup>39</sup> The phrase *pañca-janāḥ* in the *RV.* (III. 37. 9, etc.) is very important in this connection. Other variants of it in the *RV.* are *pañca-kṛṣṭayaḥ* (II. 2. 10, etc.) ; *pañca-carṣanyāḥ* (V. 86. 2, etc.) ; *pañca-kṣitayaḥ* in (I. 7. 9, etc.) ; *pañca-mānuṣāḥ* (VIII. 9. 2). Who the *five* are, is explained variously by Roth, Geldner, Zimmer and Hopkins as well as by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Yāska*. The most natural explanation, in my opinion, is that the number five refers to the four classes or castes which the *RgVedic* Aryans had recognised before they entered India and the inhabitants of India with whom they came into contact after their entry—these latter constituting the fifth *jana*. Sāyaṇa and Aupamanyava (*Nirukta* iii, 8) explain it in the same manner.

<sup>40</sup> Verses 4, 5 and 6 seem to be separated by their refrain from the rest of the hymn.

But in my opinion, as I have already pointed out, the ṚgVedic Aryans entered India with the four-fold division of society—a heritage from Indo-Iranian if not from Indo-European times. The theory that caste originated and evolved in the ṚgVedic age because of the clash of colours; *Ārya-varṇa* (III. 34.9) versus *Dāsa-varṇa* (II. 12. 4), as a consequence of the Aryan advance into India is more plausible than sound. Many of the *Dāsas*, it is true, differed in the colour of their skin from the Aryans but it was *more the difference of culture than the difference of colour* that was responsible for the ranging of the *Ārya-varṇa* against the *Dāsa-varṇa*. The connotation of the word *varṇa* in the *Ṛg-Veda* covers the conception of *cult* as well as of *colour*. In the Avesta, Dr. KETKAR<sup>41</sup> points out, one of the senses of the word *varṇa* corresponding to the Vedic *varṇa* is “a religious cult.” He maintains that the conception that the *Dāsas* were the enemies of the Aryans is found in the Avestan literature<sup>42</sup> also and that there is no positive evidence to prove that the opponents of *Sudās* and *Divodāsa* belonged to a different race or religious cult,<sup>43</sup> as the ṚgVedic Aryans when they entered India came into conflict not only with non-Aryan inhabitants but also sometimes with Aryan settlers who had preceded them into India and established colonies there. It is not necessary to agree with all the conclusions of Dr. KETKAR, they, at any rate, weaken the force of the theory that caste originated and evolved in the Ṛg-Vedic age because the Aryans differed in the colour of their skin from the inhabitants of India with whom they came into conflict.

VI. As we have already seen, the warrior class is referred to in the *ṚgVeda*, as *Kṣatram*. The view expressed by the authors of the *Vedic Index* in their note<sup>44</sup> on the word *Kṣatra*, that “in no case does it in the *ṚgVeda* certainly mean what it regularly denotes in the later Samhitās, the ruling class as opposed to the priests (*Brahman*), the subject people (*Viś*, *Vaiśya*) and the servile class (*Sūdra*)”, will have to be revised in the light of the passage (VIII. 35. 16-18) discussed above. The term *Rājanya* is used but once (X. 90. 12) to denote a member of the warrior class. The view<sup>45</sup> that *Rājanya* is an earlier variant to *Kṣatriya* is, in my opinion, wrong. The several uses of the word *Kṣatriya* in the sense of ‘a ruler or a member or chief of the warrior class’ in the *ṚgVeda* are as follows:—

IV. 42.1<sup>a</sup> :

मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य

“Of me the *Kṣatriya* (warrior-chief), is the kingdom verily.”

<sup>41</sup> *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa*, Part III, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54. He shows that *dah* in Avesta corresponding to *das* (the root in *dāsa*) means ‘to bite,’ ‘to destroy’; that *Dahāka* is ‘the serpent who bites’ and then mentions the legend of *Aži-dahāka* who usurped the throne of Jamshīd and who is described in the *Shāhanāmā*.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>44</sup> Vol. I, p. 202.

<sup>45</sup> *Vedic Index*, Vol. I p. 203.

VII. 64.2<sup>ab</sup> :

आ राजाना मह ऋतस्य गोपा सिंधुपती क्षत्रिया यातमूर्वाक् ।

“Come hither, O Kings, guardians of the great *ṛta*, Lords of Rivers, *Kṣatriyas*” (addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa).

VIII. 25.8 :

ऋतावाना नि षेदतुः साम्राज्याय सुकृत् ।

धृतव्रता क्षत्रियो क्षत्रमोशतुः ॥

“True to *Ṛta*, have the Two seated themselves, for sovereignty, the very powerful ones. Keepers of the *vrata* (*ordinances*), the two *Kṣatriyas* have attained to military might.”

X. 109.3<sup>d</sup> :

तथा राष्ट्रं गुपितं क्षत्रियस्य ॥

“Thus is the kingdom of a *Kṣatriya* guarded.”

VIII. 67.1<sup>ab</sup> :

त्यान्तु क्षत्रियाँ अव आदित्यान्याचिषामहे ।

“Those *Kṣatriyas*, the *Ādityas*, we beg for help.”

The association of the word *Kṣatriya* in these passages with words like *rāṣṭra*, *sāmrājya*, *Rājānā* etc. makes the meaning ‘a member (may be, the highest member) of the warrior class’ almost certain.

The word *Rājan* is also a variant for *Rājanya* in the *Ṛg-Veda* :—

I. 40.8 :

उप क्षत्रं पृथीत हन्ति राजभिः ।

“He (Brahmaṇaspati) amplifies his military might and kills with (the aid of) *Rājans* (i.e. members of the royal order).”

V. 54. 7<sup>cd</sup> :

नास्य राय उप दस्यति नोतय ऋषिं वा यं राजानं वा सुषूदथ ॥

“Neither do his riches decline nor his supports—(the man) whether a *Ṛṣi* (i.e., *Brāhmaṇa*) or *Rājan*, whom Ye (O Maruts) support.”

Muir admits that “a distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognised”<sup>46</sup>. So *Rājan* is as much a designation of a member of the military order as *Rājanya* or *Kṣatriya*.

X. 42.10<sup>ed</sup> :

वयं राजभिः प्रथमा धनान्यस्माकने वृजनेना जयेम ॥

“May we as first (in rank), (allied) with *Rājans*, win riches by our own effort.” Compare also X 97.6 where *Rājānaḥ* are described as congregating in a *samiti*.

<sup>46</sup> O. S. T., Vol. I, p. 247.

VII. The third class collectively designated as the *Viśaḥ* formed the bulk of the population. A member of this order was the *Vaiśya* of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*. In the passages quoted in a previous section, as also in I.172.3 ; VII. 33.6, where the word stands in relation to a king, the term means 'subjects.' Again in expressions like *Viśaḥ dāsiḥ* (IV. 28. 4 ; VI. 25. 2), *Viśaḥ adeviḥ* (VIII. 96. 15 etc.), it has the general sense of 'people.' In the passages, VIII. 35. 16-18, quoted already, it definitely means the third class of society devoted to the tending of cattle and the tilling of the soil. An important passage is X. 91. 2 where the variant *Viśyaḥ* (found also later in the *Taittiriya*, *Kāṭhaka*, *Maitrāyaṇī* and *Vājasaneyi Samhitās*) occurs :—

स दर्शतु श्रीरतिथिर्गृहे गृहे वने वने शिष्रिये तक्ववीरिव ।

जनं जनं जन्त्यो नाति मन्यते विश्वा क्वेति विश्वो विश्विशं ॥

"He, of eminent glory, is a guest in every home ; like a swift-winged bird he stops in every wood ; sociable, he despises no living man ; friendly to the *Viśaḥ* (the agriculturists) he occupies the (farm-)houses, one by one."<sup>47</sup> In my opinion, the verse describes the four divisions of a country : (1) the home in a village or town where Agni may be received as an *atithi* by the priests ; (2) the wood where the warrior may go hunting<sup>48</sup> ; (3) the cultivated land where the *Viśaḥ* labour and (4) the uncultivated open country where probably the majority of the fourth class, the *Sūdra* lived.

The special relation in which the *Viśaḥ* stood to the king is seen in the following passages :—

VI. 8.4<sup>b</sup> :

विश्वो राजानमुप तस्युर्गृमिष ।

"The *Viśaḥ* waited on the king deserving of praise.

X. 124. 8<sup>c</sup> :

ता ई विश्वो न राजानं वृणानाः ।

"And they, like *Viśaḥ*, who elect their king etc."<sup>49</sup>

It is clear from these and similar passages that the *Viśaḥ* held an important position in the Aryan state. They were the subjects of the king *par excellence*. They brought him taxes and tributes and had a voice in choosing a king. This, in my opinion, was due to the fact that they were, from an economic point of view, the *most important productive class*, the priests making very little or no contribution to the state revenue. From passages like I. 69.3 ; 126. 5, it seems the *Viśaḥ* fought alongside of the *Kṣatriyas* ; we may also compare the passage :

<sup>47</sup> The translation of the last two pādas is to be particularly noted.

<sup>48</sup> Ludwig actually translates *takvaviḥ* as 'hunter'.

<sup>49</sup> See also X. 173. 6<sup>od</sup> which has been already quoted and translated.

IV. 24.4<sup>ab</sup> :

सं वद्विशोऽववृत्रं युध्मा आदिनेम इन्द्रयंते अभीके' ॥

"When bellicose *Viśaḥ* join the fight, some of them acquit themselves (as well) as Indra in battle."

Similar also is the passage VI. 26. 1.

VIII. About the *Sūdra* class, I have already mentioned my view that the class existed even in the early ṚgVedic period though it is not mentioned more than once (or twice, if the word *Vṛśala* in X. 34. 11<sup>a</sup> mean a *Sūdra*, as it does in my opinion, in the *ṚgVeda*). It consisted chiefly of artisans, mechanics and servants. In Indo-Iranian times, as the evidence of the Avestan literature shows, there was the practice of taking the defeated enemies as slaves.<sup>50</sup> It is noteworthy that the Ṛg-Vedic Aryans absorbed the vanquished foes and subjugated slaves from among the *Dāsas* and the *Dasyus* into the fourth class which must have degenerated, owing to this absorption of people of *different colour and culture*. But one good effect of this absorption seems to have been the disappearance of slavery as an institution. This view of mine that the fourth or the *Sūdra* class suffered a degradation in the course of the ṚgVedic age, satisfactorily explains the seemingly anomalous position of the *Rathakāra* in post-ṚgVedic literature. The *Rathakāra* must have belonged to the fourth class in the early ṚgVedic and pre-ṚgVedic periods and there was no stigma attaching to his caste or profession *then*. Later, however, when owing to the absorption of foreign elements, the fourth class fell from its old position, there was hesitation in assigning the *Rathakāra* to the *Sūdra* class. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 1. 4. 8) places him in a special class alongside the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Rājanyas* and *Vaiśyas* but the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ranks him as a *Sūdra*.

To sum up then, *caste*, in my opinion, was not formulated in the *ṚgVedic age*. The ṚgVedic Aryans came with the four-fold division into India. What happened in the long interval known as the ṚgVedic age was that the Aryans absorbed into their fold large numbers of people (at various stages of culture) with whom they clashed or came into contact. Their fourth class (and to some extent even the third) absorbed the largest proportion of these new accretions and in the process became degraded. The danger of this degradation spreading higher up led gradually to a *hardening of caste distinctions which, in my opinion, was really all that happened between the early and the late (i.e. Puruṣa-Sūkta) periods of the ṚgVeda*.

<sup>50</sup> V. M. APTE, *Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya-Sūtras*, p. 327.

# STUDIES IN NAGARJUNAKONDA SCULPTURES\*

By

A. V. NAIK

So much has been written on the art of Ancient India, that we may not be far from right in presuming sufficient knowledge, now, on the part of general reader to appreciate its implications. Art, as correctly supposed, is the faithful expression of society since it reveals the tastes, ideas and character of it. It has preserved for us innumerable and undeniable witnesses of the spirit and manners of the people, who created its works. The true history of a country concerns itself not only with the chronological narration and simple nomenclatures, but it also must deal with its physiognomy, the inmost character of its past generations. The contemporary mind is no longer content with mere narration of political events of the past, but is eager to know its forefathers from all points of view. Consequently, a historian is required to answer various questions relating to them, such as "How did they live?"—"What were their institutions, their pastimes, public and private occupations?"—"How did they dress themselves?"—in fact questions regarding all aspects which composed their life. The aim of this article, therefore, is to make an effort, though in the limited field indicated by the title of this paper, towards the elucidation of the life that was lived in the period under review on the basis of the plastic representations recovered at Nāgārjunakondā. A synthesis of such studies of all regions and periods in India, will, no doubt, make a most comprehensive history of what is truly "Indian Culture."

The following study is based on the assumption that the sculptors of the Nāgārjunakondā bas-reliefs, in illustrating the stories of the *Jātakas*, depicted their contemporaries—persons and things around them—in order to supply the personnel and back-ground of the texts. They were creating a lithic version of the *Jātakas* and not translating their own imagination. Naturally, they had to work within bounds, showing for the most part only what was required by the stories. In doing this they may have taken liberties with what did not come in conflict with the general trend of the text. It is just possible that they substituted nearly exact parallels to those occurring in the *Jātakas* from amongst their own society and environment. Thus many of the things found in these sculptures may have been indigenous to the country of which Nāgārjunakondā and its surrounding region formed a part. But obviously we cannot

\* I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to Dr. H. D. SANKALIA who gave me this theme for investigation and guided me throughout. In this article only the costume and personal ornaments are discussed. Tools and weapons, toys, furniture and architecture will be dealt with in a subsequent article.

get the whole picture of the contemporary society, as many more things did not find their place in these sculptures which were unnecessary for the purpose of text-illustration. Also some of the things may have found their way into these sculptures from abroad due to contact of this region with countries in and outside India, the parallels of which they could not find around them. So to this much extent, our study cannot be a complete and faithful reconstruction of the life in the Kṛṣṇā Valley.

South India had remained politically almost a *terra incognita* till the overthrow of the Kāṇvas in the North and the subsequent accession of the Āndhras. But the religious activities of North India crossed the Vindhya at an earlier date and penetrated far South, even as far as Tāmraparṇi or Ceylon. To Aśoka is due the introduction of Buddhism in South India. His conquest of Kālīṅga was an event of paramount importance not only in his life but in the whole history of Buddhism. The pathetic sight of misery and blood-shed in that war having awakened feelings of remorse in his heart, the great Maurya monarch embraced Buddhism and put on the garb of a missionary. Of the thousands of missionaries which he sent out to spread the renown of *dharma*, some reached the Tamil Kingdoms of the Colas and Pāṇḍyas. His younger brother Mahendra carried the banner to Ceylon, the ancient Tāmraparṇi.

Beyond Kālīṅga, which formed a part of Aśoka's empire towards the close of his career as a conqueror, lay Telugu speaking peoples who occupied the deltas of the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇā. This region had become the kingdom of the Āndhras even before the death of Aśoka, perhaps in the age of Candragupta, the Maurya, as would appear from the statements recorded by PLINY.<sup>1</sup> Aśoka mentions them in his catalogues of the foreign countries which, according to him, had espoused his doctrine.

After the death of Aśoka, the Maurya Empire rapidly decayed giving chance to the neighbouring rulers to assert their ambitions and expand their boundaries. It was at this time that Simuka established the powerful Sāta-vāhana dynasty which ruled the Telugu country for nearly five centuries. Under the early Sātavāhana Kings the boundaries of the Āndhra dominions developed gradually, expanding westwards so as to occupy all the Deccan from sea to sea. After the overthrow of the Kāṇvas we find them extending their power northwards and probably even occupying Magadha.

The earliest capital of these Āndhra kings was Śrīkākulam (identified with Sreewācolum on the Kṛṣṇā, some nineteen miles west from Masulipatam). Somewhat later we find it substituted by Dhyānakataka (Dharanikota or Amaravati on the Kṛṣṇā in the Guntur district) and about the first century A.D. they had the centre of their western provinces at Pratiṣṭhāṇa (Paithan on the Godāvari).

The inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the Āndhra kings give evidence as to their being Brāhmaṇas. They performed Vedic sacrifices and figure in their inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> CHI., I. p. 599.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. see EI., VIII, p. 60.



even as social reformers<sup>3</sup> who stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*. But all the same they were great patrons of Buddhism as is shown by the many remains of Buddhist monuments in their dominions.

Aśoka had, as we have seen, already established contact with Ceylon which soon after became a stronghold of Buddhism. Thus from his time there was a constant traffic of Buddhists between Magadha and Ceylon. Though it was generally by way of the sea it cannot be that the neighbouring coast was not also brought into touch with this activity. In fact, we find that actual sea-borne trade was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and Kāṇṭhakasela, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river. Also we have reason to believe that there was some connection between North India and Ceylon by way of land,<sup>4</sup> and along the east coast. If this was so, the hospitality and patronage of the Āndhra monarchs, whose dominions intervened, must have attracted hordes of Buddhist monks to settle down there.

The Āndhra period was one of considerable prosperity. There was trade<sup>5</sup> with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt as well as with China and the East, both overland and by sea. According to the *Periplus*, Broach was the principal distributing centre of Western India from which was carried the merchandise brought from abroad to the inland countries. It was connected with Paiṭhan (the capital of the Āndhras) and Tagara, two inland towns of great commercial importance. Sopārā, Kalyāṇa and many other seaport towns of the Western coast are also mentioned by the *Periplus*. Among the many towns and ports of commercial importance which *Ptolemy* mentions is Maisolia or Masulipatam, near the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā. It is noteworthy that all these important cities and ports lie in the ancient Āndhra dominions. It is certain that all these were inter-connected by routes which were trodden by hundreds of merchants and monks whose representative names are to be seen recorded on the stones at Junar, Nasik, Karle, Amāravati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and many other sites. Thus it was due to this trade that Buddhism flourished in the Kṛṣṇā Valley. The devotees of the Faith were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their munificence that enabled the erection of the many magnificent monuments in the Kṛṣṇā Valley.

The Sātavāhana rule in the Kṛṣṇā Valley was supplanted by the Ikṣvākus who, like their predecessors, were themselves followers of Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices.<sup>6</sup> But this dynastic change did in no way affect the position of Buddhism which still continued to prosper. It was during their rule that the monuments at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Jaggayyapeta were erected. The male members took no active part in the foundation of these monuments, but the queens and princesses belonging to the royal house patronized them.<sup>7</sup> Under this semi-royal patronage and with the generosity

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See AIYANGAR, *Ancient India*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> See MOOKERJI, *Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, pp. 116 onwards.

<sup>6</sup> *Et.*, XX, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> LONGHURST, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Madras Presidency, Mem., ASI., No. 54*, p. 4.

of the commercial communities Buddhism flourished in this region for some centuries more till it collapsed during the sixth century.

During the reign of the Ikṣvākus the maritime activities also continued and the relations between the Buddhist communities of the Kṛṣṇā Valley and Tāmraparṇi or Ceylon appear more improved and advanced, for at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā we find a convent<sup>8</sup> which was erected for the accommodation of Singhalese monks. The existence of such relations can easily be accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and Kaṇṭakasela, the great emporium of the Kṛṣṇā Valley.

Thus we see that the rise and prosperity of the Buddhist Settlements in the Kṛṣṇā Valley was due, first, to the missionary enterprise of Aśoka which carried Buddhism to Ceylon in his days ; secondly, to the patronage of local rulers, who themselves followed Brahmanism ; thirdly, to the munificence of commercial communities, from whom were recruited largely the devotees of the Faith; and lastly, to the prosperity of overland and sea borne trade, which kept this region in constant touch and communication with countries in and outside India. As a result of this trade with foreign countries, this region, along with other parts of Southern India, received many influences from abroad as also it imparted them. What these influences were and the extent to which the culture of this region was a recipient will be indicated in the study that is to follow.

The existence of these Buddhist settlements in the Kṛṣṇā Valley is attested by the remains of many monuments discovered in this region. A list<sup>9</sup> of mounds or *dibbas*—as they are called—published in 1889 indicated about three hundred in the Kṛṣṇā district alone, most of which probably cover ancient remains, and, as excavation has shown, many of them were *stūpas*. Such *stūpas* are found at Bhaṭṭiprolu near Rappalle, Gudivada (20 miles north-west from Masulipatam), Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta or Beṭavolu, Ghaṇṭsāla and recently at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. At many other places in this part of the country, besides these remains of *stūpas*, rock-temples and other Buddhist antiquities, including some structural *cāitya* chapels, have also been found.

The sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, as those of other Buddhist sites, are important, as through them we can reconstruct the life to a certain extent, that was lived by the ancient inhabitants in that part of India. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, the hill, stands on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river, and is included in the modern Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District in the Madras Presidency. Tradition supplies us a story of the association of the celebrated Buddhist, Nāgārjuna<sup>10</sup> with this hill, and also ascribes its destruction to the first Śaṅkarācārya.<sup>11</sup> Be it as it may, what interests us most is the importance of this place as indicated by its association with such great personalities of the two most powerful religious sects of Ancient India. Moreover, the monu-

<sup>8</sup> *EL.*, XX, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Madras Government Orders*, No. 462 of 29th May 1889.

<sup>10</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

ments unearthed at this place, which consist of remains of *stūpas*, *vihāras*, apsidal temples, pavilions, a palace site, and a stone wharf on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, attest well to this. They exhibit the flourishing state of Buddhism in the Kṛṣṇā Valley in the early centuries of Christian era. It is from these monuments that the sculptures and inscriptions have come to us. Unfortunately, at this stage of our knowledge of this site, we are unable to trace its further progress, but a decline in the state of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was noted in the 7th century A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, when he visited this place.

The characteristic peculiarity of these Āndhra *stūpas*, not known in Northern India, is a rectangular platform of the same height as the drum of the *stūpa*, projecting outwards and attached at the four cardinal points, which served as an altar for floral offerings. LONGHURST has termed them *āyaka*—platforms,<sup>12</sup> because they supported the group of pillars which in inscriptions are called "*āyaka*"—pillars. These pillars did not support any capital or ornament. LONGHURST, again, distinguishes two types in the Āndhra *stūpas*,<sup>13</sup> one plain and the other decorated. The former was a plain simple structure of brick and mortar, while the latter was decorated from top to bottom, its lower portion being faced with carved slabs of limestone fixed in mortar to the brick-work of the *stūpa*. But in both cases, the platforms and pillars were well carved and ornamented either with Buddha figures or scenes from the *Jātaka* and leading events in the life of the Tathāgata. All the best sculptures from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā belonged to these platforms, even including some long stone-beams which served as cornice-stones to them.

The carved slabs and *āyaka* cornice-stones above referred to were the most conspicuous decorative features of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā *stūpas*, and it is no wonder, therefore, that the artists should have spent their best skill on them. Most of the scenes depicted on these slabs, as well as, on the carved surface of the cornice-stones illustrate stories from the *Jātaka*. The face of the former was divided into two or three horizontal panels while in the case of the latter the panels depicting the different scenes were separated from each other by narrow vertical panels containing bas-relief figures of amorous couples, *Yakṣas* or *Nāgas*. It is these sculptures on *āyaka* platforms etc. that form the material of our study.

### *The Society*

Before proceeding to view the life of the ancient peoples of the Kṛṣṇā Valley, it is better to get an idea of the structure of the society of those days. The society is always a very complex structure and in the words of PETRIE,<sup>14</sup> "in different lands under different climates, with different ancestries and different religions, and still more different modes of life, the diversity far exceeds our power of realisation." But we can at least know the different elements that made the ancient society quite a complex structure.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Social life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 1.

The period under review was the one when the Aryanisation, so to say, of Southern India had become an event of the past. Thus the culture of the Kṛṣṇā Valley in the early centuries of Christian era was the produce of the constant contact for centuries of chiefly the two cultures, the North Indian and the South Indian. Northern influences can be traced to a considerable degree on the art and literature of the South during this period. Since Aśoka's mission to Ceylon, Buddhist communities had come to settle down in this region. The Śuṅga and Kāṇva periods in the history of North India saw the revival of Brahmanism, which must have affected the social and religious affairs of the Kṛṣṇā Valley, as we know that its rulers, the Āndhras, were at this time beginning to try their sword in the North. These Sātavāhanas, who also were followers of Brahmanism, boast of having performed Vedic sacrifices and stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*. Also they claim to have destroyed the pride and conceit of the Kṣatriyas. It naturally follows, therefore, that in the period under review Brahmanic influences were strongly at work in our region. It appears, then, that the society was divided into four castes. This build of the society on the orthodox Hindu foundation perhaps received modifications by the pre-existing traditions, manners and customs, as also by the elements which made their way from abroad. That must have loosened the rigidity of the caste system against which the Sātavāhanas had to use their authority and stop the contamination. We have seen that the Ikṣvākus also were followers of Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices. Thus apart from sculptural evidence the existence of caste in the period, when the Buddhist monuments were erected in the region of the Kṛṣṇā Valley is well attested.

Besides these Buddhist and Brahmanic elements, there were probably certain others for which the maritime activities of the Āndhra peoples were responsible. The trade with foreign countries, especially with Rome, in those days brought hundreds of merchants to South India and "there is much reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of Christian era."<sup>15</sup> Even European soldiers, described as powerful Yavanas, clad in complete arms, acted as bodyguards to the local rulers of Southern India. According to PILLAY<sup>16</sup> Roman soldiers were enlisted in the service of the Pāṇdyas and other Tamil kings. Thus the complexity of the social structure was further enhanced by these foreign settlers some of whom appear to have embraced Buddhism. This, with the addition of differences made by different professions and occupations, must have rendered the society of those days as complex as it is now.

Of the peoples who constituted this complex whole, the Nāgārjunakonḍā sculptures represent only the kings, their ministers and generals, native and foreign soldiers, guards, attendants, barbers, Buddhist monks and other ascetics, and, if the present identifications be correct, also astrologers, merchants, hunters, Brāhmaṇas, pilgrims etc.

<sup>15</sup> SMITH, *EHI.*, pp. 400-401.

<sup>16</sup> MOOKERJI, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

But there is reason to believe in the existence of another important distinction in that society, viz. between the aristocracy and commonalty. The members of the former were the king, his ministers and generals, other royal personages and rich Brāhmaṇas and merchants. The latter comprised the majority of the population embracing the simple householders, farmers, servants of the king's court, barbers, hunters and others. How far this hierarchical principle was felt in matters such as costume, ornamentation etc. will be seen in the following pages.

### *The Costume*

The importance of dress in civilization can hardly be exaggerated. Suffice it to say that it is one of the surest tests of a people's culture. "Dress" says ALISON "is characteristic of manners and manners are the mirrors of ideas." Of course, due allowance must be made for the climatic and other causes, which influence to a great degree the nature of dress. Besides let us bear in mind that the Buddhist art of Southern India was mainly derived from that of Northern India and not of indigenous growth. The spirit it breathes is not purely Southern. We must therefore be very circumspect in judging the extent to which it reflects the national life of Southern India. It is also possible that it has in some respects merely copied the northern tradition. Bearing this in mind we may gather some information regarding the costume of these ancient inhabitants of the Kṛṣṇā Valley.

It is indeed surprising that the sculptures represent the dress of the people as very scanty. In the majority of cases only the lower portion below the waist is covered generally with a *laṅgotī*<sup>17</sup> and in some cases with a narrow scarf which stops short very much above the knee. The rest of the body, even in cases of females, is nude. But artistic and other causes often hinder a faithful representation of the contemporary style of dress. It is therefore better to study a few typical examples of each class to know what actually is represented and then, subject to the reservations stated above, to arrive at certain conclusions, which, we hope, will not misrepresent the facts.

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<sup>17</sup> For want of an appropriate term denoting the scanty garment that covers the waist region of the majority figures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, both male and female, I have used this word. HILER also uses this word in connection with the clothing of the Moïs and explains it as "a sort of tight breech-clout": (*From Nudity to Raiment*, p. 168). MOLESWORTH explains this word as a piece of cloth worn round the loins covering the privities, (*Marathi and English Dictionary*, 1857, p. 706). The word is applicable, in our case, in both these meanings. For some figures show this garment as a sewn one, while in other cases it appears to be a narrow scarf simply worn round the waist and passed between the legs. A very small number of figures exhibit it as a very short narrow strip of cloth worn only between the legs by tucking its ends in the string that is tied round the waist. Still in the case of some figures the garment appears to have been made of a triangular piece of cloth, one angle being taken through the legs and tied to the other two or tucked in the knot formed by them. The word used in the text denotes any of these kinds.

*Aristocracy*

To begin with the aristocratic persons it is interesting to see the king represented as wearing very little of dress. (a) King Śuddhodana,<sup>18</sup> in a panel depicting Asita's visit to him to behold the child is shown almost nude. He seems to wear a *laṅgoti* i.e. a narrow piece of cloth worn round the loins and passing between the legs to cover the privities. Over it, round the waist is tied a rolled scarf whose knot comes on the right hip and from which projects a long loop. Here the scarf, which in some cases we find worn round the neck, is used as a *kamara-bandha*,<sup>19</sup> or waist-band. The portion above the waist is also entirely uncovered (Fig. 1). (b) Same is the dress worn by King Kappina<sup>20</sup> with the difference only in the position of the knot of the *kamara-bandha* which in this case appears on the left hip. The knot is larger than that of Śuddhodana's waist-band and is shaped like a couch-shell or *śaṅkha*. In this panel which illustrates the king's conversion a person is shown seated by the side of Kappina who, from his appearance, seems to be his minister. This person is dressed in a close fitting tunic or *chapkan* having sleeves down to the wrist. The neck of the garment is round. A waist-band fixes it to the waist and a sword is attached to it. A scarf, unlike that of Śuddhodana in (a), passes round the waist and over the left shoulder which coiling round it falls on the back. The body below the waist is covered with a *dhoti* or loin-cloth which reaches the ankle. The minister, therefore, is decently dressed and presents a perplexing contrast to the king. Reserving an attempt to explain this anomaly at the end of this topic we pass on to the king of Benares<sup>21</sup> who appears in (c) a panel representing the story of Amarā. Here also the king is shown almost nude with the exception of a narrow *laṅgoti*. The *laṅgoti* is exactly like that of Śuddhodana. The Ministers or the "Four Wise Men" do not appear here in their usual attire as they are clad in blankets.<sup>22</sup> Again in the panel (d) depicting an episode in the *Campeyya Jātaka*<sup>23</sup> we come across a minister who surpasses the king in his dress. The panel shows the king with only a *laṅgoti* and the minister with a very decent dress like Kappina's minister.

So far no upper garment, an *uttariya* or *upāvaraṇa* appears on any of the king's body. But now the following instances begin to make addition in the king's scanty dress. In one panel (e) depicting a king denouncing Brahmanism,<sup>24</sup> a rolled scarf appears round his neck. It seems to have been folded in the middle by gathering the two ends together and then worn, the loop and the ends falling back over the shoulders (Fig. 2). Over the narrow

<sup>18</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxi, (a).

<sup>19</sup> This term is used to denote the following—(1) a narrow strip of cloth or a belt-like thing round the waist (2) a rolled scarf, tied round the waist over the *laṅgoti*, *dhoti* or *pāyāṁā*. The *kamara-bandha* is distinguished here from the 'girdle' which is treated here as an ornament.

<sup>20</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxv (a). <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii (a).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii (b).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx (c).

*laṅgoti* is tied a double band from which hangs between the two legs a strip of cloth<sup>25</sup> and in which a similar piece is tucked behind. (f) In another panel,<sup>26</sup> the scarf is clearly shown round a king's neck worn in the same fashion just described. This king wears also a *laṅgoti*, bordered with simple bands. The waist-band gives an appearance of a two-fold strip, which, it seems is sewn to the *laṅgoti*. (g) Now comes the addition of a tight *pāyājāmā* or trousers which is shown worn by a *cakravartin*<sup>27</sup> who appears in the panel with his Seven Jewels. The *pāyājāmā* is held round the waist by a waist-band which is a long piece of cloth. Under it is a girdle of strings of beads. A large loop hangs down from the knot which comes on the left hip and a strip of cloth hangs between the legs from the centre of the girdle. But no upper garment appears here (Fig. 3). Of his seven jewels, the General stands near him to emphasize the anomaly spoken of above. His dress consists of close fitting trousers or *pāyājāmā* like that of the *cakravartin*, a tunic-like coat with full sleeves over which is worn an *uttariya*, which passing across the body is thrown over the left shoulder (Fig. 4). The addition of a *dhōti* to the king's dress, probably, comes from the panel (h) illustrating the *Daśaratha Jātaka*,<sup>28</sup> if the lines that appear on the left leg really mean the folds and indicate the existence of a *dhōti*. It is, however, very doubtful, because on his right leg no such marks appear and moreover the *laṅgoti* is clearly sculptured which over the *dhōti* is quite superfluous. The *uttariya* is lying behind him, the portions of which are seen on either side of his body. An undoubted existence of a *dhōti* is offered by a panel (i) depicting the Renunciation or Going Forth.<sup>29</sup> In it Gautama's lower person is clad in a *dhōti*. The folds, the skirts and the multi-folded end tucked in the front are obvious. Gautama, as we know, leaves his palace as a prince, though with the resolution to forsake his home and take refuge in solitary meditation. It was after he crossed the Anomā river that he discarded all his royal drapery. In this particular panel he is shown giving his dress and ornaments to a hunter and his groom Chhanda. We do not, therefore, misplace him if we include him in the aristocratic class. His *dhōti* reaches down to the ankles. To secure it, a *kaṃara-bandha* is tied round his waist, its loop and ends fall on the left hip and a narrow strip of cloth hangs in front,

<sup>25</sup> This must have been something quite different from a mere strip of cloth, perhaps a long ornamental penis-sheath as its shape would indicate. Or is it like the bundle with which the new Hebrides wrap the penis to observe the closest secrecy with regard to it? The New Hebrides wrap the penis around with many yards of calico and other like materials, winding and folding them until a preposterous bundle 18 inches, or two feet long, and two inches or more in diameter is formed, which is then supported upward by means of a belt, the extremity being decorated with flowering grasses. This they do to avoid Narak, the sight even of the penis of another man being considered most dangerous. The panel depicting the transportation of Gautama's Head-dress shows very clearly the peculiar shape of this article. For want of exact term and sufficient knowledge of its significance it is described in the text as a 'strip of cloth'.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi (c).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx (b).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (b).

its two ends being attached to the *kamara-bandha*, thus making a broad loop. Prince Paduma appears in one panel (*j*) where he is shown riding a horse,<sup>30</sup> as wearing a tunic with full sleeves reaching the waist. It is fastened to the waist by means of a band. It is not clear whether he wears a *dhōti* or a *pāyājāmā*, no mark indicating either being visible. But when we pass on to the panel (*k*) illustrating the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*<sup>31</sup> we meet with a prince attired in most decent dress befitting his position. In this case, Upasāgara, a prince from Northern Madhura, at a clandestine meeting between him and his beloved princess Devagarbhā, appears in tunic which is round at the neck and has long sleeves. It is secured to the waist with a scarf to which is attached a sword. An *uttariya* is worn over it which passing across the body coils round the left shoulder, and falls back. The panel is mutilated and the part below the waist is partially missing. However, a close observation reveals a garment which may be either a *dhōti* or a *pāyājāmā*. Here, then, we have an example of a perfect dress which covered the body of royal personages (Fig. 5).

It will be evident from the aforesaid facts that the Nāgārjunakonḍā sculptures are not uniform as regards the King's dress. But if we take into consideration other panels,<sup>32</sup> not described here, then the conclusion seems inevitable that the usual attire of the king was very scanty, which the sculptors depicted as a rule, consisting only of a *laṅgoti* always, an *uttariya* and a *kamara-bandha* often, but a *pāyājāmā* or a *dhōti* very rarely, thus portraying him almost nude whether indoors in his palace among queens and ministers or outdoor in a procession or for other purposes. The cases, which are very few, where he appears with more garments may be regarded as exceptions. In this light we may dispose of the lines which appear on Daśaratha's left leg described in (1) as due to slip of the sculptor's chisel. With this inference perfectly accords the evidence offered by the Amarāvati sculptures. There, in most of the cases wherein is shown a kingly personage, he is represented nearly nude, wearing almost the same dress as that found in our sculptures. There also a few exceptions may be noted,<sup>33</sup> but compared with such a mass of nude, semi-nude and indecently attired kings their appearance seems almost negligible.

Turning now to the other members of the aristocracy we see the ministers properly dressed, their usual costume consisting always of a tunic with full sleeves which was fastened at the waist with a *kamara-bandha*, and an *uttariya* worn over the tunic in various fashions, the most common being

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (b).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlvī (a).

<sup>32</sup> Of the fifty plates included in LONGHURST's *op. cit.*, thirty-four show royal personages. Of these one xxi (b) shows Gautama as wearing a *dhōti*, one xxx (b) presents a *cakravartin* in a *pāyājāmā* and two xlv (a), xlv (b) depicting Daśaratha and prince Paduma respectively are not clear on this point. All others represent the kingly personages as wearing *laṅgotis*. The existence of clothes is indicated by only two panels—xxi (b) and xlv (b). In the latter Prince Paduma wears a tunic. All others are deficient in this respect also.

<sup>33</sup> For instance see FERGUSSON, *Tree & Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxi.



the one in which it was worn like an *upavita*. Their lower person was sometimes covered with a *pāyajāmā* and sometimes with a *dhōti* but never left bare. Thus besides those described in (b) and (g) we have four other panels<sup>34</sup> which represent ministers, all of whom generally wear the dress mentioned above. To describe one panel typical of ministers' representation we find three ministers in the panel illustrating the *Sibi Jātaka*.<sup>35</sup> The first, seated by the side of the king who is cutting the flesh of his thighs, is shown in a tunic fastened at the waist by a belt, or perhaps, a narrow scarf used as a *kamara-bandha* over the waist. Round his neck is an *uttariya* whose ends, it appears, are thrown back over the shoulders, the body below the waist being covered with a *pāyajāmā*. Same is the dress worn by the second standing at the right extremity of the panel. His *uttariya*, due to the bent posture of his body, has slipped down on the left elbow forming a broad curve or loop between arms. The third, standing with the balance in his hands wears also a tunic and a *dhōti*; and has perhaps tied his *uttariya* round the waist in lieu of a belt or a waist-band. This attire, we can say, befits the high rank of these royal dignitaries (Fig. 6).

If, as LONGHURST<sup>36</sup> has taken them to be, the amorous couples in the little vertical panels separating the scenes carved on the *āyaka* cornice-stones, represent pairs of royal lovers then our conclusion regarding the king's attire receives strong corroboration, as in majority of cases the male lover is depicted in the same dress as the king's.<sup>37</sup> But it is possible that they also represent rich Brāhmaṇas or other persons of quality who had no connection with the king's court or had no hand in the country's administration. A romantic personage in one panel has the appearance of a Brāhmaṇa and his *yajñopavita* is unmistakable (Fig. 7).<sup>38</sup> A *lanigoti*, which generally always did not extend beyond the hip-joint, a *kamara-bandha* over it, the ends of which left hanging down or floating in the air and pieces of cloth tucked in it at the sides or behind, was then the normal attire of these aristocrats to which sometimes was added an *uttariya* worn according to individual tastes and in endless fashions. The use of *dhōti*, though not common, was not altogether unknown and in a few instances we find it used in place of a *lanigoti*. It was long, reaching the ankle, and worn in a very graceful manner. (Figs. 7 and 8).

Again, it is justifiable to deduce any facts as regards the dress of the aristocratic persons from the representations of gods and other celestials. For, though in later Buddhist mythology they occupied a position subordinate to the Master, people were apt to regard them as superiors belonging to the

<sup>34</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pls. xxxi (a), xxxii (c), xxxvi (b), xlii (a).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii (a).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>37</sup> An analysis of all these figures shows the following facts. There are in all twenty-nine such panels included in LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, of which :—

(a) three are mutilated, (b) twenty-two show the male figure in *lanigoti*,  
(c) four show it in *dhōti*, (d) twenty-six show the use of *kamara-bandha* and (e) nine figures wear the *uttariya*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli (a).

same category as the king's. Indeed we find them in the same attire as the king, which fact would strengthen our conclusion stated above. Thus to cite one instance we meet with a host of gods in one panel,<sup>39</sup> wherein they are shown seated round the Buddha's throne exhorting him to proclaim his doctrine to mankind, all of whom wear *laṅgotis* tied to the waist by waistbands or *kamara-bandhas* whose ends hang on one side and loops on the other (Figs. 9a and b). The only god who differs in this respect from the king and from his colleagues is Indra who is always represented as wearing a cap, or a cylindrical turban slightly tapering towards the top, which is comparatively tall, and sometimes as wearing a long *dhōti* reaching the ankle and with an *uttariya* on his upper person (Fig. 10).<sup>40</sup>

### Common People

Unfortunately the material with which we are to build our structure is mostly concerned with the kings and other royal personages, being illustrations of the *Jātaka* episodes. So it is only casually that we get glimpses of the common people, their life, manners and customs in these sculptures. But what can be gathered even from such a scanty material shows that in the matter of dress there was practically no difference between the higher and the lower classes, either in the articles of dress or in the mode of wearing them. If there really existed any difference between the attire of these classes, it must have been in the material, which, it is impossible to judge from the sculptures.

To begin with the Brāhmaṇas, we get a representation of one in the panel illustrating the *Campeyya Jātaka*.<sup>41</sup> In the story<sup>42</sup> he is said to have caught the Nāga king, Campeyya, who was observing the fast days on this world of men, and to have made money by making him dance before the multitudes. It is legitimate, therefore, to take this representation as of a poor Brāhmaṇa and to infer from his attire the dress of his class. This consisted only of a long piece of cloth tied round the waist and passed between the legs in the fashion of a *laṅgoti*. In another panel<sup>43</sup> which illustrates the *Māndhātū Jātaka*, we meet with a person, seated on a stool just near the couch of the king, whom LONGHURST takes for a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>44</sup> He has an *uttariya* over his upper person and a *laṅgoti* covering the waist region (Fig. 11). Precisely same is the dress worn by merchants in the panel illustrating the "First Offering of Food to Buddha"<sup>45</sup> with the addition of a headdress. Only a *laṅgoti* is shown worn by cowherds and other laymen round their waist and a turban on their head.<sup>46</sup> A hunter who appears in the panel<sup>47</sup> depicting the "Renunciation or Going Forth" wears a *laṅgoti* and has an *uttariya* over his body above the waist. A barber is represented twice<sup>48</sup> but only with a *laṅgoti* over which he has tied a

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii (a).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii (b).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. l (b).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (b).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlviii (b).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxiv(b) and l(a).

*kamara-bandha* of a long piece of cloth. In one panel<sup>49</sup> we meet with a group of persons, engaged in conversation, all of whom wear *laṅgotis* and only two wear, in addition to it, an *uttariya* to cover their upper body. Children of an ordinary householder appear in one panel, where their attire also is confined to these two most common articles, the *laṅgoti* and the waist-band or *kamara-bandha*.<sup>50</sup> A slight departure from this practice is made by a group of persons, whom LONGHURST regards as pilgrims, who appear in short *dhotis* or 'pañicas' extending down to the knee and worn in the *vikacchha* fashion.<sup>51</sup> They are also shown as wearing *uttariyas* on their upper person (Fig. 12).

But when we pass on to the groom or scyce we meet with the use of a tunic among the lower classes. One noteworthy thing in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is that in the case of ministers the tunic is never shown alone and over a *laṅgoti*; it is either accompanied by a *dhoti* or a *pāyājāmā*. But the case is quite different with the groom. We have three representations of him<sup>52</sup> in all of which he is shown without a *dhoti* or a *pāyājāmā*. This being so, we may, with the least fear of being in the wrong, infer that inside the tunic was worn a *laṅgoti* round the waist. Also a *kamara-bandha* of a long piece of cloth is shown tied over it at the waist whose long ends hang down from the knot (Fig. 13).

A curious thing about the king's court is the predominance of female attendants! The number of male attendants is comparatively small and includes *cauri*-bearers, umbrella-bearers, torch-bearers on the one hand and those who hold weapons, such as the mace, club, and spear on the other. The latter were a sort of king's *aides-de-camp* or bodyguards. These, though by the very nature of their profession belong to the lower classes, exhibit a sense of superiority, at least in dress and appearance against the rest of the commonalty who had nothing to do with the royal court. It may be due to their being in constant touch with the aristocratic circles and to their movements in the royal surroundings. Of necessity, it seems, they had to go in for a costly dress as their work compelled them to remain mostly in the presence of the king. This being so it was but natural that these attendants should imitate the king by wearing a costume akin to his. Hence it is that we find in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā practically no disparity between the attire of these attendants and that of the members of aristocracy. The same remark applies to the head dress also as we shall see later on. The use of ornaments among the lower classes is also expressly to be found with these persons. The common dress, therefore, of these attendants consisted of a *laṅgoti*, over which, sometimes, was tied a *kamara-bandha* of a long piece of cloth or only a narrow belt, and a strip of cloth which hung from the *laṅgoti* between the legs.<sup>53</sup>

As already said, during this period there existed large settlements of the Buddhists in the Kṛṣṇā Valley and naturally the representations of monks, dis-

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii (a).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (b).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32, pl. xxxi (c).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxi (b), xxviii (c) and xlv (b).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, see pls. xxv (a), xxviii (c) xxx (c) and xlii (a).

ciples and devotees which abound in the sculptures have a special importance attached to them. The sculptors, in depicting this element of the population on stone, have showed a remarkable uniformity as regards their attire which reflects favourably on the part of the monks and attests to the behaving in strict conformity with the injunctions of their Master. A long *dhōti* reaching the ankle, worn in the *vikaccha* fashion at the waist and an *uttariya* covering the upper person was all that constituted their simple attire. Only three garments (*ticivaram*) were generally allowed to the *bhikkhus* or monks by the scriptures,<sup>54</sup> the *saṅghāti*, *antarvāsaka*, and *uttarāsāṅga*, of which, it is worthy of note, the *antarvāsaka* (or according to EITEL<sup>55</sup> "a sort of waist-coat worn in the place of a shirt") is absent here. The *saṅghāti* or the loin-cloth, according to the scriptures<sup>56</sup> was to be worn without taking the pleated end behind and hence the round or *vikaccha* fashion in these sculptures. The *uttarāsāṅga* was a robe or a scarf which was worn on the upper person over one or both the shoulders. This we find universally used by the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā monks. Thus, in the panel<sup>57</sup> illustrating the story of the novice Sumana and the Nāga king Pannaka, Sumana is shown with a long *dhōti* and an *uttariya* (Fig. 14). Exactly same are the garments worn by Sagata,<sup>58</sup> Buddha's disciple, who exhibits the *vikaccha* fashion of wearing a *dhōti* more clearly (Fig. 15 a, b). In the panel<sup>59</sup> depicting the same story of Sagata we meet with a group of monks who offer all-sided views of a monk's dress. The *uttariya*, in most cases, is passed across the body, one end of which, coiling round the left shoulder, is thrown back over it (Fig. 16). Similar is the fashion in which Buddha is uniformly shown wearing an *uttariya* in all his Nāgārjunakoṇḍā representations.

Two exceptions,<sup>60</sup> however, are to be met with in the sculptures, to what is stated above, where, in place of the usual aforesaid garments of a monk, are to be found a short garment round the waist extending only down to the knee and in one panel a scarf-like thing (Figs. 17, 18). The difference, it seems, does not lie so much in the articles themselves as in the material of which they are made. The former garment appears to be made of numerous strips attached vertically to the narrow belt that runs round the waist. The latter also seems to be of the same type. Their appearance is such as would create an impression that they were some garments made of bark. But the fact that the use of such garments was forbidden to the Buddhist monks makes it improbable. However, one thing may be noted in favour of this that they appear in the panel which illustrates the First Sermon and are shown used by the five ascetic companions who were not converted to Buddha's doctrine then,

<sup>54</sup> WASKADUÉ SUBHŪTI, *Abhidhānappadīpika*, Ed. Colombo, 1865 and TURNOUR, *Mahavamsa*, Ed. Colombo, 1837, pp. 439 and 196, 202 respectively.

<sup>55</sup> CHILDERS, *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 38.

<sup>56</sup> HARDY, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 114; TURNOUR, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxvii (a).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlvii (a).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlviii (b).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (a) and xxix (b).

which fact would point to the inapplicability of the taboo referred to above, in their case ; and if this is cogent then we may take them as made of bark.

The panels illustrating the Buddhist version of the story of the great Sanskrit epic, *Rāmāyaṇa*,<sup>61</sup> show how the princely dress was discarded when any prince or royal personage willingly or through force of circumstances, embraced the ascetic life. The first panel which illustrates the earlier phase of the story depicts in one scene the princes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa seated near the throne of Daśaratha, the king, where, as was customary with the royal personages, they are shown wearing *laṅgotis*, crown-like head-dresses, and *uttariyas*. Sitā who in this version appears as a sister of the two brothers is also shown in the panel. Then in the scene to the left of this Rāma is shown coming out of a gate with his sister, now completely changed, his princely dress being substituted by a thin piece of cloth (or *pañcā*) tied round the waist by a very narrow belt and extending not beyond the knee. The *uttariya*, however, is retained. The head is bare and the hair fall behind the head. He is very simple now and so is Sitā who, like Rāma, also is shown with a narrow piece of cloth round the waist but her body above it completely bare.

One very interesting piece of information is offered by the panel illustrating the *Dighitikosā Jātaka*.<sup>62</sup> Here is depicted the royal couple, King Dighiti of Kosala and his wife, being taken to the place of execution by some soldiers on the order of the king of Benares. The unfortunate royal pair is deprived of their costume and are given, each, only a piece of cloth, which is tied round the waist and extending a little below the knee. Their hands are tied behind their backs with bands of cloth.

#### *Soldiers.*

Turning to the class which embraces the soldiers and other persons of the same character whose distinguishing mark was some weapon, excepting, of course, royal personages and generals, we have one very striking and most important thing to record. Among the five most handsome stonepillars found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, which appear to have supported the roof of a hall belonging to some royal palace<sup>63</sup> are found two pillars which betray clearly the Roman influence. One of these<sup>64</sup> portrays a bearded soldier obviously a Scythian, wearing, "a Roman-like helmet, a quilted long-sleeved tunic and trousers, and holding a heavy spear." In this connection it is worthy of note that an inscription<sup>65</sup> occurring on a 'foot-print slab' from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā mentions a *Saka* or a Scythian, whose sister's gift it records. The very active sea-borne trade between Europe, especially the Roman Empire, and Southern India, as we have seen already, brought Roman soldiers to the service of the local rulers. With this might have come a considerable number of Scythian soldiers with some high officials to the Kṛṣṇa Valley who afterwards established themselves there. If this is correct, then we can find an easy explanation of the striking anomaly

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>65</sup> *EI.*, xx, p. 37.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlvii (a).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. x (c).

which we have noted while discussing the costume of kings. The ministers who almost invariably appear in tunics were possibly the intermediaries acting between the native kings and the foreign high officials, who conducted all the negotiations pertaining to the state's foreign policy. In this rôle they had often to be in contact with these foreigners which might have made them wear the same dress as those with whom they had to sit or converse for hours together. This was, presumably, not the case with kings who were represented by their ministers at the foreigner's camp. The other person who appears in the tunic, as we have seen, is the groom, whose duty it was to accompany his master wherever he went. This duty offered him a close contact with foreigners as a result of which, it seems, he adopted the new dress, and his colleagues readily imitated him, as low-class people, we find, are very quick to do so.

But when we turn to the native soldiers, we find them in their native dress which was the same as that of the attendants. However, we have only a few examples of this class in the sculptures, which, we think, are not sufficient to give any substantial idea of their attire.

#### *Women.*

Now, as regards the costume of the women we have no variety to describe except what is to be found in their headdresses. We have representation only of two classes, one standing at the top of the hierarchical ladder and the other occupying a lower step, namely the queens and princesses on the one hand and the female attendants on the other. However, this distinction has not, it seems, affected the costume and we find practically the same dress used both by queens or other royal and high class women and those belonging to the lower classes represented by attendants who are found in great number in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures. Moreover there is very little to describe because of the very scantiness of their dress which consists of a *laṅgoti* round the waist over which in some cases is found tied a *kamara-bandha* (Figs. 19, 20). Thus the costume of females and males of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was precisely the same. FERGUSSON<sup>66</sup> remarks with regard to the female figures of Sāñchi and Amarāvati, that their body clothing is generally limited to a bead-belt round the body below the waist. Nearly same is the condition of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā women. From the *kamara-bandha*, which in some cases we find tied round the waist over the *laṅgoti*, are sometimes suspended slips of cloth at the sides and in front and behind. The *laṅgoti*, which in the majority of cases is decorated will be described when we come to personal ornaments. The *kamara-bandha*, which is exactly like that of the male figures, demands no special attention here as it is fully described while treating of the male costume. Had it not been for the position they occupy in the sculptures it would have been almost impossible to distinguish the queens from the attendants who stand round the king's throne. Occasional representations of *Apsaras*, *Nāgīs*, and *Yakṣīs* are to be met with but they wear the same costume. The same is the case with the

<sup>66</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 92.

female figures in the little vertical panels containing bas-relief figures of royal pairs or amorous couples.

Fortunately this monotony is broken by one panel<sup>67</sup> which portrays the Princess Devagarbhā in a very different attire substituting the scanty waist-garment with one which appears to be a *sāri*. Her whole body is covered, even a part of her bust, and the long end whose breadth spreads over the left hand, right from the shoulder to the waist, falls down from it exactly in the same manner as we see with modern women. The folds on it are quite obvious (Fig. 21). But this is a solitary example and it would be hazardous if we try to infer anything from it. All the same its occurrence is important.

The similarity of costume between the women of aristocracy and those of the attendant class can be accounted for from the almost daily contact between the two. But as regards the dress of women belonging to classes who occupy the middle steps of this hierarchical ladder and others who stand at the lowest steps we get almost no information. It would have been really interesting to know what articles of dress were worn by Brāhmaṇa women and by those belonging to the class of ordinary householders. To infer their attire from the costume of the two classes represented in the sculptures will probably be a misrepresentation of the actual facts as the women of the attendant class might have been influenced by their mistresses to imitate them. In doing this it is just possible that they made great changes in the costume that was proper for their class. Women of other classes were outside the circumference of their influence and so perhaps their dress was different than that of the aristocratic women and their female attendants. What their dress was, unfortunately, remains out of our purview.

#### *Headdress.*

Headdress is a universal feature of personal attire in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, if we exclude persons who had renounced the worldly life and embraced the Buddhist order or ascetic life. This is a most characteristic feature in the manners of the society of the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Is it not interesting, almost surprising, to find a common and unfailing use of head-dress in a society where the body was generally left almost nude or scantily dressed? Not only women but men also are found to be very fond of headdress. There is practically no dissimilarity between the headdress of the two sexes.

The abundance of instances and great variety almost baffle any attempt at a classified discussion of the headdress. The variety ranges from a most simple headdress consisting only of a group of fillets to the most complex crown, adorned and ornamented with jewels and various other devices. Moreover, there appears no check on the use of the headdress. Anybody can use any type of it.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> LONGHURST, op. cit., pl. xli.

<sup>68</sup> Even now in the West women's hats are of an infinite variety. H.D.S.

However to make a broad generalisation we meet with these varieties of headdress in the case of male figures, the first, a turban obtained by winding round the head a long rolled scarf so as to cover the hair, wholly or partially and the second which was probably a ready-made one, like the *pagri* of a modern Brāhmaṇa, and which was simply put on the head. This type of headdress in shape and form sometimes resembled a turban and sometimes a crown, the latter being found often used by kings. The third variety was a cap, which, however, is to be found in a very few cases. As regards the headdress of women we find a turban same as that worn by men; a ready-made headdress which included crowns, some of which exactly resembled those used by men and besides these there were other light headdresses such as a thin piece of cloth which covered the hair and the hair-knot, over which was tied a fillet on the forehead and a band round the hair-knot; or only a group of fillets tied on the head in many fashions so as to add to the beauty of their hair. These male and female headdresses were often decorated by fixing in them as top-members ornamental devices such as discs, flowers or leaves, perhaps made of some metal or of strings of beads, gems and pearls. Sometimes plumes were tucked in the hair or the fillet that bordered it. Only a glance at the illustrations is sufficient to give an idea of the variety of headdress. We can do nothing better than only describe the salient instances of each variety.

#### *Headdress of Men—The Turban.*

In one panel<sup>69</sup>, which portrays a dwarf, we get a representation of a highly *ornamented* turban. In the centre it is adorned with a circular floral ornament, the flower being a double lotus with numerous petals. The cylindrical top member seems more to be a part of the scarf itself arranged in this manner by twisting about the hair-knot, than a detached article tucked into it (Fig. 22). Another panel<sup>70</sup> depicts a Nāga with a comparatively *simple* turban decorated in the centre by a large leaf-like ornament (Fig. 23). A king in another panel<sup>71</sup> wears a very *complex* turban with a loose ornament, perhaps of pearls, shaped like a bunch of grapes (Fig. 24). In the same panel, exactly the same type of turban is seen on the head of an attendant but it is *simple* because the ornament is wanting (Fig. 25). A *chauri*-bearer in one panel<sup>72</sup> wears a *still simpler* turban, without any ornament or a top member (Fig. 26); and a cakravartin's minister is, in another panel,<sup>73</sup> represented with the *simplest* of all the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā turbans (Fig. 27). A very big circular, flower-ornament adorns the turban of a romantic person,<sup>74</sup> the flower having only four petals (Fig. 28). A *simple* turban with a curious egg-shaped ornament tied to it in the centre, with what seem to be strings is to be seen worn by a god in one panel (Fig. 29).<sup>75</sup>

#### *A Ready-made Headdress : (a) Turban (b) Crown (c) Cap.*

Gautama's headdress is shown in one panel<sup>76</sup> where it is put in a tray which is being carried away by gods in a procession. It is a ready-made one,

<sup>69</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. ix (d).      <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (a).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi (c).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (a).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvi.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).



a crown, *highly ornate*, with a large top-member and a floral ornament, fixed in the centre. It is adorned with what seems to be a row of pearls (Fig. 30). A *less ornate* crown is to be seen on Suddhodana's head (Fig. 31).<sup>77</sup> The central ornament in this case, which is shaped like a large segment of circle, is fixed in the top-member and is not a flower but consists of a knob on the middle of the chord and a string of pearls along the arc. Somewhat similar to that of Gautama is the headdress of a Śākya prince which is furnished with a tuft of loosely hanging cords on one side as an ornament (Fig. 32).<sup>78</sup> A large leaf adorns the crown of a guardian deity which is ornamented with a string of pearls along the front fillet (Fig. 33).<sup>79</sup> Quite a different type of headdress, much like a short crown, is worn by a god which has an ornament at one side. The front fillet of this headdress is, it seems, decked with jewels (Fig. 34).<sup>80</sup> A readymade turban with a high ornament tied at the top is to be found on the head of a god (Fig. 35).<sup>81</sup>

An attendant, in one panel, containing an unidentified sculpture, wears a turban which, though simple, is peculiar. The front-fillet above the forehead is adorned with what seems to be a string of large beads and on the right side the turban is mounted with a big solid spherical knot (Fig. 36).<sup>82</sup> The turban of a person sitting in the foreground in one panel is notable for the upper part of it. It is a conical thing narrowing upwards and made up of rings. The dwarf's turban, spoken of above, was tied at the back of the head by means of a knot, as we gather from a panel which represents the back side of it. The knot comes in the centre and from it four bands go to four directions, upper and lower, right and left. The bands seem to be ornamented, probably with jewels.<sup>83</sup> In the panel illustrating "the Exhortation of Gods to Buddha" a god who is sitting in front of Buddha's throne has his back turned towards the spectator and as a consequence we get a back view of his turban. A button is seen in the centre from which run four bands as in the case of the dwarf's turban, in four directions, which held the turban intact. A side view of this turban is offered by one person in the same panel.<sup>84</sup> The knot or button and the four bands can clearly be seen in this case also. The two horizontal bands which meet at the centre button form one band which crosses horizontally the back side of the head thus starting from one ear and terminating at the other. Besides these main bands there are two short strips, one on either side, which start from behind the ear-lobe and meet the vertical band at its bottom.

Caps are not of frequent occurrence in the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Nevertheless, there are a few specimens of them, some very curious, which are worthy of notice. Indra is shown as wearing one which is unusually high and tapers slightly towards the top (Fig. 37a, b). A king also is shown with a cap which has a double band at its bottom and above the forehead. Its shape is like a bowl placed up side down. It is decorated with a line-design which appears like an embossed one, and thus makes it probable that it was of

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix (d).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii (a).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii (a).

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii (c).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (c).

some metal (Fig. 38).<sup>85</sup> A very curious type of headdress is offered by one of a *cakravartin's* Seven Jewels. Its appearance is more like a cap than a turban. It resembles an Eskimo's cap, and like it covers the lower jaw and the neck also (Fig. 39). It's front view is presented by a person who is shown seated near the Buddha's throne, in another panel.<sup>86</sup>

### *Headdress of Women.*

A vast majority of female figures in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs are shown with headdress, and individual taste, either of the sculptors or of their female contemporaries, whom they possibly have copied, seems to have played a considerable part, giving rise to a variety that befits a master-workman, or a refined society, whose aesthetic sense was very high. Generally women appear to have used the same headdresses that were popular with the males, with, however, some differences in details due to their improvements upon them so as to suit their ideas of beauty and propriety.

Siddhārtha's mother, queen Māyā,<sup>87</sup> wears a graceful crown which is rendered rather tall by the addition of an ornament at the top. This ornament consists of a lotus from the centre of which hangs down a string of pearls. It is ornamented also at the bottom, i.e. above the forehead with the same. The crown has not covered the hair completely and a part of the hair on the forehead is visible and serves as a border to the crown (Fig. 40). This headdress may be compared favourably with the crowns of Gautama<sup>88</sup> and Śuddhodana.<sup>89</sup> Also its lower part is similar to a Nāga's headdress.<sup>90</sup> But from all these it differs in having its ornamental top-member which they are lacking. In one vertical panel<sup>91</sup> portraying an amorous couple the lady is wearing a highly ornamented headdress which like that of Māyā, leaves a part of the hair on the forehead uncovered. The bottom of the headdress is covered with a fillet from whose centre hangs on the forehead an ornamental pendant. The man, her lover, is shown stitching some ornament at the top of her headdress. A very simple unornamented headdress adorns the beautiful daughters of Māra<sup>92</sup>, who occur in one panel in two scenes, posing differently in each, and thus offering us a two-sided view of it (Figs. 41, 42). In another panel<sup>93</sup> which represents the usual couple the lady wears the same headdress as is worn by many a male attendant, with a slight change, of course, in the ornamental detail which is cylindrical, placed horizontally at the top instead of the attendant's circular one. Somewhat similar to that of a *cakravartin's* minister is the headdress of some ladies<sup>94</sup> who surround Prince Siddhārtha in his palace-interior. Other ladies in the same panel wear turbans which are not much different from those worn by female attendants in the panel containing an unidentified sculpture.<sup>95</sup> A lady of the amorous couple in one panel<sup>96</sup> is shown

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli (a)

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (b).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (a).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxii (a).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxii (c) and xxxiv (b).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxix (b).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (a).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (b).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi (c).

with a very graceful but simple turban which is bordered by a part of the hair on fore-head. The upper member of the turban is very simple being only a rolled piece of cloth tied at two places thus dividing it into three parts and attached to it, the whole offering some degree of similarity to the dwarf's ornate turban if we deprive the latter of its disc ornament (Fig. 43)

Some ladies, it appears, did not appreciate these heavy types of headdress and were content with much lighter ones which not in the least diminished the beauty of their person, or of the luxuriant hair which was their proud property, as can be seen from their representations. A thin, transparent piece of cloth covers the hair of a lady,<sup>97</sup> identified as Māyā, shown kneeling before the Deity of the *Śākya*-temple. Over this cover, on the forehead, is tied a fillet to secure it, which terminates at the ear on either side. Two broad bands, ornamented with gems or other valuables, one on each side, are tied to the two ends of this fillet and are let fall on the back (Fig. 44). Another lady<sup>98</sup> has tied a broad decorated fillet on the forehead, leaving part of the hair uncovered. The big knot of her hair at the back is covered by a piece of cloth over which is to be seen a ribbon in coils. A circular pendant hangs from the middle of the front-fillet (Fig. 45). A different fashion of using fillets is seen in one panel<sup>99</sup> where some of the women folk have gathered their hair in a knot at the top of their head and have tied two fillets at its bottom and taken one of them to the left ear and the other to the right. On the forehead, instead of taking these fillets over the hair, they are taken from under it, thus hiding a part of them below the hair. The knot at the bottom is surrounded with a string of what may be big gems and is covered at the top with a net-work of pearls (Fig. 46). Another fashion is seen with a woman<sup>100</sup>, who has tied a fillet on the forehead from one ear to the other, and attached to it is another fillet which goes to the back of the head among the partition line of the hair. An amorous lady<sup>101</sup> has tucked some feathers in the front-fillet from the middle of which hangs a big gem as a pendant. With this decoration the woman's head gives an air of a Red Indian (Fig. 47).

### *The Coiffure*

As said above most of the representations of males and females in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs are shown with covered heads, very little scope is left, therefore, for the study of their coiffure. A people who show a remarkable taste for variety and fashion as regards their headdress must naturally have employed the same artistic skill in the arrangement of their hair which forms the most conspicuous element of dress. With females, more than with males, it has been the most fertile field of fashions. However, our sculptures have not much to tell us in this respect. Nevertheless, we will try to cull as much information as is possible from our sources to give a tolerably sufficient idea of their ways and fashions of hair-dressing.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a)

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxix (b) and xxvi.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiii (c).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (a).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (b).

As the aristocratic persons and the members of commonalty seldom moved about bare-headed, it was but natural that they should wear their hair moderately long so as to be easily covered by the headdress. Their hair is actually shown short and curly in the sculptures though instances are not wanting where some partiality to long hair is shown. But generally, we find, the hair was so arranged that it should not fall lower than the lowest limit of the occiput. Long hair was worn by those who had discarded the use of headdress such as ascetics and mendicants but even this was not true in the case of Buddhist monks. People of the lower orders, there is reason to suppose, did not take as much care even of the short hair on the head as the aristocratic persons did.

### Men

Māndhātū,<sup>102</sup> the king, is represented as wearing very short and curly or wavy hair which on the whole gives an appearance of a wig. Three Śākya Princes<sup>103</sup> are shown bare-headed who exhibit the same style of short hair. Sumati or Sumedha<sup>104</sup> wears longer hair which is combed back in a mass which curls and twists upwards behind the head. But, it is really worthy of note, that his hair is not so long as the text would have it to be, for in the story<sup>105</sup> it is said that Sumati prostrated himself before Buddha, stretching his hair forward so that Buddha might pass without soiling his feet when the rain had caused a pool of mud to form in the Buddha's path. But in this panel neither is his hair shown stretched forward, as the text would require nor is it shown so long as to cover sufficient space to allow the Buddha to pass without staining his feet. Does this deviation, then, from the text indicate that the fashion of wearing the hair prevalent at the time of the sculptures suggested this change? For the present and from the evidence which we now have under discussion it seems just likely. This is corroborated by one of the two medallions from *Stūpā*<sup>106</sup> No. 6, which bears the portrait of a young man. The figure is shown with short hair which is taken behind the head terminating at the lower border of the occiput. However, Siddhārtha<sup>107</sup> is represented with a long hair which is gathered up in a bun on the top of the head after the fashion of a *ṛṣi*, certain folds on the head suggesting that it was first plaited. This, so far as can be judged from the sculptures, is the only exception, occurring in our material to the style of wearing short hair. The aristocrats seem to have been fond of arranging their hair in a neat manner though it was to be covered with a headdress as can be seen from the figures of those whose headdresses have slipped to the side disclosing a part of their hair.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (a).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35; *Nidānakathā*; and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 246 f.

<sup>106</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and pl. xvi (d).

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxviii (6), xxii (a), xx (a), etc.

Persons belonging to the lower orders seem to have imitated their superiors in this respect but probably were not æsthetic enough to add to their personal appearance by playing with their hair. The astrologer,<sup>109</sup> whose head is bald on the crown has curly but short hair on the sides which himself being an aged person, he does not seem to have taken care of. The hunter,<sup>110</sup> whose appearance gives an air of old age also must have been a careless person in this respect for his hair is not even combed. Some unwieldy locks of hair peep out of a dwarf's headdress<sup>111</sup> behind the head indicating their uncared for condition. Three persons in one panel,<sup>112</sup> all of whom may be Brāhmaṇas appear with short hair worn in the fashion of a wig. Here also we meet with an exception where an attendant wears a very long hair which is plaited and gathered on the side in a tall fantastic cone of three coils.<sup>113</sup>

Some ascetics seem to have worn long matted hair which were gathered at the crown or a bit slanting on the sides in various styles. Sometimes the matted locks were left drooping behind the head and on the shoulders as we find in the case of Asita (Fig. 48).<sup>114</sup> One ascetic has gathered his matted hair in a bun which comes on the right side (Fig. 49).<sup>115</sup> In the panel depicting "the First Sermon<sup>116</sup> in the Deer Park" which shows five ascetics we come across different fashions of wearing the hair where they vary with the individual. This one has gathered the twists of matted hair on the right side in a large circular coil or ring above the ear, the end being taken through and left hanging over the ear (Fig. 50). Another, sitting near him, has gathered the braids on the crown in a coil somewhat crescent-shaped (Fig. 51). But the case is quite different with the Buddhist monks, some of whom are shown with completely shaved heads and some with short, curly hair worn in the fashion of a wig.<sup>117</sup>

### Women

Women of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, though mostly covered their heads with this or that type of headdress, seem to have exercised their best skill in arranging their hair in various modes or fashions. Of course the variety as seen in these sculptures is but little as compared with Ajanṭā, Sāñchi and Barhut. But even that is sufficient witness of the skill in this respect of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā women.

The simplest and most natural of these fashions was the one shown in one of the two gold medallions above referred to, which bears the portrait of a woman. She wears her hair in the Brahmanic manner, i.e., the manner in which the hair is parted in the middle and gathered on the occiput in a simple chignon tied by a ribbon or by a twist of the hair and kept loose and hanging (Fig. 52).<sup>118</sup> But the most common form of wearing the coiffure is

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (b).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (a).

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxiv (c), xxxii (a), xxxiv (6), etc.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvi (d).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (b).

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxix (6).

shown by a woman, an attendant of the king's court. There the hair is parted<sup>119</sup> in the middle and then tied by a band at the back of the head and then again it is braided into a ball or a circle placed flat on the occiput. It is ornamented with a diadem round the ball and a flower ornament or a boss (of gold presumably in the case of aristocratic women and of some other material of lesser value in the case of women of lower ranks) fixed in it to keep it intact. A broad ornamented band is suspended from the chignon on the back in the place of a tail of the braided hair (Fig. 53). Sometimes this band is replaced by a pair of cords or ribbons. Another fashion<sup>120</sup> was that of wearing the chignon on the crown, the hair in this case was not plaited and a net-work of pearls covered it while a string of gems was tied round it to keep it in position. Two decorated fillets, one on each side, ran to the ears from the bottom of the chignon. The hair was not always parted along the median line from the forehead backwards but sometimes it was parted a bit to the right<sup>121</sup> or to the left<sup>122</sup> of it according to individual taste (Figs. 54, 55).

All the male figures in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, whether representations of men of rank and position or of persons of lower orders are smooth-chinned. Only ascetics are shown with beards and that too, in only two panels. It seems, therefore, that the practise of cultivating the beard was not much in vogue in those days in this region. Ascetics, who had renounced the worldly life perhaps kept it as a symbol of their new and isolated life. These only two exceptions are the five ascetic companions<sup>123</sup> of Buddha who wear short beards and Paduma<sup>124</sup> who is shown with a little longer beard.

### *The Foot-wear*

As regards foot-wear all the sculptures without exception show the figures bare-footed. It is perplexing to find that even persons in processions or out for other purposes, on foot or on horse-back, when we generally expect them to be wearing some sort of foot-wear are invariably shown without it. In spite of this strong and unmistakable evidence it is really hard to make a cogent statement. But one noteworthy thing, which perhaps will be additional proof of the natural inference of such a state of affairs is the absence of foot-wear in spite of the text's requirement to the contrary, in one panel.<sup>125</sup> This is the panel depicting an episode in the story of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*,<sup>126</sup> viz., the visit of Prince Bharata to his elder brother Rāma. The text says that Rāma, after refusing Bharata's invitation to return from the forest and administer the kingdom, requested him to rule the kingdom in his name for three years and gave him his pair of sandals to represent him during his absence. The pair of sandals is absent and none in the panel shows a foot-wear. LONGHURST's conjecture<sup>127</sup> that perhaps there was a third panel depicting the

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxix (6).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).

<sup>127</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi (c).

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii (6).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (b).

<sup>126</sup> *Jātaka*, (Translations), iv, pp. 78ff.

last scene and in it they were shown does not stand to reason when we take into consideration that in none of the three scenes depicted in these two panels sandals or any other foot-wear appear. Even admitting that the sculptors reserved the presentation of sandals for the third panel, there was no obstacle to their representing the sandals in the previous two panels. In fact it would have been more in the fitness of things than depicting them suddenly in the third panel, for the presentation of them took place at the same time as Bharata's visit, when Rāma was expected to have his pair of sandals with him.

The absence of any kind of foot-wear in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, however, accords well with the general custom in South India even to-day.

Thus we have completed our enquiries as regards the costume and the personal appearance of the 'ancient people of the Kṛṣṇā Valley'. To summarize our results, we find that the sculptures represent the dress of the people as very scanty, only the portion of the body below waist is found covered, the rest of the body even of the females is shown nude. The dress which covers the lower part is generally short and except in a few cases never reaches beyond the knees and often stops short much above them. The use of long garments such as the *dhōti* or the *sārī* is not altogether unknown to our sculptures but the instances showing them are so scanty and so doubtful as to admit of no conclusion. This scanty dress, which almost consisted of a single garment viz. the *laṅgoti* or a sort of tight breach-clout, is replaced in some cases by a *pāyāṁā* and added to by a tunic which, we found, are confined to a very small section of the society as represented in the sculptures. *Uttariyas* or scarfs are found often used to cover or simply lie rolled on the upper person and the headdress is found to have been the most popular feature of dress with both the sexes. Buddhist monks used the dress which was in conformity with the injunctions of the scriptures and other ascetics are found sometimes wearing bark garments and sometimes only *laṅgotis*. There are some instances which show that sewed dress was not unknown to the 'ancients' of the Kṛṣṇā Valley. No foot-wear occurs in any of the panels thus almost forcing us to conclude that it was not the custom in the Kṛṣṇā Valley of those days to cover the feet. There is not so much difference between the dress of the men of quality and high rank and the persons of low ranks. However it is possible that it was felt in the material of which the dress was made.

Men kept short hair on their head and women wore long hair and arranged it in various artistic styles. Some of the Buddhist monks wore them in the fashion of a wig and some got their heads completely shaved while other ascetics kept long matted hair. The practice of cultivating the beard was, it seems, not favoured by the people except a few ascetics who kept short beards and the general population of males wore smooth chins.

These conclusions, based purely on the sculptural evidence, really seem strange especially in the case of the costume. It is extremely doubtful whether such was really the prevailing costume of the people, even of the kings, in those days. A people who show a considerably advanced stage of civilization in quite a number of aspects cannot be so primitive in their costume which is

regarded as a sure test of a people's manners and ideas. These conclusions can be questioned, and in fact the reliability of sculptural evidence was questioned as early as 1881 by Rajendralal MITRA,<sup>128</sup> who ascribed the prevailing character of bas-reliefs, as regards the dress, to the exigencies of art.

Scholars differ among themselves as regards the character of costume in ancient India. In the literature of Ancient India references to different garments of the body abound and even in the early sculptures of the Punjab and the North Western Provinces (c. 100 B.C. to c. 300 A.D.) we undoubtedly come across several female statues whose torsos are covered with a portion of their *sāris*, as described in the epics and classical Sanskrit literature. But when we come to Southern India we meet with a very perplexing disparity between the literary and the sculptural evidence. The evidence of the Āndhra sculptures strongly points to the scanty nature of dress in that part of Ancient India. Here not only the bust but the whole body is shown nude excepting the narrow region of the waist, which is covered merely to conceal the privities. The nudity of these sculptured figures of females is accounted for by ALTEKAR from the artistic convention of the age. He says, "the real explanation of women appearing without their bust being properly covered in the sculptures and paintings of Southern and Central India seems to be the artistic convention of the age. Breasts are the most significant symbol of motherhood and the artists of these provinces probably felt that they may be shown uncovered in works of art, though they may be normally concealed in actual life under a bodice or a portion of *sāris*." This convention, he thinks, facilitated the task of fully exhibiting the beauty of the female form without suggesting any indecency and also gave the artist an opportunity to show the different ornaments worn on the chest and the shoulders.<sup>129</sup> As against the view held by some authors that the dress of women of the Dravidian country was really scanty ALTEKAR places the literary evidence from Hala's *Saptasāti* which in his opinion undoubtedly reflects the Dravidian life during the early centuries of the Christian era. He quotes three verses from this anthology which, in his opinion, make it quite clear that Dravidian ladies used to cover their breast with adequate clothing in the days when the Ajanta frescoes were being painted.<sup>130</sup> In respect of the nude or scantily dressed figures at Ajanṭā and Ellora the RAJA OF AUNDH thinks that they are the creations of the Dravidian artists and holds the view that those Dravidian artists have shown their women folk as wearing just the dress that was current in the Dravidian Society.<sup>131</sup>

The Amarāvati sculptures, like those of Nāgārjunakonḍā, show the dress of the people in a majority of instances as very scanty. But ALTEKAR holds that in these sculptures nudity was not the order of the day, the *sāris* were shown partly in carving and partly in plastering and colouring.<sup>132</sup> This view is based on the opinions of HAVELL and the RAJA OF AUNDH. HAVELL has

<sup>128</sup> *The Indo-Aryans*, I, p. 187.

<sup>129</sup> *The Position of Women in the Hindu Civilization*, p. 345.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344.

<sup>131</sup> *Ellora*, pp. 97-100.

<sup>132</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 340.



pointed out that the exaggerated thinness of the legs of the human figures at Amarāvati makes it clear that the sculptures had their finishing coat of plaster.<sup>133</sup> The RAJA OF AUNDH<sup>134</sup> says that in order to produce an effect of transparent garment the limbs of the body such as thighs etc. were first carved nude and then given the finishing touch of coating and colouring !

However, we think, that the argument that the sculptures had their finishing touches in plaster and colouring in which were shown the garments for the sake of transparency does not hold good at least in the case of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures. If the sculptures were to be coated with plaster and then coloured, then where was the necessity of carving different elaborate ornaments to the minutest details on the limbs of the body ? In our sculptures we meet with some male and female figures which show their ornaments quite distinctly. The artists, to be sure, would not have spent so much skill on them if after all the sculptures were to receive the coating of plaster. Again the borders of the breach-clout are so clearly sculptured as to convey at once the completeness of the garment. Moreover it was not difficult for the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā artists to represent a thin garment such as a *dhōti* or a *sari* on stone as a few instances are found which bear sufficient testimony to the skill of these artists in this respect. For example in one of the small vertical panels we meet with a Brāhmaṇa<sup>135</sup> who wears a *dhōti* reaching down to the ankles. This *dhōti* is most gracefully sculptured and every fold of it is shown. This is the most realistic representation of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs (Fig. 7).

We regret the loss of the statues of the Sātavāhana kings and queens of the Nānāghāt cave which would have certainly given us an effective clue to the solution of this problem of costume. However, there are some figures of the Āndhra Period in the Deccan which portray the patrons of Buddhism in that province. One such sculpture is found on the façade wall of the *caitya* hall at Karli which portrays a couple of donors.<sup>136</sup> The man and woman of the couple show the same dress as is found in the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. This similarity, if not conclusive, is most important in this connection.

Be the costume of the ancient people of the Āndhra country as it may, we are quite conscious of the incompleteness of the sculptural evidence and think that it is only after correlating the sculptural and literary evidence that we can arrive at a tenable conclusion. Nevertheless, we have laid down what the former has to tell.

### *Personal Ornaments*

The passion for personal embellishment is common to every state of society. Even the primitive tribes show a remarkable taste and fondness for ornaments. While giving an account of the Brinjāris, MOOR<sup>137</sup> records as regards their women that their ornaments are so singularly chosen that he had

<sup>133</sup> *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 104.

<sup>134</sup> *ABORI.*, 3, p. 19.

<sup>135</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xli (a).

<sup>136</sup> KRAMRISCH, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 162 and pl. XII, 44.

<sup>137</sup> THURSTON, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, IV, p. 211.

seen women who had eight or ten pounds weight in metal or ivory round their arms and legs. The Nāgārjunakonḍā sculptures attest well to this passion for ornament and show the ancient people of the Kṛṣṇā Valley over-loaded with ornaments, especially the females.

It is generally agreed that clothing developed from ornament<sup>138</sup> and in studying the ornament and clothing of primitive peoples, this development and the relation of each garment to the particular ornament from which it developed can be traced. Be it as it may, the importance of their study is beyond question. Though they are generally worn for decorative purposes, there are some which have, or have had, a magical and protective significance, some are signs of social status and are worn only by officials in virtue of their office which may be termed *insignia*, some have a religious and social significance and some originally had a utilitarian basis. It is difficult to study the sculptured ornaments from all these points of view. But an effort in this direction, we hope, may yield some useful information.

Of the ornaments found in our sculptures some are common to both the sexes and are shown almost universally. In the case of male figures the leg and foot-ornaments are nowhere shown, and it seems that the decoration of this part of the body was exclusively a privilege of the fair sex.

Ornaments were used, it appears, by persons of all ranks, though amongst the lower classes it was the attendant class that exhibited an extraordinary taste for them. This was due, probably, to the surroundings in which they had to move. The rest of the commonalty seems to have been comparatively simple in this respect.

From their appearance the ornaments used by the aristocratic persons and by those of commonalty appear similar, but it is possible that the difference was felt in the material of which they were made.

"So happy is the architecture of the human form," says HILER, "that the very places where the ornament naturally fitted were probably the best of all places which could have been found."<sup>139</sup> These places generally are the following :—The forehead and the temples with the bone which projects beneath, and the support formed by the ears and surrounding bony structure, the ears, the nose, the neck and the shoulders, the thigh and the hips ; on the legs it is the region above the ankle-bones, and also that just above the biceps femoris ; on the arms, the biceps, the wrist and the fingers. To these places are added sometimes the junction of thorax and the abdomen and the breasts.

Our study will be in the order mentioned above pointing out the salient features of the different ornaments of the body.

#### *Head Ornaments or Mastakaśobhanas*

As most of the male and female figures of the Nāgārjunakonḍā sculptures wear headdresses, no separate ornaments for the head are found in them ex-

<sup>138</sup> See for a brief summary of the various theories as regards the origin of clothing, HILER, *From Nudity to Raiment*, I.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

cept what appear on the headdress itself. Though the headdress was put on mainly for the purposes of protection, 'the Kṛṣṇā Valley people' seem to have regarded it as a feature of decoration also as it becomes clear even at a hurried glance at the sculptures. When treating of the headdress and coiffure frequent references have already been made to fillets, bands, and strings of pearls and jems as also to discs, bosses and similar ornamental devices that decorated the headdress and the hair both of the male and female sexes. Thus besides its being a protection for the head, they treated the headdress as an ornament of the head or a *mastakābharāṇa* or *mastakabhūṣaṇa*.

(i) *Head-band or the Agrapaṭṭa or Lalāṭapaṭṭa.*

Of the various things that ornamented the headdress the head-band (frontal) or *agra* or *lalāṭapaṭṭa* deserves a special attention. For, occupying as it does the most prominent place on the head—the forehead—and its use being found to have been common with both the sexes, it presents a considerable variety as regards its material and construction.

In the majority of instances the *agraṭṭa* is found to be an integral part of the headdress with males and females. And even in the case of females who do not wear a headdress, the use of this ornament is attested, as is already shown while dealing with the light headdress of women. Thus the *agraṭṭa* was a common ornament of 'the Kṛṣṇā Valley people.'

As an integral part of the headdress this ornament consisted, in its simplest form, of a strip of some thin material, probably of cloth, decorated with one or more rows of pearls, gems or beads. The use of this *agraṭṭa* with a pendant hanging from its centre on the forehead is exclusively found with women. In the case of some male figures two such *paṭṭas* or bands are found tied over the forehead on the headdress in the manner shown in the illustration. As a detached ornament its use was, it appears from the sculptures, confined only to women. In this capacity it also consisted of one or more strings, instead of the strip of the usual material, of pearls, gems or simple beads with or without a pendant in the centre. A detached *agraṭṭa* made of lockets and a pendant is also found in one case on the forehead of an amorous lady.

In our sculptures are found the following varieties of this ornament :—

(a) As an integral part of the head-dress

- (i) an *agraṭṭa* of two rows of pearls or beads *without* a pendant.
- (ii) an *agraṭṭa* of two rows of pearls or beads *with* a pendant.

(b) As a detached ornament

- (i) an *agraṭṭa* of one row or string of pearls or beads *without* a pendant.
- (ii) an *agraṭṭa* of one row or string of pearls or beads *with* a pendant.
- (iii) an *agraṭṭa* of two rows or strings of pearls or beads *with* a pendant.
- (iv) an *agraṭṭa* of lockets with a pendant.

An *agrapaṭṭa*, as an integral part of the headdress and consisting of two rows of pearls but without a pendant is to be seen on Māyā's<sup>140</sup> headdress on her forehead. The beads are placed very close to each other and are rather big (Fig. 1). Somewhat similar to this but with a pendant is the *agrapaṭṭa* of a young damsel (Fig. 2)<sup>141</sup> who is sitting near Siddhārtha in the Pleasure Garden.

As a detached ornament consisting only of a row of small beads on a strip of cloth this ornament is to be found worn by a female attendant<sup>142</sup> of the Nāga of the Mango Ferry (Fig. 3). This *agrapaṭṭa* has no pendant in its centre. But a very elaborate *agrapaṭṭa* of one string of big gems with a big circular pendant is to be seen on the fore-head of a River Goddess (Fig. 4).<sup>143</sup> The gems of this *agrapaṭṭa* appear to be *ovoidal* in shape. An amorous lady<sup>144</sup> in one panel wears an *agrapaṭṭa* of two strings of small beads from the centre of which hangs on her forehead a small *circular* pendant (Fig. 5). The last variety of *agrapaṭṭa* i.e. the one consisting of lockets and a pendant is worn by an amorous lady (Fig. 6).<sup>145</sup> The pendant of this instance is rather indistinct and so its shape cannot be determined.

Female attendants are, with only an exception or two, not found using this ornament. Only the queens, amorous ladies and *yakṣīs*, *nāgīs* and *apsaras* are the persons who are shown with *agrapaṭṭa* on the forehead. Was it, therefore, worn as a sign of a high status in the society? From the sculptures at least it would appear so.

As regards the male sex this ornament was used in a different manner. As already said, two bands decorated with rows of pearls or beads adorned their headdress in some cases. Thus is adorned the headdress of a *nāga* in one panel who is identified as an attendant<sup>146</sup> of the serpent king Muchalinda (Fig. 7). Sometimes a band of one row of beads only decorated the lower skirt of the turban. Some of the gods who are exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind in one panel<sup>147</sup> wear headdresses which have such a band on the lower edge (Fig. 8). Attendants also are found using this ornament<sup>148</sup> which fact seems to point to its unrestricted use.

Other ornamental devices used both by males and females of the Nāgārjunakonḍā sculptures are already described while treating of the headdress and the coiffure and, therefore, their description here will be redundant.

#### *Ear Ornaments or Karnaśobhanas.*

Nāgārjunakonḍā sculptures show a considerable variety of ear ornaments which are worn both by men and women. But owing to their small size and sometimes to the rough representations it has become difficult to ascertain their exact shape. Various ear ornaments with different names and shapes are re-

<sup>140</sup> LONGHURST; op. cit. pl. xx (a).

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlviii (a).

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii (b).

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii (b).

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (c).

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvi (a).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (b).

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii (b).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, (a).

ferred to in the ancient literature of India. Whether those found in the sculptures are the same as these is very difficult to ascertain though not impossible. Ear-ornaments are attached generally to the helix or the ear-lobe. Our sculptures present only those attached to the ear-lobe.

The following varieties are found in our sculptures :—

- (i) a large circular *metal* ring.
- (ii) a large *metal* disc.
- (iii) a spring-like *metal* ornament.
- (iv) a *metal* ring with a group of pearls or beaded strings.
- (v) a *metal* ball or a big gem.
- (vi) a half-opened flower of *metal*.

(i) The simplest and most frequently used ear ornament is a large circular ring worn in the hole bored in the ear-lobe. Such a ring is found worn by males and females testifying to its popularity with both the sexes. Gods also are found favouring this simple ornament. Thus in the panel depicting "the Bodhisattva's descent from heaven in the form of a White Elephant" a god<sup>149</sup> has this ornament in his ear. Also it is worn by a dwarf<sup>150</sup> who is playing with his toy-horse (Fig. 9). A lady sitting on a stool near Māndhātū's couch also wears such a ring in her ear.<sup>151</sup> This ring was undoubtedly made of some metal and in the case of kings and other royal and rich persons it was probably golden (*hiraṇmayam kuṇḍalam*).

(ii) The disc-shaped ornament was probably less frequently used, as its occurrence in our sculptures is rare. It exhibits a close similarity to the one from the Mārkaṇḍa Tank in Puri as noted by Rajendralal MITRA.<sup>152</sup> According to him it is the representation of an ornament which is known in Bengal by the name *dheñri*. It was probably of gold, as the *dheñri* in Bengal is, and was worn on the lobe of the ear (Fig. 10).<sup>153</sup> A god in one panel has worn it on his ear-lobe.

(iii) The curious spring-shaped ornament is worn by a dwarf (Fig. 11)<sup>154</sup> and few other male and female figures. This ornament consists of three coils, the upper being inserted in the hole of the ear-lobe. It is not altogether impossible that it represents the *śarpa-kuṇḍala* found in Sanskrit literature.

(iv) The most popular ear ornament consists of a large ring of some metal from which is suspended a group of strings of pearls or beads. The strings have tasseled ends which rest on the shoulders (Fig. 12). It is found used by kings, queens, male and female attendants and amorous couples and is also shown in the ears of gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas* and other celestials.<sup>155</sup> Very probably this represents the *ratna-kuṇḍala* or a jewelled ear-ring.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix (d).

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

<sup>153</sup> LONGHURST, op. cit., pl. xxiii (b)

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xix (a), xx (a) (b), xxiii (a), xxxiv (a) etc.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. ix (c).

<sup>152</sup> *The Indo-Aryans*, I, p. 231.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. ix (a).

(v) A metal ball<sup>156</sup> or a big gem is also shown in some sculptures. It was suspended on to the shoulder from the ear-lobe. The instances in which it is found are but very few. If it was a metal ball then it is possible that it was hollow and of gold (Fig. 13).

(vi) Another curious ear ornament is found suspended from the ear-lobes of some ladies in an unidentified sculpture.<sup>157</sup> Its appearance suggests that it represents a half-blown flower. If this is correct then this ornament probably is the *puṣpa-kunḍala* or the *kaṇṇa-phūla* (Fig. 14).

#### *Nose Ornament or Nāsāmaṇi.*

No nose ornaments have been met with in the sculptures proper but the gold medallion<sup>158</sup> portraying a woman shows a rounded protuberance or a "knob" on the nostril exactly where modern women wear a *camki* or a stud. According to Ramaswami AIYYANGAR the wearing of one of the three nose-ornaments<sup>159</sup> in use in Southern India viz. the *Mookku-Kuṭṭy* i.e. the nose-peg is a fairly old custom, and the knob or protuberance in question may have been some such ornament, for his description of the *Mookku-Kuṭṭy*, seems to apply well to this one under discussion. He says, "it is a screw inserted on the side of the nostril in a hole bored for the purpose. Ladies wear it on both sides of the nose and usually there is a precious stone embedded in the centre of the screw." The knob may well have been this stone.

#### *Neck Ornaments or Kaṇṭhābhūṣā.*

Many varieties of this ornament are found on persons of all ranks in our bas-reliefs ranging from a simple string of beads (*kaṇṭhikā* or *aḥṣamālā*) to a most elaborate and artistic one consisting of lockets, perhaps of gold, with a collet in the centre encasing a gem. Some individuals are not satisfied with a single string of beads or pearls. They wear two, three or even more strings of pearls or beads together with bands of cloth or fillets. Not even this, but a few dandies have decked their neck with innumerable strings of beads which cover the whole height of the throat and a part of the chest just in the manner of the Padaung belle who elongates her neck by adding rings to the collar which sometimes weigh 80 pounds!<sup>160</sup> Garlands are also found worn in a few cases which may be metallic representations of floral ones. Metallic neck-ornaments were possibly worn with the beaded ones by the 'Kṛṣṇā Valley people' as some of the varieties found would suggest.

Necklaces with pendants are very rare in our material. But a few examples are found of necklaces with collets of various shapes. The most popular necklaces with males and females seem to be those consisting of one, two or more strings of pearls or beads. There is no uniformity in the mode of wearing these. Some have tied them close to the neck while some have worn them so loose that in some cases they have slipped down to the arms.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi (c).

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvi (d).

<sup>159</sup> Quoted in his article by CODE, *ABORI*, xix, 1938-39, p. 328.

<sup>160</sup> HILER, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

As regards the material we can say nothing definitely. But the beads, or pearls, or gems, as the case may be, are found to be of various shapes, the most common being spherical, ovoidal, oblong, and globular. In the case of metal necklaces the plaques are found to be cornered, curved, and square.

The following kinds of necklaces are only representative of the great variety which discourages any attempt at a detailed elucidation.

I *A necklace of one string or row of beads (or pearls or gems etc.) or Kaṇṭhikā.*

In our bas-reliefs a few notable varieties of a one-stringed necklace are found which show various shapes of the beads or other valuables of which they consist. Thus (a) a *kaṇṭhikā* of large *ovoidal* beads threaded closely is found round the neck of an 'amorous lady'<sup>161</sup> in one panel (Fig. 15). The beads were probably bored at the top as the sculpture would suggest. Or it may be that each bead had a hook by means of which it was suspended from the string tied rather loose round the neck. Yamunā,<sup>162</sup> the river-goddess, also wears a *kaṇṭhikā* which is tied somewhat loose round the neck. The beads of her necklace are considerably large and *ovoidal* in shape (Fig. 16). An 'amorous lady'<sup>163</sup> in another panel wears (b) a *kaṇṭhikā* or a necklace of one string the beads of which are *globular* in shape and smaller than those described above. A slightly different necklace of one string is worn by Yakṣa Ālavaka<sup>164</sup> and a king.<sup>165</sup> It is (c) a *kaṇṭhikā* of large *spherical* beads. The holes in this case, it seems, were bored in the middle. The necklace is tied so loose that it has slipped over the left arm. Quite a different kind of *kaṇṭhikā* is offered by a guardian deity (d)<sup>166</sup> which consists of beads which appear to be *oblong* in shape.

II *A necklace of one string or row of beads with a locket in the centre holding a gem, or Maṇimālā.*

Various names such as *maṇimālā*, *raṭnāvalī*, *muktāvalī*, etc. are found in Sanskrit literature for a necklace of gems or of pearls. In our sculptures we have found a necklace worn by an 'amorous person'<sup>167</sup> which probably represents such a necklace. The beads or gems of this one are large and *ovoidal* in shape but are a bit narrow. They appear to have holes at the top since in the representation there is only one string from which they are shown suspended. In the centre of the string is a locket in the shape of a *regular trapezoid*. A *globular* gem is embedded in its centre (Fig. 17).

III. *A necklace of one row of gems between two metal rings.*

Some of the gods<sup>168</sup> in one panel wear an interesting neck ornament which is also found worn by a few 'amorous men and women'. The construc-

<sup>161</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii (a).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (a).

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii (a).

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (b).

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii (b).

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

tion of this ornament is worthy of notice. A row of large *ovoidal* gems is fitted in two metal rings which are considerably thick in some instances. Probably it had a clasp by means of which it was fixed round the neck at the back (Fig. 18).

This ornament also seems to have been a favourite of some men and women of the lower classes, as some male and female attendants are shown wearing this.

IV. *A necklace of two rows or strings of pearls, or Maṇimālā or Muktāvalī.*

An amorous couple<sup>169</sup> in one panel offers us a clear instance of (a) a necklace of two rows or strings. The beads or pearls are threaded close to each other and are *globular* but large (Figs. 19 and 20). Similar necklace is to be found worn by a Nāga<sup>170</sup> and a lady<sup>171</sup> but with smaller beads. The beads in all these instances are bored in the middle. This ornament, probably, is the sculptural representation of a *maṇimālā* or *muktāvalī*.

V. *A necklace of two strings of rows of pearls with a locket in the centre.*

This kind of necklace is found worn by Śuddhodana.<sup>172</sup> It consists of two strings of pearls broken up in the centre by an *oblong* locket (Fig. 21). A more clear instance of this kind of necklace is found worn by a River Goddess in one panel.<sup>173</sup> Her necklace consists of two strings of large *globular* beads with, instead of the locket, a big *spherical* gem in the centre (Fig. 22). This kind probably represents another variety of *maṇimālā* or *muktāvalī*.

VI. *A necklace of a group of strings of pearls or Hāra.*

Some figures are found wearing a group of pearl-strings hanging loose on the chest. In most of the instances found of this variety, the pearls or beads are shown small and *globular*. Thus a Nāga,<sup>174</sup> in one panel wears a group of three strings of small beads and the god<sup>175</sup> holding the tray in which is put the headdress of Gautama wears a group of several strings. The beads or pearls in both these cases are *globular* and small.

VII. *Metallic necklaces.*

Entirely different from those described above are some neck ornaments which from their appearance seem to be representations of metallic necklaces. One such is worn by a dwarf<sup>176</sup> which has a big *circular* disc in the centre. A row of *cornered* plaques is attached to either side of the disc. These two rows have a rim on the upper and lower borders (Fig. 23). A similar necklace is worn by an attendant<sup>177</sup> but its plaques are *curved* and its central disc is smaller than that of the former. It is tied close to the neck.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xi (a).

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii (b).

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (b).

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxix (b).

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (b).

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (b).

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. ix (d).



Another variety of a metallic necklace is presented by an amorous person<sup>178</sup> which is vastly different from the two described above. It consists of several lockets which are *rectangular* in shape. These are hung from a string which is tied round the neck. The lockets are incised with small squares which is the only decoration that occurs on them (Fig. 24).

What metal was used in their construction we do not know, but when made of gold they probably represented the *hemasūtrakam* or *kanakasūtram*.

#### *Arm Ornaments or Bāhu-bhūṣaṇas.*

Ornaments of the arm include those worn on the wrist, forearm and the biceps. These *bāhubhūṣaṇas* are a regular feature of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā figures. Their study reveals some variety. Men of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs do not show a marked tendency to wearing ornaments on the biceps—the bracelets or *keyūras* or *aṅgadas*. Very few males are shown with bracelets. Gods and other male celestials, however, are seen using them. This probably indicates that *keyūras* were no ornaments of daily wear or were only worn by persons of high rank. Women, however, seem to have been very particular in decorating their arms with bracelets as our sculptures show them with these ornaments in the majority of female representations. Bangles or *kaṅkaṇas* and wristlets or *prakoṣṭhavalayas* were sometimes used together, the former being supported by the latter on the wrist, as some of the female figures show. Males of our bas-reliefs wear only wristlets or *prakoṣṭhavalayas*.

#### *I. Bracelets or Keyūras.*

Only four varieties of this ornament are found in our sculptures. These are as follows :—

(a) An armlet or *keyūra* wrought with the beaded pattern and edged in by one, two or more rims.

This variety of the *keyūra* is the most common in the instances where the use of *keyūra* is shown. It seems to have been hollow in the original and made of some valuable metals like gold or silver. It is obviously impossible that it was placed on the biceps by inserting the hand through it as in the sculptures it is shown quite close and fitting on the biceps. So, perhaps, it had a clasp and was fitted round the biceps by means of a screw.

It is found on the arms of Śuddhodana as well as on those of the Guardian Deities seated near him. Also a male attendant<sup>179</sup> in the same panel shows this ornament. The beads of the middle portion in this case are *ovoidal* in shape and are edged in by a single thick rim on the upper edge and three narrow rims on the lower (Fig. 25). In the same panel queen Māyā is shown wearing a *keyūra* which has single but broad rims on both edges. Also an attendant of Māyā—a maid-servant—and an amorous lady<sup>180</sup> wear a similar *keyūra*. The panel depicting the "Transportation of Gautama's Headress to Heaven"<sup>181</sup> offers us very distinct instances of a *keyūra* with the beaded pat-

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii (b).

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (a).

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

tern edged in by three and two rims on the upper and lower borders respectively.

(b) *A spring-like keyūra of metal, simple and plain.*

This is a very curious kind of the *keyūra* found in only one instance on the arms of an amorous person.<sup>182</sup> It is a very simple ornament probably made of a long, narrow strip of some metal rolled springwise in a coil and a half (Fig. 26).

(c) *A keyūra of six square panels inset with pearls and attached to each other by wire or hooks.*

This is the most elaborate and artistic of all the *keyūras* found in our sculptures. It seems to have been constructed by linking six square panels to each other. The panels are inset with pearls arranged round a central jewel. This is found in only one instance and is worn on the biceps by a River Goddess (Fig. 27).<sup>183</sup>

(d) *A pile of bangles or kañkaṇas in the place of keyūra.*

Instead of a *keyūra* some women including queens, attendants and others, are found wearing a pile of *kañkaṇas*. The *kañkaṇas* seem to be plain and flat. However, these occur in the panels which are roughly carved and so we cannot know whether they constitute a single ornament or merely a heap of detached *kañkaṇas* worn upon one another (Fig. 28).

Such a pile is seen on the biceps of a queen<sup>184</sup> in one panel and on those of Māra's<sup>185</sup> daughters and female attendants.<sup>186</sup> The last show nearly eight *kañkaṇas* of rough workmanship while the first has decorated her arms with nearly a dozen of them.

## II. *Bangles or Kañkaṇas.*

Bangles were worn both on hands and feet by men and women in the Vedic age.<sup>187</sup> Our sculptures show only women using them. In this respect one noteworthy thing is that many female figures of Nāgārjunakonḍā bas-reliefs show the same fondness for these as is seen in the case of one figurine discovered at Mohenjo-daro.<sup>188</sup>

These *kañkaṇas* of Nāgārjunakonḍā appear to be very simple. Of what metal they were made we do not know, but they evince a great similarity in shape and arrangement to the rings of ivory worn by many Lambādi women. The Lambādi women wear these rings from the wrist to the shoulder, regularly increasing in size, the ring near the shoulder being immoderately large, 16" or 18" in circumference.<sup>189</sup>

Four such bangles are seen on the forearms of Māyā.<sup>190</sup> They are broad and have occupied half the length of the forearm. The bangle near

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii (b).

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi (c).

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (b) and xxi (a).

<sup>188</sup> KRAMRISCH, *op. cit.*, pl. I, 4.

<sup>190</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (b).

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (b).

<sup>187</sup> ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

<sup>189</sup> THURSTON, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 211.

the wrist is the smallest of the four and the fourth or the last is the largest (Fig. 29). Her attendant also wears the same bangles but they are, it seems, supported on the wrist by two large rings. Another figure of Māyā in one panel<sup>191</sup> shows eight bangles which are not so broad as those described above and two of which—those near the wrist—are larger than the rest forming support for them (Fig. 30). An amorous lady<sup>192</sup> also wears the same type of bangles, but they are unusually large. However, they are of uniform size and number only three. Besides these examples, there are many instances which show the same type.

These bangles or *kañkaṇas* were circular in shape as shown by their representations. The golden *pāṭlī*'s of modern Mahārāṣṭrian women offer an exact parallel to them in respect of shape.

### III. Wristlets or *Prakoṣṭhavalayas*.

A considerable variety of these ornaments is found in our sculptures. *Prakoṣṭhavalayas* are shown on wrists both of males and females. Sometimes, and especially in the case of males, the *prakoṣṭhavalaya* was worn singly but it often occurs, markedly with females, as a support for two, three or a pile of bangles. Some male figures are also found wearing, two or three *prakoṣṭhavalayas* about each wrist, all of the same shape and pattern or each of a different shape and pattern.

(a) a *prakoṣṭhavalaya* of a cylindrical form and wrought with the beaded-pattern is worn by an amorous lady.<sup>193</sup> Here it supports a pile of nearly eight bangles which gradually increase in size (Fig. 31). But two *prakoṣṭhavalayas* of the same variety are worn about each wrist by a man of the amorous couple in one panel.<sup>194</sup>

(b) a plain cylindrical *prakoṣṭhavalaya* is worn about each wrist by a River Goddess<sup>195</sup> as a support for the pile of six bangles which increase in size gradually (Fig. 32).

(c) a hollow *prakoṣṭhavalaya* wrought with the beaded pattern and edged in with one or more rims.

This variety evinces a great similarity to the armlet or *keyūra* described in I(a). The shape, the ornamental beaded pattern and the general appearance of these two are so much alike each other that had it not been for the different positions they occupy they would not have been differently named.

Such a wristlet is worn on his wrist by a *Nāga*<sup>196</sup> which is edged in by a single rim on both the borders. The beads appear to be narrow *ovoids* with pointed extremities (Fig. 33). Somewhat similar to this in general appearance but edged in with three rims on each border and much broader is the wristlet of one amorous lady.<sup>197</sup> This variety of the *prakoṣṭhavalaya* was probably hollow and had a clasp by means of which it was fitted round the wrist.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (b).

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli (b).

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv(a).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv(a).

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv(b).

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii(b).

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli(a).

(d) a chain (*śṛṅkhalā*)-shaped wristlet or *prakoṣṭhavalaya*.

This *prakoṣṭhavalaya* is in the majority of cases found on the wrists of Gods, Guardian Deities and other celestials. This was either a real chain of gold with solid or hollow links or a wristlet made of one piece of gold or other metal wrought with the chain pattern and then rolled in a cylindrical form and then bent so as to form a circle.

In the panel<sup>198</sup> depicting the "Transportation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven" we get a procession of gods nearly all of whom wear two *prakoṣṭhavalayas* of this type about each wrist. Indra is also shown with two such wristlets about each wrist in one panel (Fig. 34).

(e) a couple of beaded strings round each wrist instead of a *prakoṣṭhavalaya* is found worn by a king.<sup>199</sup> The beads or pearls appear to be large and globular in shape and are threaded close together. This fashion of substituting beaded or pearl strings for a *prakoṣṭhavalaya* is but very rarely found in our sculptures.

These varieties of the *prakoṣṭhavalaya* do not exhaust the range of its variety as found in our sculptures. But due to rough representations it has become almost impossible to give the description of the rest as their shape, form and ornamentation cannot be ascertained quite clearly.

#### Girdle or Mekhalā.

The *kamara-bandha* or waist-band to which frequent references have been made when treating of the male costume was, it seems, a simple band of cloth or a belt with no ornamentation on it. It was, as we have seen, a feature of male attire to be tied over the *laṅgoti*. In some cases as pointed out before, the *uttariya* or scarf is found tied round the waist to secure either the *laṅgoti* or the tunic or *chapkan* firmly to the waist. Thus in the case of males the *kamara-bandha* was more a part of the dress than a feature of ornamentation. However, we meet with a few ornamented *kamara-bandhas*<sup>200</sup> but there also their character as a part of attire appears more emphatic than their ornamental role which strikes as secondary. The *laṅgotis* of the male costume are also in majority of instances simple and plain.<sup>201</sup> Thus as regards males, the part of the body below the waist was mostly unornamented as the sculptural evidence would suggest.

On coming to the female figures what strikes the spectator is the richness of decoration of the waist. But a detailed survey of this decoration reveals that a girdle as a separate ornament for the waist, somewhat nearing the one denoted by the Sanskrit term *mekhalā* and entirely different from the *laṅgoti* or breach-clout and the *kamara-bandha* or waist-band described above is very rarely present or nearly absent in our sculptures. All the decoration of the waist referred to above is bestowed in the majority of instances, on the *laṅgoti*.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii(a).

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvi(b).

<sup>200</sup> E.g. *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

<sup>201</sup> For exceptions to this see *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii(b).

Thus the *laṅgoti*, besides being a part of costume was treated by the females of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā as an ornament also.

However a few female figures show us an ornament which appears to have been a separate ornament for the waist and may be described by the name *mekhalā*.

In the decoration of the *laṅgoti* three fashions can be clearly discerned in our sculptures. Some are decorated with a single row of large beads (or pearls or gems) on the lower skirt, some are decorated with two such rows while the rest are decorated with many rows of small beads, sometimes the decoration occupying the whole surface of the garment.

(a) A *laṅgoti* ornamented with a single row of large beads.

A female attendant in one panel<sup>202</sup> which depicts the scene, generally known as "Casting the Horoscope", has adorned her *laṅgoti* in this fashion. The beads, which are large perhaps *ovoidal* in shape, are attached to the lower skirt of the garment. Over the *laṅgoti* is to be seen tied a *kamara-bandha* which is quite plain (Fig. 35). Similar decoration is to be found on the *laṅgoti* of Māyā who appears in the panel representing "Nativity and Seven Steps."<sup>203</sup> Her *kamara-bandha* has slipped down considerably on the right hip concealing partly the decoration. A River Goddess and many other female attendants and amorous ladies have decorated their *laṅgotis* in the same fashion.<sup>204</sup>

(b) A *laṅgoti* ornamented with two strings of large beads on the lower skirt.

This fashion is illustrated by Māyā<sup>205</sup> who is seated near the throne of Sudhodana. The beads which adorn her *laṅgoti* are threaded close together and appear big and *globular* (Fig. 36). Other instances of this fashion are found in many panels which show that this fashion was also equally favoured<sup>206</sup> both by the amorous ladies and attendants.

(c) A *laṅgoti* ornamented with three or more rows of beads (or pearls or gems).

A very clear and beautiful instance of this fashion is provided by an amorous lady in one small vertical panel, adjacent to the one depicting the "Admission of the Six Śākya Princes and the Barber Upāli to the Order."<sup>207</sup> The *laṅgoti* shows three distinct rows of beads. The *kamara-bandha* also is clearly shown which appears like a long rolled piece of cloth tied over the *laṅgoti* (Fig. 37). The same fashion is exhibited by all the female figures appearing in another panel depicting the "Nativity and Seven Steps."<sup>208</sup> The *laṅgotis* of the ladies in this panel are secured to the waist by *kamara-bandhas*. A *cakravartin's* wife and her attendant<sup>209</sup> show the same style whose *laṅgotis* are highly ornamental. From the centre of their *laṅgotis* hangs a group of

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxv(b), xxi(a) etc.

<sup>206</sup> E.g. *Ibid.*, pls. xx(b), xxi(a).

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii(b).

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx(b).

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx(a).

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx(b).

strings in front. Queens and attendants appearing in one unidentified sculpture from the *stūpa* No. 2 also have decked their *laṅgotis* in the same manner, the *laṅgoti* of an attendant being the most ornamented of all. This fashion seems to have been more favoured by the women of Nāgārjunakonḍā than the first two.<sup>210</sup>

### *Kaṭisūtra.*

Now coming to the instances which provide or seem to provide parallels to the *mekhalā* or a girdle proper, we meet with a Terra Cotta figure<sup>211</sup> from Monastery II of a female which shows a string of large beads tied round the waist. The *laṅgoti* is absent here and the figure is probably nude. The beads of the string are *ovoidal* and *globular* and are not so closely threaded as those in the above instances (Fig. 38).

This ornament occurring as it does independently, may perhaps represent the *kaṭisūtra*, a variety of the girdle.

### *Sṅkhalā or Chain.*

This is probably shown by *Māyā*<sup>212</sup> who appears in one panel as kneeling before the Deity of the Śākya Temple. The *Sṅkhalā* is not clearly carved but the portion of it on the right hip clearly shows three links, *ovoidal* in shape, classed within each other. Moreover the whole appearance of the ornament leans more on the side of a chain than on that of a string of beads (Fig. 39). This will be quite clear on its comparison with the rows of beads which adorn the *laṅgotis* of her attendants who are standing by her side.

This instance, we think, indicates the existence of metal chains such as golden and of silver, in those early days which were used as girdles.

### *Bead-belt or Mañi-mekhalā.*

A belt of two rows of small beads edged in by rims on the two borders is offered by a figure of a River Goddess.<sup>213</sup> It is tied over the waist. The beads are comparatively small but the rims make the belt of a moderate breadth. The instance being roughly represented we are left in the dark as regards its details (Fig. 40).

But we have two other instances of this bead-belt which are comparatively distinct. The first of these is offered by a female attendant<sup>214</sup> of Māndhātū's court who shows her back to the spectator. Her belt is decorated with innumerable rows of small beads. It is broader than that of the River Goddess and appears to have no rims on the borders (Fig. 41). The second and most clear of the three is shown by an amorous lady<sup>215</sup> in one small vertical panel. Her belt is tied over her *laṅgoti* and consists of three rows of large beads with a circular clasp with which it is fastened. This is the most

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxviii(a), xlvii(a), xxvi(b), xxxi(b), etc.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. vii(a).

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi(a).

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxix(c).

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli(a).

perfect example of a girdle, a *maṇi-mekhalā* or a *kaṭibandhana*, found in our sculptures.

### *Leg-Ornaments or Anklets or Nūpuras.*

As already said, in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures leg ornaments occur exclusively on the female figures. Every female figure in these sculptures has ornaments on her legs with one or other kind of anklet or *nūpura*; except this, a sad thing it is to note, no other leg ornament appears. Naturally one would like to expect much variety here, but unfortunately only a few types are found which recur throughout the whole series of female figures.

The *kaṅkaṇas* which were so often and so passionately worn on the forearm and the biceps appear in some cases also above the ankle-bones even without any support. Also a few female figures show the use of beaded strings for leg ornamentation. They are found tied round the region above the ankle bones with an anklet or *nūpura* over the ankles.

Some figures wear only a single *nūpura*, some wear two or three of the same or different kinds about each ankle while some have worn along with *nūpuras* other ornamental devices such as beaded strings or *maṇi-sūtras* and *kaṅkaṇas* or *valayas*. The following is the description of a few varieties which could be made out with some amount of exactness.

#### (i) *Nūpura.*

The simplest *nūpura* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was, it appears, a hollow tube of some metal wrought with the beaded pattern and bent in a circular shape. It offers a close similarity to the *keyūra* wrought with the beaded-pattern which is described above. This tube was probably filled with shots so that the ornament produced sound when the belles wearing this danced or walked. Some females have worn only one about each ankle,<sup>216</sup> while some have worn two such on each ankle (Figs. 42 and 43).<sup>217</sup>

#### (ii) *Śṛṅkhalā or Chain.*

An amorous lady<sup>218</sup> in one panel wears three big anklets over each ankle, all of which represent perhaps a *śṛṅkhalā* or chain. They appear to be very heavy and each of them shows a different pattern. That near the ankle or the lowest appears like a twisted rope while the middle one presents appearance much near a braid of hair. The top one was perhaps constructed by linking together small circular rings (Fig. 44). Many female figures are found wearing chains or *śṛṅkhalās* which fact may suggest its popularity with the 'Kṛṣṇā valley women.'

#### (iii) *Kiṅkiṇī or a Jingling Anklet.*

Some ladies show an anklet which appears to consist of a large ring round the ankle fringed with little ovoidal pendants. This perhaps represents the *kiṅkiṇī* or jingling anklet which consists of "a chain-band fringed

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii (6).

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, (c).

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli (a).

with little bells, round the feet, or small metal shells filled with shots, which made a jingling sound when in motion".<sup>219</sup> The ovoidal pedants perhaps represent these metal shells.

An amorous lady,<sup>220</sup> among many others, has decorated her leg with such a *kin̄k̄iṇi* over which are to be seen some four *kaṇkaṇas* or bangles (Fig. 45).

(iv) *Rings or Valayas (kanaka-valayas)*.

Some female figures show one or two large and plain rings round their ankles. They were perhaps hollow tubes bent into circles but left unwrought with no design on them. In some cases they are found in association with a pile of bangles or strings of beads.<sup>221</sup>

Thus we see that the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures contain ornaments for nearly all of the most important parts of the body. Only the ornaments for the thigh, the hips, the fingers and the toes are absent in them. The case of the nose ornament is rather dubious.

The *agrapaṭṭa* or the head-band (frontal) which occurs in our sculptures in two capacities, has probably in its origin a utilitarian base. The head-band is the most important element in primitive head-dress. "It" says HILER "not only serves the useful function of keeping the hair out of the eyes, but supports all manner of decoration and is also used to hold sundry small articles such as arrows, or even a boomerang".<sup>222</sup> The purpose of the head-band *viz.*, to confine the hair, is clearly illustrated by the detached *agrapaṭṭas* of our sculptures, but nowhere in these do we find it used to hold small sundry articles except feathers. Also we have seen that the best decoration on the head-dress is what occurs on the *agrapaṭṭas*. The head band, in the course of evolution has become the emblem of royalty and these highly ornamented *agrapaṭṭas* of our sculptures may have been some such emblems marking the social status or political dignity of the wearer.

As regards the necklace HILER remarks that "some of its elaborations form a protective piece which hanging down over the chest of the wearer suggests by its appearance and possible function the origin of defensive armour, through the breast-plate".<sup>223</sup> Unfortunately we have no representation in our bas-reliefs of a defensive armour to compare it with necklaces and find its relation to them. Be it as it may, its importance in relation to clothing cannot be underestimated. The necklace according to some authorities has played a most important part in the development of the dress.

A large necklace consisting of innumerable strings and covering the neck and the chest probably suggested the idea of a robe. It is noteworthy in this relation that some instances in our sculptures show the scarf or *uttariya*

<sup>219</sup> MITRA, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

<sup>220</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxiii (b).

<sup>221</sup> For example *ibid.*, pl. xxxii (b).

<sup>222</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.



rolled and worn round the neck just in the manner of a necklace so much so that its character as a garment does not strike the spectator at first.

Necklaces have social and religious significance also. The *maṅgala-sūtra* of Hindu women is worn exclusively by married women and is the most important of the *saubhāgyālankāras*. Even with the Lambādīs the necklace serves a significant purpose. Unmarried Lambādi women wear black bead necklaces which are taken off at marriage, at which time they first assume the *ravikkai* or jacket.<sup>224</sup> This custom possibly suggests the relation between the necklace and the upper garment.

To many advocates of the hypothesis that clothing originated in the *decorative impulse*, the girdle has been the main target. "In any case" says HILER "the girdle developed in to the breech-clout, kilt, trousers and skirt in one direction and the sword-belt and cuirass, in the other".<sup>225</sup> We have already shown that the girdle in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs has appearance more as a part of dress than as a separate ornament, and even in cases where it appears as a separate ornament of the waist it serves another purpose also, namely of holding the waist-cloth or the *laṅgotis* firmly to the waist. The decorated *laṅgotis* of our sculptures which occur in some instances without any further support deserve special attention because they serve both the purposes of clothing and ornamentation. Also we have seen that in a few instances the *kaṁara-bandha* serves the purpose of holding the sword.

The idea of strength as inherent in the girdle is possibly indicated by those instances in our sculptures where we find the *uttariya* or a scarf tied round the waist. The practice of wearing tight belts or sashes while performing tasks requiring physical effort is fairly common with the present day labourers.

The Vārakarīs of Mahārāṣṭra tie their waist firmly with their *upāvaraṇa* or *uttariya* when they have to walk a distance of many miles with the *pālakhi* procession. Similarly in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures Chhanda, the groom, who is walking in front of Siddhartha's horse has tied a scarf round his waist and over the *chapkan* or tunic.<sup>226</sup> The barber Upāli who is about to shave the Śākya princes, also has a scarf round his waist.<sup>227</sup> Even a minister of King Śibi has tied his *uttariya* round his waist obviously to gain additional strength, for he is holding a huge balance with which he has to weigh the flesh of the king's thigh.<sup>228</sup> So it is not altogether impossible that the idea of strength as inherent in the girdle finds expression in our sculptures too, as the instances cited would show.

Ear and nose ornaments have no connection with clothing. Moreover there is nothing particular about those depicted in our sculptures. Though a few varieties of the ear-ornament are found in them there is no clue to be found by which we can arrive at their individual significance. Since nearly

<sup>224</sup> THURSTON, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 217.

<sup>225</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>226</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxviii (c).

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii (a).

all the figures, male and female, are shown wearing ear-ornaments, there seems to have been no special symbolic value to this ornament as it has with the Lambādi women. Among them the ear-ornament is worn only by matrons to distinguish them from widows and unmarried girls.<sup>229</sup> The existence of a nose-ornament in our sculptures is extremely doubtful.

Arm and leg ornaments are more purely decorative in character and less connected with clothing than the frontal necklace and the girdle. As regards bangles or *kañkaṇas* an interesting custom is found with the Lambādi women. Like some of the female figures of our sculptures the Lambādi women also wear piles of bangles. This practice has a social value behind it. Unmarried Lambādi women and girls wear these bangles between the elbow and the wrist, while married women wear them between the elbow and the shoulder.<sup>230</sup> Some of the female figures of Nāgārjunakonḍā wear piles of bangles both on the forearm and the biceps thus probably indicating that there was no such custom among them.

Some forms of the wristlet have a certain utilitarian as well as an æsthetic value. The broad and beaded *prakoṣṭhavalaya* of our sculptures perhaps indicates its use for obtaining additional strength at the wrist by compression. Also the practice of wearing two or three wristlets in the case of males and a pile of bangles in the case of females may have originated in the idea of providing protection for the wrist.

<sup>229</sup> THURSTON, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 217.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

# A. COSTUME



Fig. 1

p. 57



Fig. 2

p. 57



Fig. 3.

p. 58



Fig. 4

p. 58

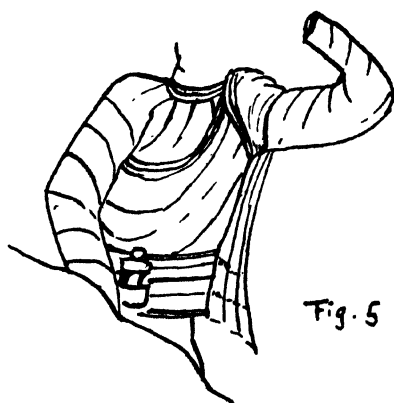


Fig. 5

p. 59



Fig. 6.

p. 60



pp. 60 and 76

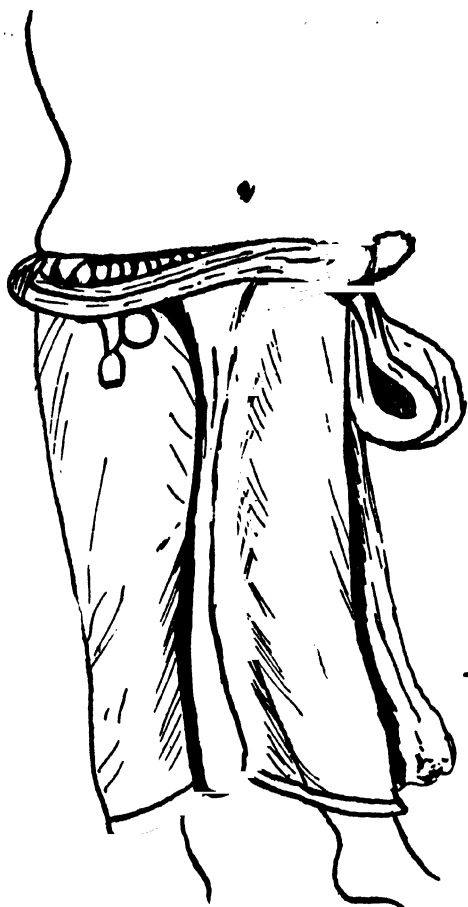


Fig. 8(a)

p. 60

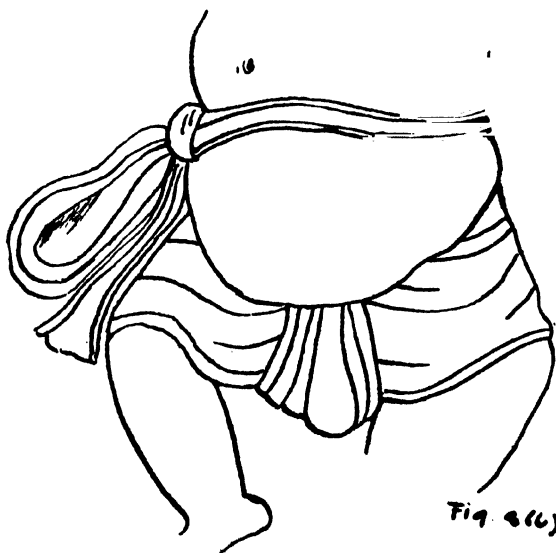


Fig. 8(b)

p. 60

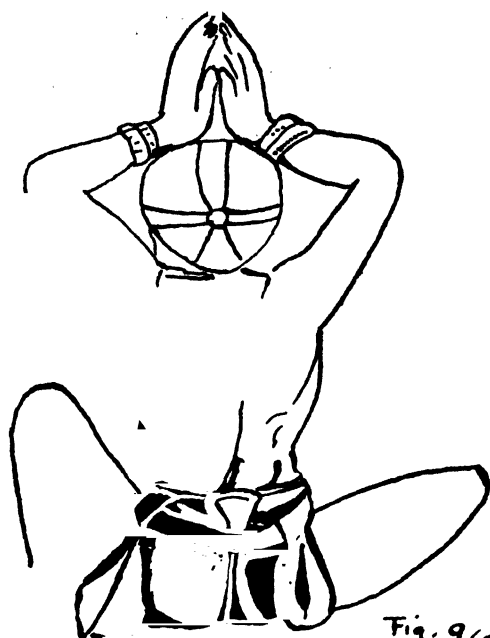


Fig. 9(a)

p. 61

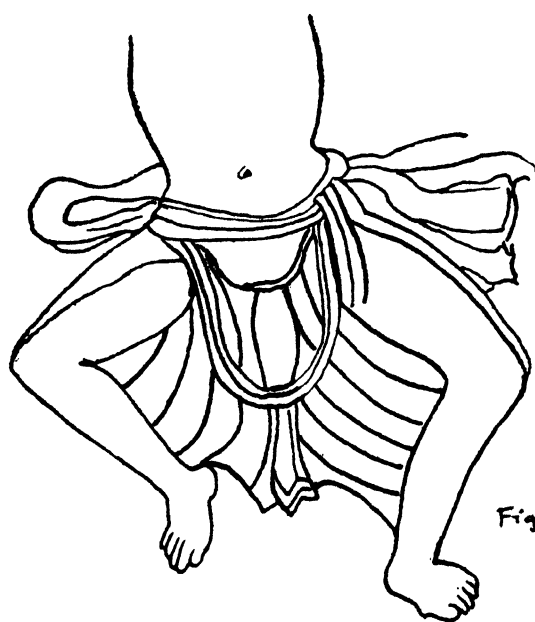


Fig. 9 (b)

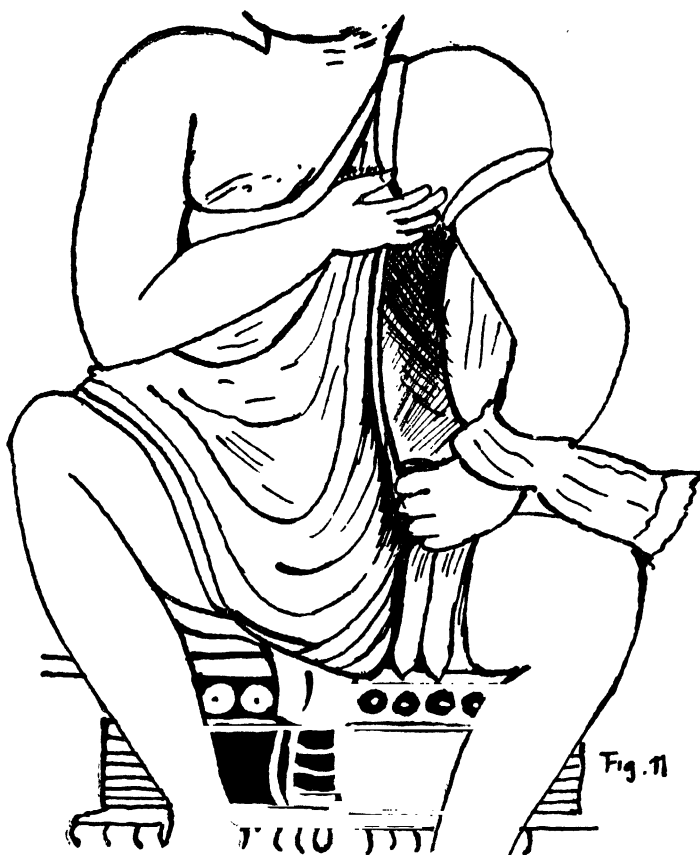
p. 61



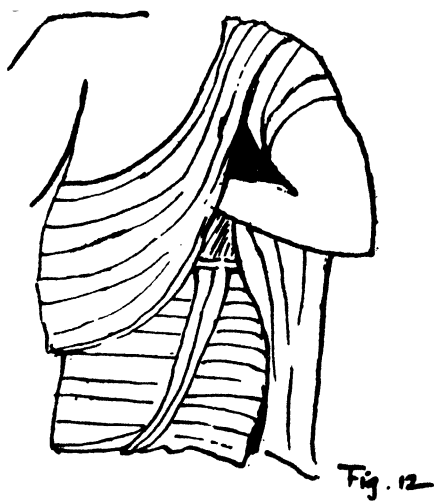
Fig. 10

p. 61





p. 61



p. 62



Fig. 13

p. 62



Fig. 15 (a)

p. 63



Fig. 14

p. 63

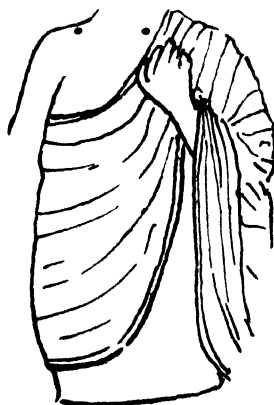


Fig 15 (b)

p. 63



Fig. 16

p. 63

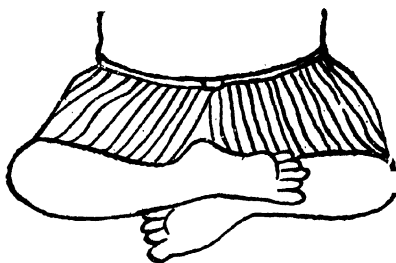


Fig. 17.

p. 63

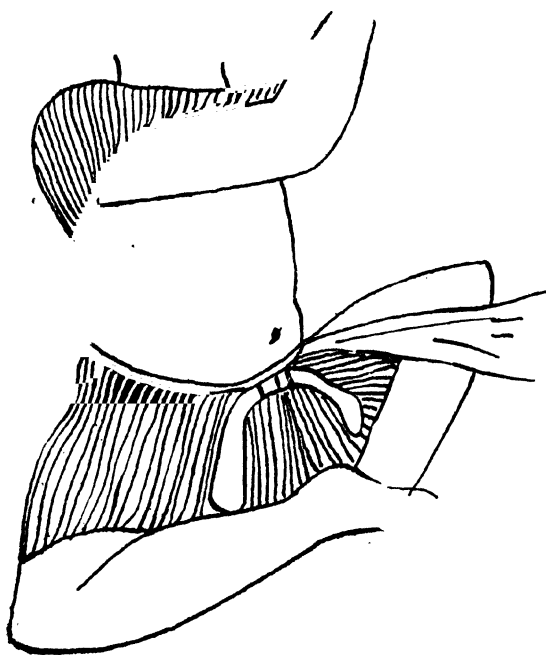


Fig. 18.

p. 63

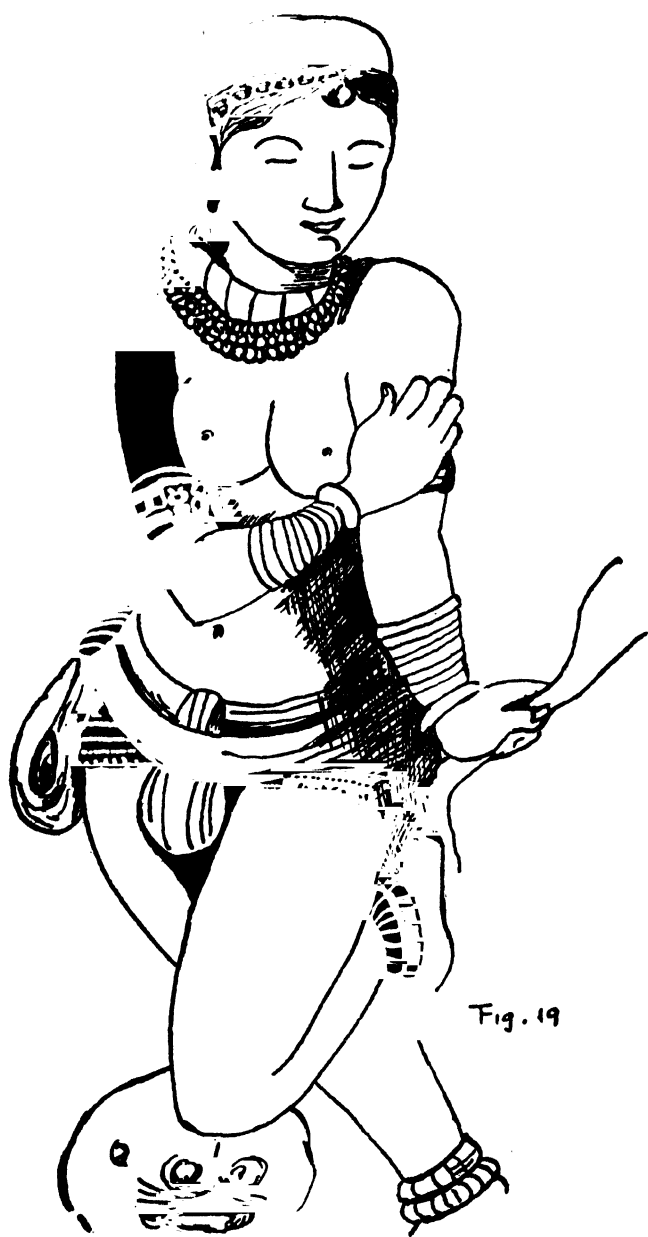


Fig. 19

p. 65

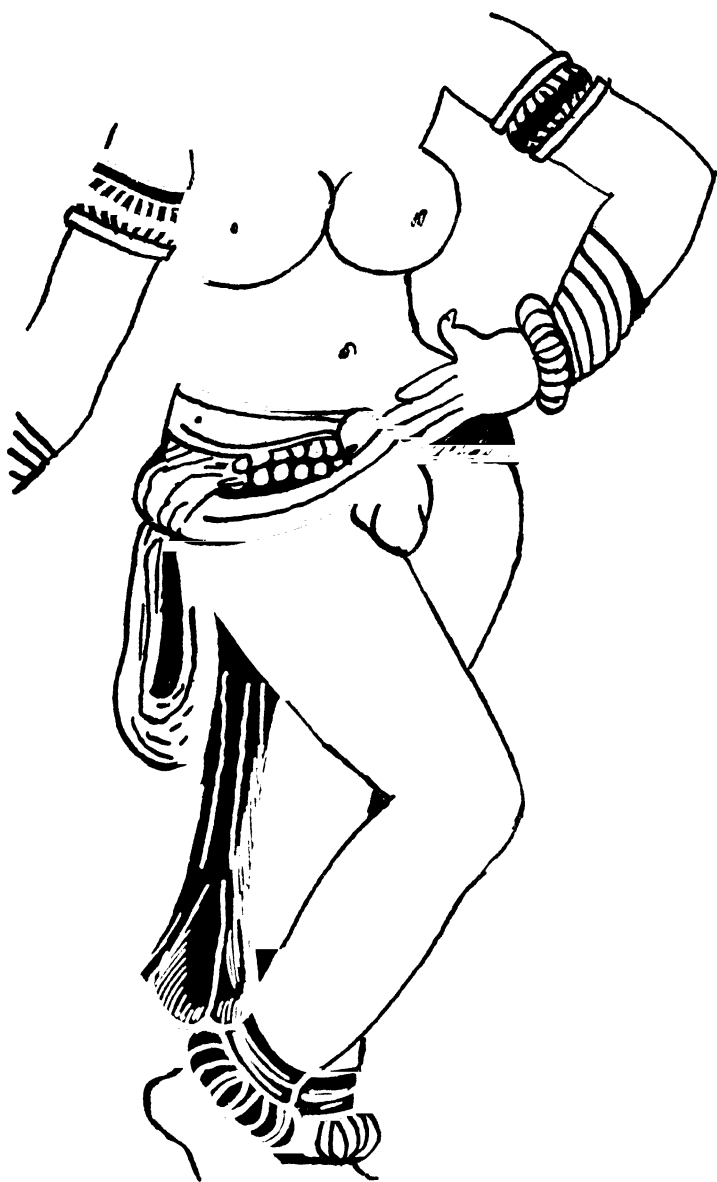
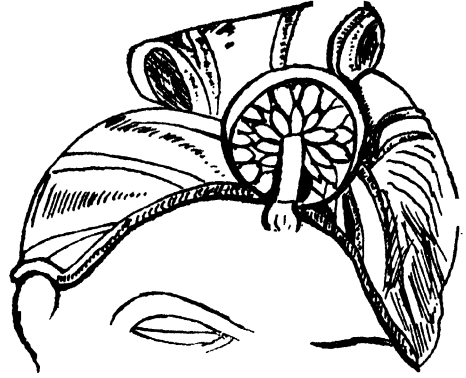


Fig. 20.  
p. 65



p. 66

Fig. 21



p. 67

Fig. 22



Fig. 23.  
p. 67



p. 67

Fig. 24

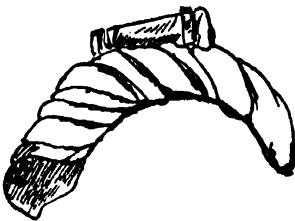


Fig. 25

p. 67



p. 67

Fig. 26

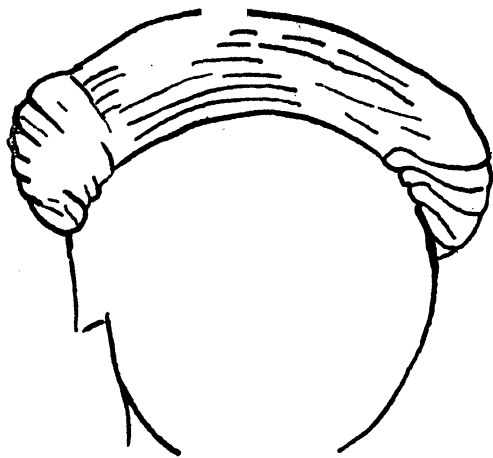


Fig. 27

p. 67



Fig. 28

p. 67



Fig. 29

p. 67

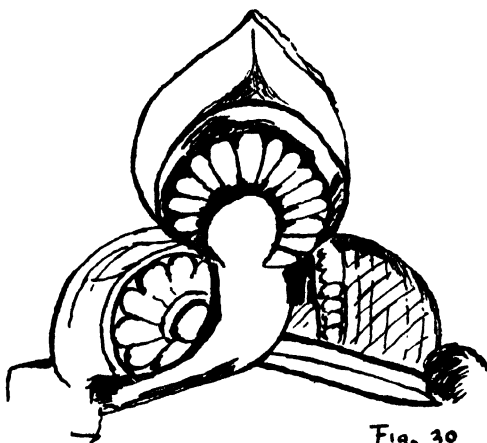


Fig. 30

p. 68

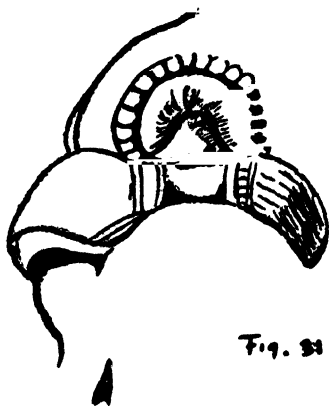


Fig. 31

p. 68



Fig. 32

p. 68

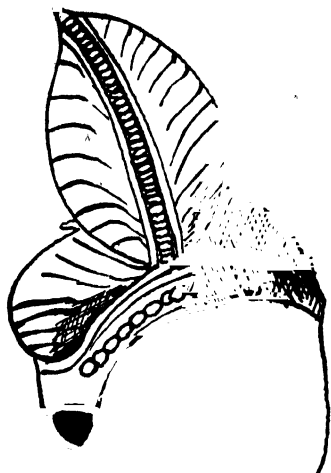


Fig. 33

p. 68



Fig. 34

p. 68



Fig. 35

p. 68

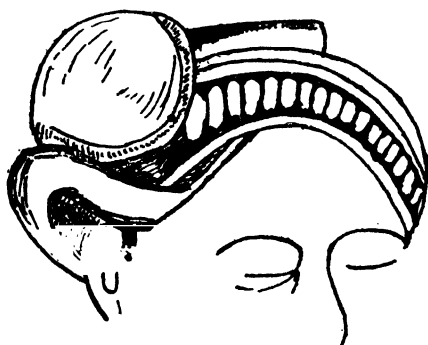


Fig. 36

p. 68



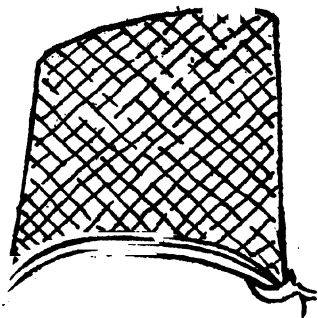


Fig. 37 (a)

p. 68



Fig. 39

p. 69

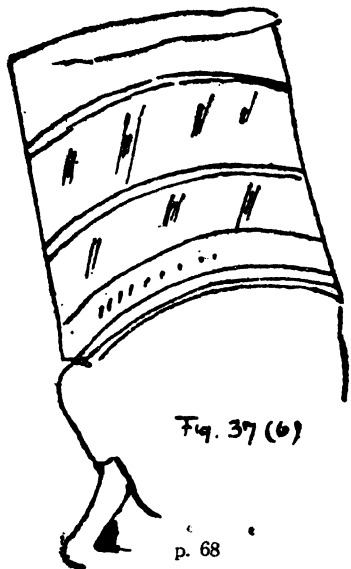


Fig. 37 (b)

p. 68



Fig. 38

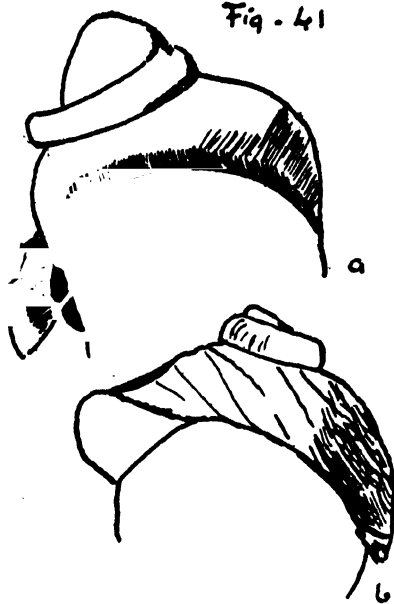
p. 69



Fig. 40

p. 69

Fig. 41



p. 69

Fig. 42



p. 69

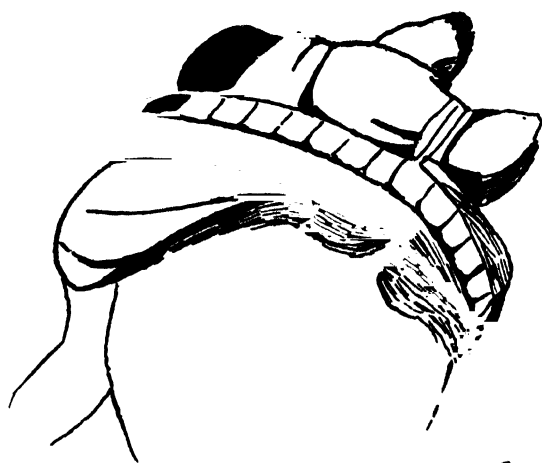


Fig. 43

p. 70

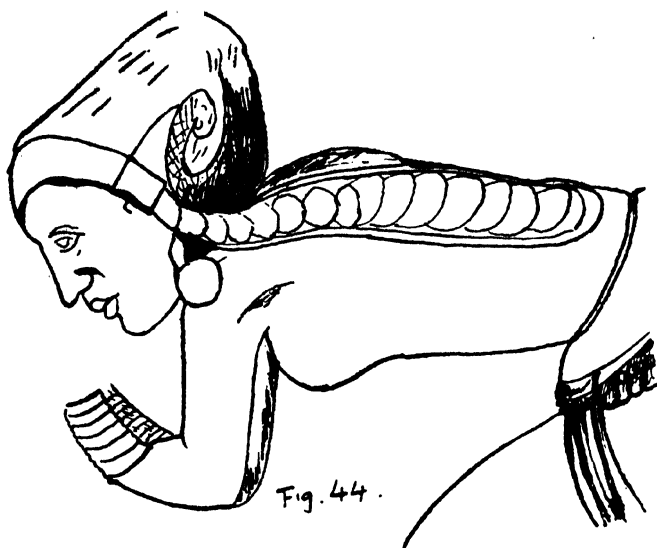


Fig. 44.

p. 70



Fig. 45

p. 70



Fig. 46

p. 70

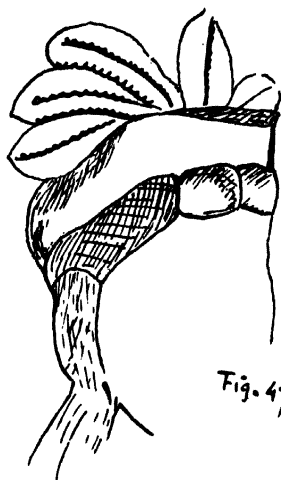


Fig. 47

p. 70



Fig. 50

p. 72



Fig. 49

p. 72



Fig. 51

p. 72

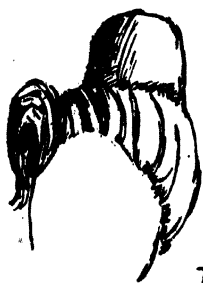


Fig. 49

p. 72



Fig. 52

p. 72

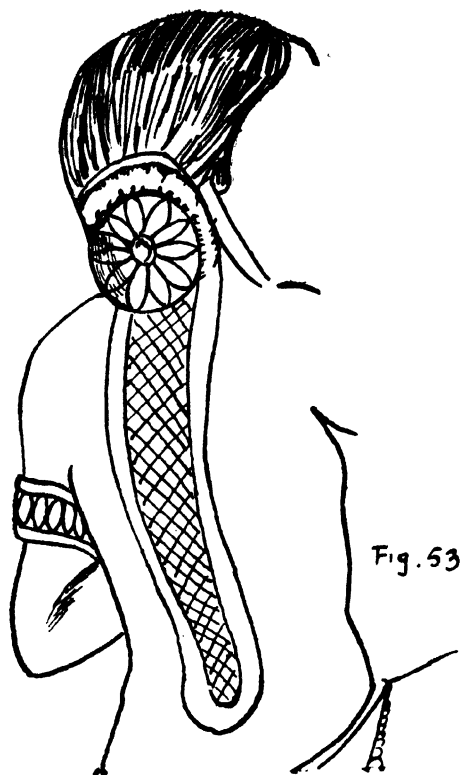


Fig. 53

p. 73

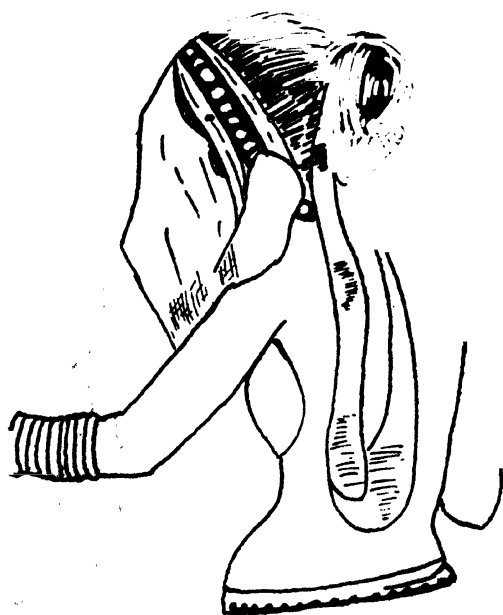


Fig. 54.  
p. 73

Fig. 55.



p. 73

## B. PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

### HEAD ORNAMENTS

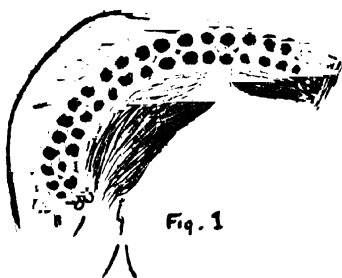


Fig. 1

p. 79

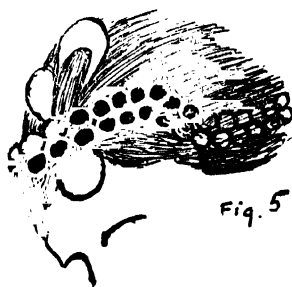


Fig. 5

p. 79

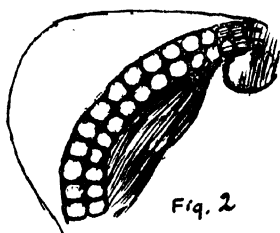


Fig. 2

p. 79

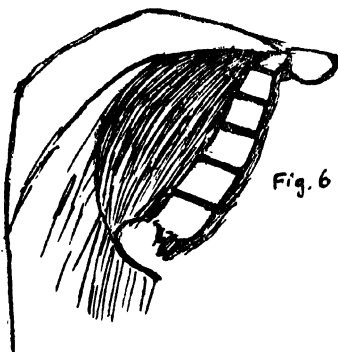


Fig. 6

p. 79



Fig. 3

p. 79



Fig. 7

p. 79

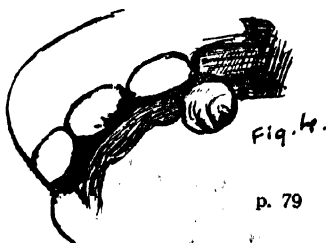


Fig. 4.

p. 79



Fig. 8.

p. 79

# EAR ORNAMENTS



Fig. 9

p. 80

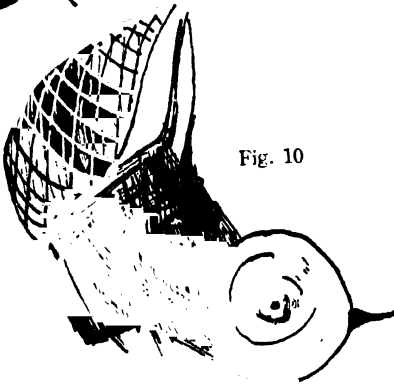


Fig. 10

p. 80

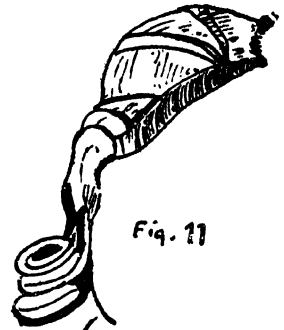


Fig. 11

p. 80

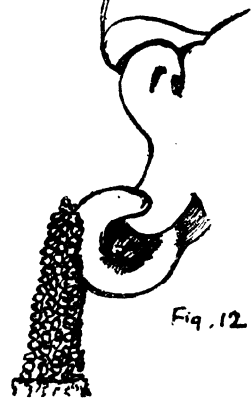


Fig. 12

p. 80

## NECK ORNAMENTS



Fig. 13

p. 81



Fig. 15

p. 82

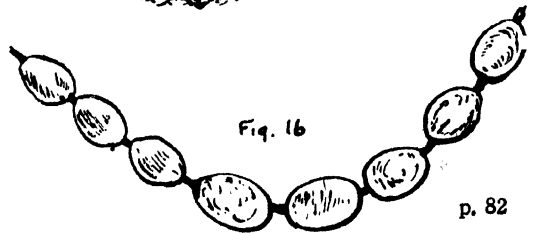


Fig. 16

p. 82



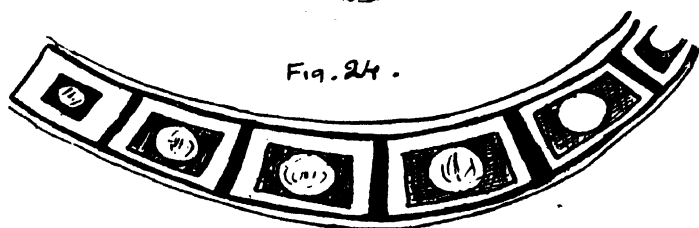
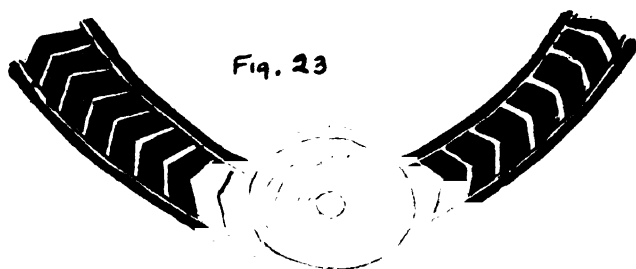
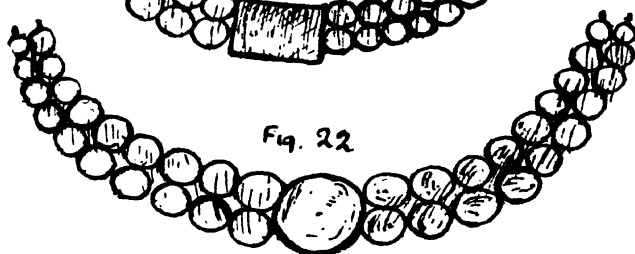
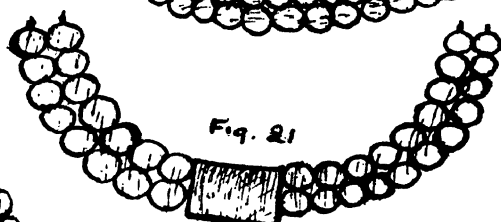
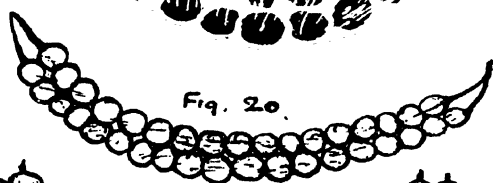
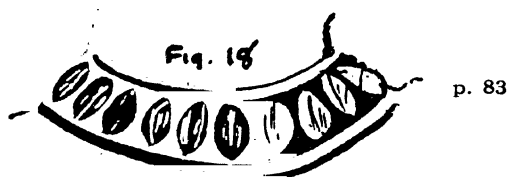
Fig. 14 p. 81



Fig. 17

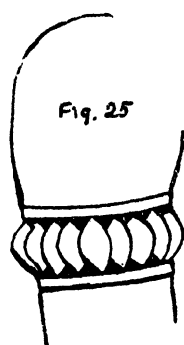
p. 82

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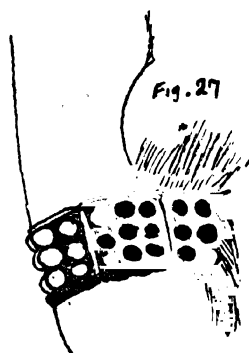




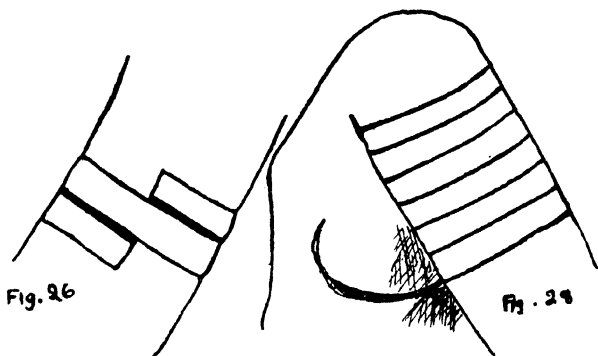
# ARM ORNAMENTS



p. 84

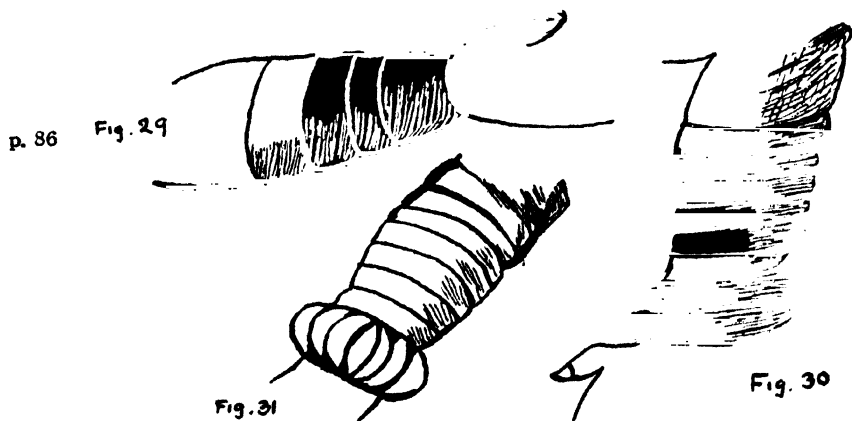


p. 85



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p. 86

Fig. 29

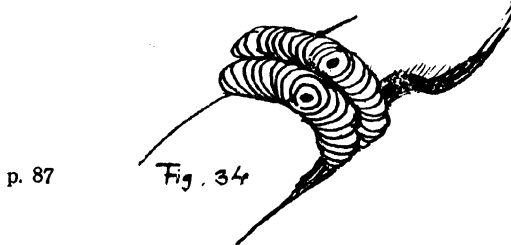
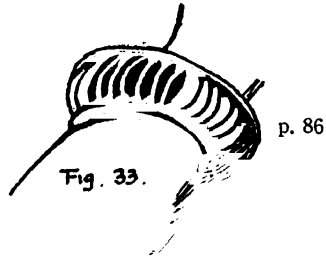
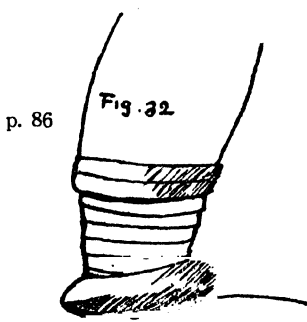
Fig. 31

Fig. 30

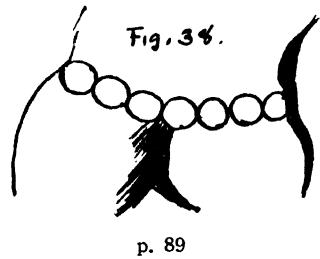
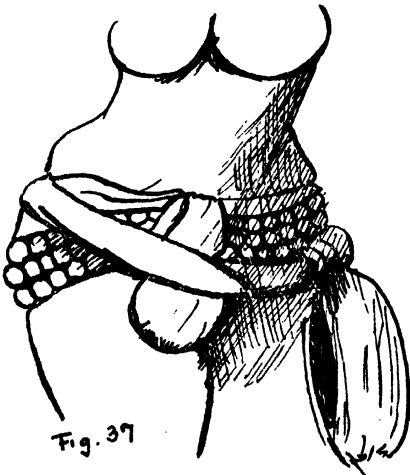
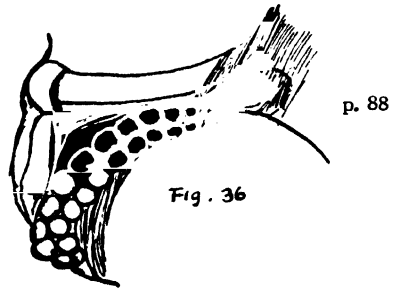
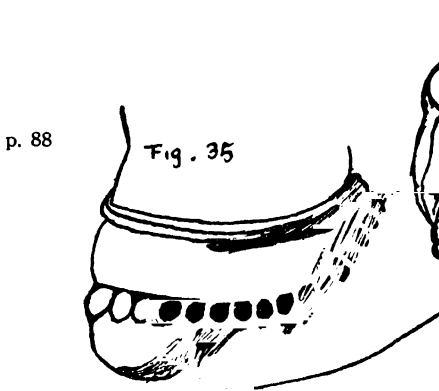
p. 86

p. 86

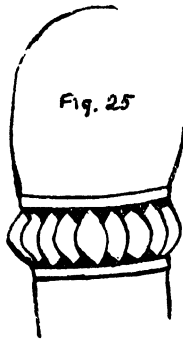
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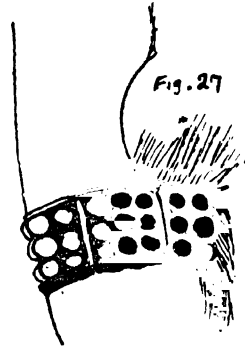
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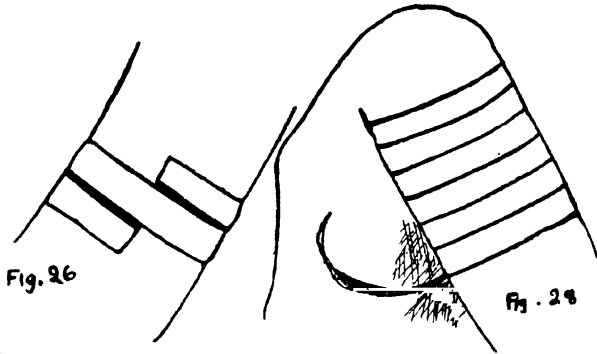
# ARM ORNAMENTS



p. 84



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p. 86

Fig. 29

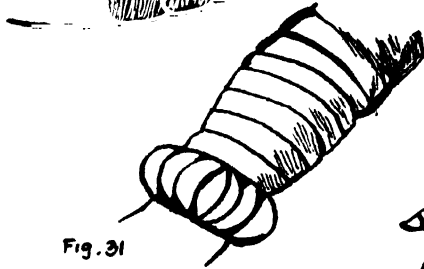


Fig. 31

p. 86



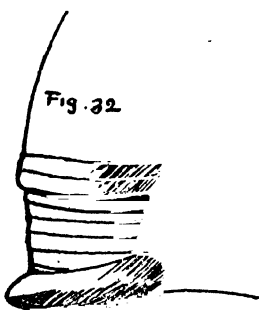
Fig. 30

p. 86

# ARM ORNAMENTS (Contd.)

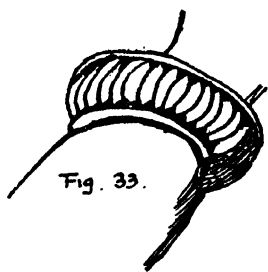
p. 86

Fig. 32



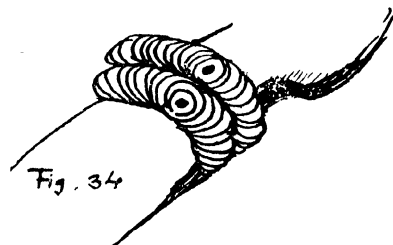
p. 86

Fig. 33.



p. 87

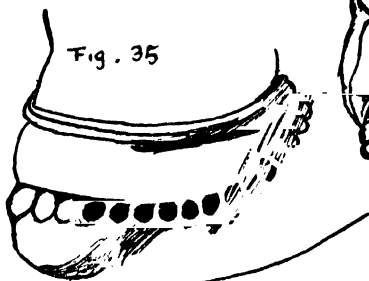
Fig. 34



## WAIST ORNAMENTS

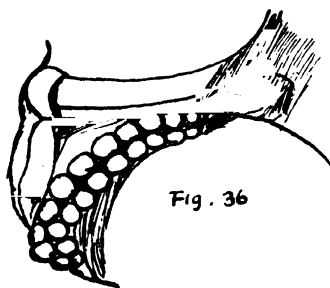
p. 88

Fig. 35



p. 88

Fig. 36



p. 88

Fig. 37

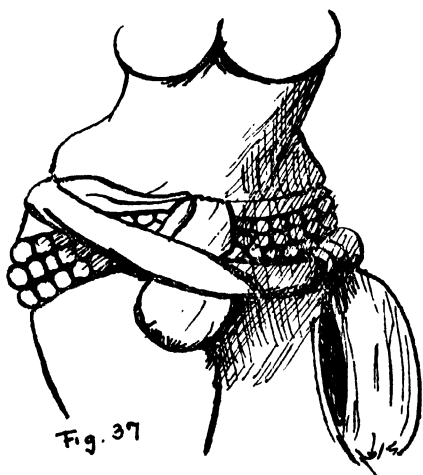
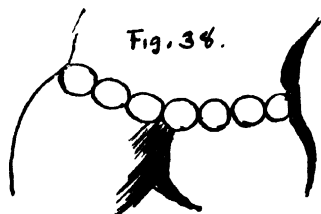


Fig. 38.

p. 89



# WAIST ORNAMENTS (Contd.)

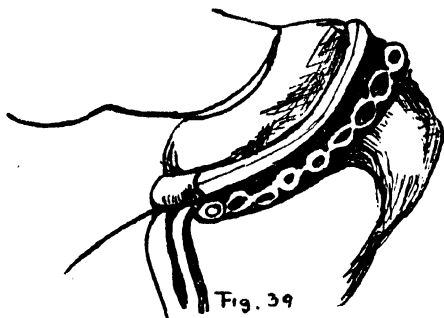


Fig. 39  
p. 89

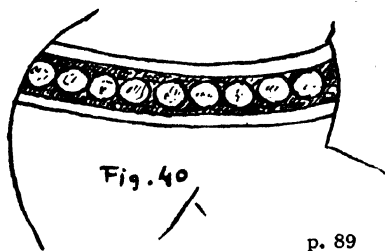


Fig. 40

p. 89

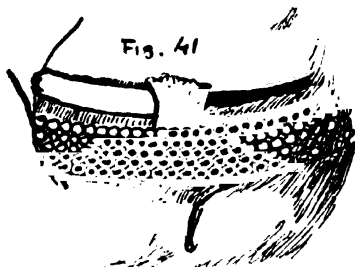


Fig. 41

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## LEG ORNAMENTS

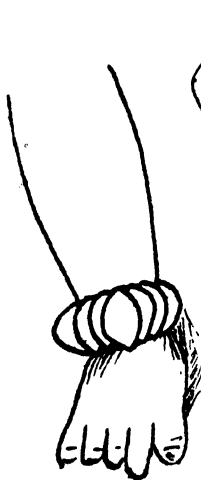


Fig. 42

p. 90



Fig. 43

p. 90



Fig. 44

p. 90



Fig. 45

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## SOME IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES OF BAGHDĀD\*

(DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE 4TH AND THE EARLIER  
QUARTER OF THE 5TH CENTURIES OF ISLAM)

By

C. H. SHAIKH.

### II. *Men of Learning and Sciences.*

For the sake of convenience we propose to divide persons belonging to this group in the following sub-groups :—

- (i) Grammarians and philologists.
- (ii) Historians and biographers.
- (iii) Theologians, jurists and traditionists.
- (iv) Poets, scientists and other men of letters.

#### (i) *Grammarians and philologists.*

Among the grammarians of the period under consideration mention must first be made of Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdī 'llāh b. al-Marzubān as-Sirāfi. His father was a Zoroastrian named Bahzād, but his son seems to have given him the name of 'Abdu 'llāh. Abū Sa'īd was born before the year 290/903 in the small hamlet of Sirāf on the Persian Gulf. He became the pupil of the famous Ibn Duraid (author of the poem *al-Maqṣūra* and the well-known philological work *Jamharatu 'l-'Arab*), Muḥramān, Abū Bekr b. al-Mujāhid, Ibnu's-Sarrāj, Abū Bekr b. Ziyād and Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Azhar in the various branches of learning then practised.<sup>176</sup> It is said that he had leanings towards the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites, but this is not apparent from his works that have come down to us. As-Sirāfi lived in Eastern Baghdād at which he acted on various occasions as a Deputy of the chief judge Ibn Ma'rūf.<sup>177</sup> It was one of his routine tasks to write at least ten pages daily and sell them; he would not accept a gift or present from friends and admirers owing to piety. He was highly respected during his life-time; the Sāmānid ruler, Nūḥ b. Naṣr considered him a great *Imām* in Law and addressed him a letter containing more than four hundred questions, the answers to which he desired Sirāfi to send him; the Dailemite prince called him "*Shaykhu 'l-Islām*",<sup>178</sup> while other titles were poured on him by other contemporary rulers as well.

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\* Continued from *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, i. 227.

<sup>176</sup> *Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, vii, 341-342 (3863); KRENKOW, *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 414-415.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.* For Ibn Ma'rūf see supra pp. 219-20.

<sup>178</sup> KRENKOW, *loc. cit.*

Abū Sa'īd is credited with the authorship of more than ten works by his biographers,<sup>179</sup> and Professor KRENKOW has discussed most of them in his article on him in the *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 414-5. We need not discuss these works here; it may, however, be pointed out that his "*Commentary on the 'Book' of Sībūwaih*" was printed at Cairo in 1317 A.H. and that Jahn used it for the translation of the "*Book*" (Berlin, 1894). His incomplete work "*al-Iqnā'*" was completed by his son Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf who claimed that his father's work had rendered the study of Arabic Grammar extremely easy. Among his pupils the famous Ibn Khālāwaih was one. Abū Sa'īd died in 368/978 and was buried in the *khāizurān* cemetery of Baghdād.<sup>180</sup>

His son the above-named Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf was born in 330/950 and continued the family tradition after the death of his father. In the beginning of his career he was engaged in the profession of a grocer, but an incident<sup>181</sup> in his father's life-time enraged him so much that he instantly sold his shop and occupied himself in the study of grammar, philology and literature under his father whose chair he later on occupied,<sup>182</sup> and so versatile did he become in this branch that Ibn Khallikān<sup>183</sup> could not detect any difference either in the matter or in the styles of his father and Abū Muḥammad, in that portion of "*al-Iqnā'*" which, as said before, was completed by the latter. Abū Muḥammad did not, however, enjoy the fame and respect that his father enjoyed, although he has written a number of books on the subject, viz. grammar. The following three are his works:—

- (i) A *Commentary* on the verses quoted in the "*Book*" of Sībūwaih;
- (ii) A *Commentary* on the verses quoted in the "*Islāhu 'l-Manṭiq*" of Ibn Sikkīt; and
- (iii) A *Commentary* on the verses quoted in the "*Gharību'l-Muṣannaf*" of Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>179</sup> e.g. Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), 62; Anbārī, *Nuzhatu 'l-Alibbā*, 379; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, iii, 84-125; Suyūṭī, *Bughyatu 'l-Wu'āt*, 221, *Jawāhiru 'l-Muḍī'a* (ed. Hyderabad, Deccan), i, 196; Ibn Hajar, *Lisānu 'l-Mizān*, ii, 218; etc.

<sup>180</sup> *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vi, 342.

<sup>181</sup> The incident may be described briefly thus:—

While teaching Ibn Sikkīt's "*Islāhu 'l-Manṭiq*" Abū Sa'īd happened to read "مطوية" of the verse of Ḥumaid b. Thaur with a *kasra*

"و مطوية الاقرب امانهارها - فسلب و اما ليلها فد مين"

by taking "و" in the sense of "واورب". One of the students, viz., 'Abdu 's-Salām al-Miṣrī, the Keeper of the Baghdād Library, objected to such reading on the ground of the context and said that it should be read with a *Raf'a*. Abū Sa'īd admitted his own mistake but his son Abū Muḥammad, who was also present, got so enraged that he quitted the hall in an angry mood, sold his grocer's shop and engaged himself in the study of grammar.

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Tr. DE SLANE), i, 377-79.

<sup>182</sup> Suyūṭī, *Bughyatu 'l-Wu'āt*, 322.

<sup>183</sup> *Loc. cit.*, iv, 406.

Abū Muḥammad died in 385/995 at Baghdād : ash-Sharīfu 'r-Raḍī<sup>184</sup> has an elegy on him.

Another grammarian of note was the abovementioned Ibn Khālawaih<sup>185</sup> who was a pupil of the above Abū Sa'īd as-Sirāfī. He was a native of Hamdān and came to Baghdād while he was still a boy. He frequented the assemblies of the learned people of the time among whom Ibnu 'l-Mujāhid, Abū Bakr al-Anbārī and Ibn Duraid were the foremost. After learning the Qur'ān from Sirāfī<sup>186</sup> he went to Aleppo to the court of the Hamdānids who treated him very respectfully ; here he had some "*Munāẓaras*" with al-Mutanabbī<sup>187</sup> who began to admire him the more. Ibn Khālawaih was also somewhat of a poet ; Tha'ālibī<sup>188</sup> gives some verses of his composition. He is the author of the following works<sup>189</sup> :—

- (i) "*Kitāb Laisa*" (which, according to Ibn Khallikān, is a proof positive of his erudition. See, *op. cit.*, i, 457).
- (ii) "*al-'Āl*" divided into twenty-five sorts ;
- (iii) "*Kitābu 'l-Ishtiāq*" (Book of Derivation) ;
- (iv) "*Kitābu 'l-Jumal fī 'n-Naḥw*" which gives parsing of thirty Sūras from the Qur'ān ;
- (v) "*Commentary*" on the *Maqṣūra* of Ibn Duraid ; and
- (vi) a work containing descriptive pieces on *Lion*, etc. etc. Ibn Khālawaih died at Aleppo in 370/980-I.

Another grammarian of note is Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdi 'l Ghaffār al-Fārsī who was born in 288/901 at Fasā (whence he is also called al-Fasawī), a town in the province of Fārs. He was a distinguished pupil of the above named Mubramān (Abū Bekr) and even during the latter's lifetime was recognised as the leading authority on grammar. In 307/917 he came to Baghdād and delivered lectures on philology. A band of worthy pupils soon gathered round him, while his fame travelled far and wide. He was consequently invited by Saifu 'd-Dawla to his court at Aleppo where he got ample scope to manifest his erudition. Mutanabbī, the poet-laureate of Saifu 'd-Dawla, derived much benefit from Abū 'Alī's learning and company. But the latter soon grew tired of Aleppo and returned to Fārs where 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla received him warmly. Several stories about the learned discussions of Abū 'Alī during this period are recorded, while the story of the "*Exceptive Particle*  $\gamma_l$ " has been mentioned by almost all the biographical works. So highly did 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla honour him that he would openly say : "I am the slave of Abū 'Alī in grammar"<sup>190</sup>. At the Buwaihīd court Abū 'Alī composed several books and dedicated them to 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla. Ibn Khallikān<sup>191</sup> gives a very long list of his works, of which the most important are :—

<sup>184</sup> *Diwān* (ed. Beirut), i, 490.

<sup>185</sup> His full name was Abū 'Abdi 'llāh al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad Khālawaih.

<sup>186</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, i, 456.

<sup>188</sup> *Yatīma*, (Cairo, 1934), i, 88.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 380

<sup>187</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, i, 456.

<sup>189</sup> Ibn. Khallikān, *op. cit.*

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 381.



- (i) *Kitābu 'l-Tadhkira*,
- (ii) *Kitābu 'l-'Awāmilī 'l-Mī'at* ;
- (iii) *Kitābu 'l-Hujja fi'l-Qirā'āt* ;
- (iv) *Kitābu 'l-Idāh*.<sup>192</sup>

Abū 'Alī died on 17th Rabī' I, 377/987 (Ibn Nadīm<sup>193</sup> wrongly says 'before 370') at Baghdād and was buried in the Shūnizī cemetery<sup>194</sup> beside the philosopher Abū Bakr Rāzī.

We may close the account of grammarians and philologists with Abu'l-Fath 'Uthmān b. Jinnī who was born at Mouṣil before 330/940. His father was the slave of Sulaimān b. Fahd al-Azdī and came from Greece<sup>195</sup>. Ibn Jinnī learnt grammar from the above Abū 'Alī, went to Mouṣil and started giving instruction there in grammar. Once upon a time his master happened to pass through Mouṣil where he found his former pupil teaching grammar ; he, therefore, requested Ibn Jinnī to perfect himself before teaching others,<sup>196</sup> which suggestion Ibn Jinnī most gladly took up. He came back to Abū 'Alī and once again diligently applied himself to the study of grammar. After the death of his master Ibn Jinnī occupied his chair.

During his association with Abū 'Alī, Ibn Jinnī had occasion to visit the courts of Saifu 'd-Dawla and 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla ; at the former court he became acquainted with Mutanabbī on whose *Diwān* he wrote two Commentaries. Mutanabbī once said : " Ibn Jinnī is a person whose value many do not know ".<sup>197</sup> Ibn Jinnī was a great friend of the Ṣābian Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl, and the greatest 'Alawid poet ash-Sharīfu 'r-Raḍī,<sup>198</sup> who wrote an elegy on his death which took place on Friday, 28th Ṣafar, 392/1002.

Of Ibn Jinnī's works Yāqūt gives a very exhaustive list ; Ibn Khallikān, however, mentions only 21. His "*Khaṣā'iṣ*" has been printed at Cairo, while his treatise on the "*Principles of Inflection*" was translated into Latin by G. Hoberg.

<sup>192</sup> Ibn. Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), 64, confines himself to the following :—

- (i) *Kitābu 'l-Hujja*,
- (ii) *Kitāb Abyāti 'l-I'rāb*—a Commentary on the verses cited in the "*Awāmilu 'l-I'rāb* ('*Mī'at*)",
- (iii) *Kitāb Sharḥ Abyāti 'l-Idāh*—a Commentary on the (no. iv) noted above.
- (iv) *Kitāb Masā'ilī 'l-Muṣālaḥa* (called "*Ighjāl*" by Ibn Khallikān) and
- (v) the above-named '*Awāmilu 'l-Mī'at*.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, 381. For the description and exact location of this famous cemetery, see LE STRANGE : *Baghdād during the 'Abāsīd Caliphate*, 79, 161.

The Sharīf ar-Raḍī has an elegy on his death, see his *Diwān* (ed. Beirūt), i, 445.

<sup>195</sup> Suyūṭī, *Bughyatu'l-Wu'āt*, 322.

<sup>196</sup> Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, v, 18.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>198</sup> *Diwān*, ii, 562.

Ibn Jinnī deemed it an honour to write a commentary on one of the poems (printed in his *Diwān*, i, 378) of the Sharīf who thanked him for this *unique* favour in a poem addressed to Ibn Jinnī, see *Ibid.*, ii, 640.

(ii) *Historians and biographers*

Among historians who flourished during the period under consideration, mention must first be made of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābī to whose notice Yāqūt devotes a very large number of pages. He belonged to the ancient sect of the Ṣābians and was born at Harrān in 313/925. His father Hilāl was by profession a physician and wanted him to carry on his own profession ; so he gave him training in medicine, mathematics and astronomy. So expert did he become in these sciences that he could make an astrolabe of the size of a *dirham*. He gave up, however, all these pursuits and became the secretary of the Wazīr al-Muhallabī, under whose guidance he turned out to be an ideal "*dabir*". His marvellous style of letter writing soon attracted the attention of the Buwaihid prince Mu'izzu 'd-Dawla who gave him the chief Secretary's post at his Diwānu 'l-Inshā in 339/649.

Notwithstanding his cordial relations with most of the Muslims of the period, Ṣābī chose to remain a staunch adherent of his old religion ; when 'Izzu 'd-Dawla offered him the *Wizārat* on condition that Ṣābī accepted Islām, the latter blankly refused. It was one of his habits, however, to fast during the month of Ramaḍān,—perhaps due to consideration for his Muslim friends, or, as has been suggested,<sup>199</sup> due to the fact that fasting was enjoined on the followers of the Ṣābian sect, as a part of their religious duty. His knowledge of the Qur'ān was, indeed, extraordinary. On various occasions he was appointed governor of different provinces where poets praised him and friends gathered round him. He would send his own poetic composition<sup>200</sup> to the Ṣāhib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād who admired him above others, and said that of the four great writers of letters Ṣābī was one.<sup>201</sup>

After the death of Mu'izzu 'd-Dawla in 356/967, 'Izzu 'd-Dawla, his successor, retained Ṣābī in his former post, but now began the real misfortune of the latter. A letter composed by him at the command of his master brought Ṣābī in the bad books of 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla. He was, of course, safe as long as 'Izzu 'd-Dawla lived, but after the latter's death Ṣābī was arrested in 367/978 and had to remain in prison for three years. At last the Buwaihid prince agreed to liberate Ṣābī on the latter's agreeing to compile under the prince's supervision, the history of the Buwaihid Dynasty. Ṣābī, therefore, composed what he called "*a pack of lies*",<sup>202</sup> and named it the "*Kitābu 't-Tāj*"<sup>203</sup> now mostly lost. On his release from prison in 371/981-2, Ṣābī retired from public life. He died on the 12th of Shawwāl, 384/994 and was buried in the Shūnizī cemetery at Baghdād.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 302-7, where an account of the sect is given ; also KRENKOW, *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 19-21.

<sup>200</sup> Tha'ālībī, *Yatima* (Cairo, 1934), ii, 250.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>203</sup> KRENKOW, *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 30, gives the exact locations of the extracts from the *Kitābu 't-Tāj*, which have come down to us.

<sup>204</sup> The poet aṣh-Ṣharīfu 'r-Raḍī lamented Ṣābī's death in two *unique* (as Tha'ālībī terms them) elegies, (see his *Diwān*, ii, 571, 975), in spite of the reproaches and rebukes of friends and relations.

Of Šābī's works (i) beyond a few extracts that are preserved in contemporary records, the *Kitābu 't-Tāj* is mostly lost ;

(ii) *Official Letters* have been printed, and form an important source of historical information ;

(iii) *History of his own Family*, also lost ;

(iv) *Poems* are to be found in various works and it is desirable that they be collected and printed separately ; and

(v) *Private Letters* of which Ibn Nadīm<sup>205</sup> speaks in his *fihrist*.

Looking at Šābī from the literary point of view, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that he stands as a "model" of *munshīs* or *dabīrs* whose qualifications the author of the *Chahār Maqāla*,<sup>206</sup> mentions in detail. A born poet whose utterance is marked by genuine feeling, Šābī displays to the utmost the gift of individuality which is so much lacking in others.

His grandson Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin (born in 399/1009) is another celebrated historian of the period. He was the Secretary of the Wazīr Faḫru-'l-Mulk,<sup>207</sup> and is the accepted author of no less than nine works. The following are some of his important works :—

(i) "*Ta'riḫh*"—a continuation of the history of his father-in-law, Thābit, b. Sinān—contains the events of the years 360-447 A.H. Of this the fragment edited by the late Mr. H. F. Amedroz, contains the events of the years 389-393 only ;

(ii) "*Kitābu'l-Wuzarā*"—a continuation of the works of aṣ-Ṣūlī and aḡ-Jāshiyārī,—has been preserved for us only in part, viz. the beginning, while lives of some of the most important wazīrs are lost. Professor KRENKOW<sup>208</sup> has detected the existence of some later portion of this work cited under "*Kitāb 'ul A'yān wa'l-Amṭhāl*" by Ibn Zāfir in his "*Badā'iu 'l-Badā'ih*". Hilāl died in 448/1058-9.

Another historian of repute is the celebrated Miskawaih whose "*Tajāribu 'l-Umam*" (Experiences of Nations) has been published with an English translation and forms part of the "*Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*" by the late Mr. H. F. Amedroz and Professor D. S. Margoliouth. Miskawaih was a student of Ṭabarī's chronicles, and upto his own times, his main authorities are the *Annals* of that great historian and the *History* of Thābit b. Sinān. The materials for his own times are supplied to him by al-Muhallabī<sup>209</sup> and Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibnu 'l-'Amīd,<sup>210</sup> the Wazīrs of Mu'izzu 'd-Dawla and Ruknu 'd-Dawla respectively. He himself was in the service of 'Aḏudu 'd-Dawla and his son Bahāu 'd-Dawla, while certain anecdotes bring him in closer contact with Ibn 'Abbād. His full life is given by Prof. Margoliouth.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>205</sup> ed. Flügel, p. 134.

<sup>206</sup> ed. Qazwīnī, p. 13.

<sup>207</sup> See *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, i, 77-8, 205.

<sup>208</sup> *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 21.

<sup>209</sup> For his life see Zettersteen, *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 641.

<sup>210</sup> For his life see Yāqūt, *Ishād*, v. 347-375 ; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (tr. De Slane), iii, 262-66.

<sup>211</sup> *Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, Vol. i, Introduction.

Yāqūt attributes to his authorship no less than nine works of which the following are important :—

- (i) "*Tajāribu 'l-Umam*" abovementioned ;
- (ii) "*Tahdhību 'l-Akhḥāq*" (also called "*Tartību 'l-Ādāt*") printed at Cairo in 1317 A.H. ;
- (iii) "*al-Fawzu 'l-Aṣghar*" printed at Beirut in 1319 A.H. Miskawaih is also the author of some verses which were greatly admired by the above-named Ibnu 'l-ʿAmīd. He died in 421/1030 according to Ḥājji Khalifa.

We close the account of the historians with al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī at-Tanūkhī who was born at Baṣra about the year 329/938 and died at Baghdād in 384/994.

He started his career humbly but soon rose to the post of a deputy Qāḍī, and later on to the Qāḍīship of various cities in Persia and Mesopotamia.

Of his three works that have survived, one is a "*Collection of Sayings*" attributed to Aristotle and some other persons of importance ; another, perhaps the best known, is "*Deliverance after Stress*," while the largest of his works, "*The Cud of Table-Talk*" in eleven volumes of which only two have been so far discovered, took him twenty years to compose (i.e. 360-380 A.H.).

(iii) *Theologians, Jurists and Traditionists.*

Before we actually give notices of some of the theologians and traditionists that flourished during this period, it should be pointed out that one of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs, viz. al-Qādir bi'llāh was himself a great theologian and composed a few treatises on theology.<sup>212</sup> His regime was noted for the persecution of all the heretics, especially the Muʿtazilites. But as his power did not extend beyond the capital, and as he was more or less under the thumb of the Buwaihids, who were Shīʿas, he could not check the spread of free-thought in the empire ; consequently there flourished during this time that noble brotherhood known as the "*Ikhwānu'ṣ-Ṣafā*" (or Brethren of Purity) which had a tremendous effect on the theological and literary product of the period.

Among the Shīʿa theologians and divines must be mentioned the three Sharīfs, Abū Ṭāhīr al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Mūsawī and his illustrious sons ar-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā. Abū Ṭāhīr<sup>213</sup> was more important from the political point of view : He was the *Naqīb* for the Ṭālibids, chief judge of the court of Maẓālim and the leader of the pilgrim caravan. It was he who was appointed to be the chief judge of Baghdād, but the Caliph al-Qādir bi'llāh objected to his appointment<sup>214</sup> as he was a Shīʿa. He has

<sup>212</sup> Zetterstéen, *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 608.

<sup>213</sup> His *Kunya* in the *Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate* happens to be "*Abū Aḥmad*", while KRENKOW, *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 329, puts it as "*Abū Ṭāhīr*". It may be pointed out that he is often called as "*aṭ-Ṭāhīr*", possibly denoting his noble descent from the Prophet (cf. the phrase. آلِ الْعِطَاهِ). His career is fully given in the *Eclipse*, see Index, p. 61.

<sup>214</sup> Dāʿūdī, *ʿUmdatul-Ṭālib*, 180.

produced a number of theological treatises. He died on Saturday the 14th of Jumāda I. 400/1010 at the age of 97, and was buried in his own house. His remains were, however, removed later on to Kerbalā.<sup>215</sup>

His elder son the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā 'Aamu'l-Hudā Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī Dhu'l-Manāqib was born in 355/966. That he was extremely learned in all the branches of learning then known is maintained by all the biographers. He was also a great "*adib*" and is credited with a *Diwān*<sup>216</sup> of poems containing more than 10,000 verses, unfortunately now lost. He was a keen collector of books and his library contained 18,000 volumes; according to al-Yāfi'i,<sup>217</sup> it contained 110,000 volumes and according to ash-Shaybānī,<sup>218</sup> 140,000, but nothing has come down to us of this huge collection.

The Sharīf al-Murtaḍā succeeded to the posts of the Naqīb of the Ṭālībids, the chief judge of the court of Maẓālim and leader of the pilgrim caravan after the death of his younger brother ar-Raḍī who was preferred to him for these posts. Al-Murtaḍā does not seem to have enjoyed the same respect as his father and younger brother did, probably due to his greed<sup>219</sup> for wealth or due to his awful temper.<sup>220</sup>

As a writer al-Murtaḍā was far more prolific than his father or even his brother. Yāqūt and others have furnished us with a detailed list of his works of which only few have come down to us. Some of his works are, again, wrongly attributed to his brother ar-Raḍī.<sup>221</sup> Among his works the following are important :—

(i) "*Ghururul-Fawā'id wa durarul-Qalā'id*", finished on the 22nd Jumāda I, 413/Aug. 20, 1022, has the merit of being his principal work on "*adab*", and is devoted to a detailed discussion of some of the verses of the Qur'ān with exhaustive notes from traditions and philological intricacies and extensive references to poets. It is divided into 80 *Majālis* (lith. Ṭihān, 1273; printed also at Cairo as the "*Kitābu'l-Amālī*").

(ii) "*Kitābu'sh-Shāfi'*"—a defence of the "*Imāmate*" of the "*Twelvers*", printed in one volume with Ṭūsī's "*Talkhiṣu'sh-Shāfi'*", Ṭih-rān, 1303 A.H.

(iii) "*Irshādu'l-'Awāmm*" in a collected volume, Ṭih-rān, 1304 A.H.

(iv) "*Adh-Dharr'a ilā Uṣūli'sh-Sharī'a*", Br. Mus. Manuscript, Or. 5581;

<sup>215</sup> Raḍī, *Diwān*, ii, 376. See the superscription to this elegy.

<sup>216</sup> Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, v, 173; Dā'ūdī, *loc. cit.*, 182.

<sup>217</sup> Quoted in Dā'ūdī, *loc. cit.*, 182. <sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> Al-Murtaḍā had amassed great wealth while his income was more than 14,000 dinars per annum.

For his greed see the story that conspired between the Wazīr al-Muhallabī and the two brothers Murtaḍā and Raḍī, quoted in Dā'ūdī, *loc. cit.*, 184-5.

<sup>220</sup> Al-Murtaḍā was very strict to his friends and acquaintances. See the treatment he meted out to Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, *Ibid.*, 181 as also Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, v, 176, where al-Murtaḍā lodges a complaint against the Public Auctioneer.

<sup>221</sup> Brockelmann, article in the *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 736, where he proves which of Murtaḍā's works are wrongly attributed to his brother Raḍī.

(v) "*al-Masā'ilu 'n-Nāṣiriya*" in the collected volume "*al-Jawāmi'u-l-Fiqhiya*", Ṭihirān, 1276 ;

(vi) "*al-Intiṣār*", dealing with the differences that exist between the Shī'a and the other sects of Islām, lithographed at Bombay in 1315 A.H. ;

(vii) "*ash-Shihāb fi'sh-Shayb wa 'sh-Shabāb*", printed in a "*Majmū'a*" at Sтамbul, as well as at Ṭinhrān, 1272 A.H.

The Sharīf al-Murṭaḍā died on the 15th of Rabī' I, 436/1044.

His brother who was also a theologian, was more of a poet and will be considered later among the poets etc.

Another Shī'a divine who deserves mention was Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. an-Nu'mān known as *ash-Shaykh* u'l-Mufid. He was the most learned Shī'a theologian of the time ; the author of the "*Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt*"<sup>222</sup> calls him "chief of the *rāfiḍa*". The two Sharīfs, Raḍī and Murṭaḍā, learnt Shī'a *fiqh* from him. He died at Karkh in 413/1023.

Among the Sunni theologians, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khāw rizmī was, according to the author of the *Ta'rikh Baghdad* the last great *faqih* of the Ḥanafī School, and that he was matchless in giving legal decisions ("*Fatwā*").<sup>223</sup> He was offered on various occasions the post of a judge but he refused. He taught theology and *fiqh* at Baghdād where he died in 403/1013.

Turning to the traditionists, we now find that the task which the earlier "Seekers of Knowledge" ("*Ṭullābu 'l-'Ilm*") undertook of collecting the traditions about the Prophet with a view to ascertaining what the exact *sunna* of the Prophet was, had been accomplished to some extent in the regime of the earlier 'Abbāsids ; but flocks of such "*Ṭullābu 'l-'Ilm*" from distant lands continued undertaking hazardous journeys in quest of fresh material to Baghdād where great exponents of tradition delivered lectures on the subject. To those who attended their lectures, these doctors of tradition issued an "*Ijāza*" (Permit) to transmit on their authority. Among these the number of ladies was not negligible. In my article "*Some Lady traditionists of Baghdād*", published in the *Palms*, October, 1938, I have given brief accounts of some 20 of these ladies, mainly derived from the above-named *Ta'rikh Baghdad*. I will not therefore, say anything about them here, and content myself with two of the most important traditionists of the period.

Abu'l-Hasan ad-Dāruqaṭnī is the most noteworthy traditionist of this period. His "*Sunan*", though not as popular as the "*six Ṣaḥīḥ collections*" is yet freely consulted and cited by students of theology and tradition. Besides, he compiled a work in which he established the weakness of two hundred traditions to be found in *Bukhārī* and *Muslim*.<sup>224</sup> Dāruqaṭnī died in 385/995.

Among the Shī'a traditionists, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulainī (d. 328/939) is the author of "*al-Kāfī*". Another Shī'a traditionist is Muḥammad

<sup>222</sup> P. 116.

<sup>223</sup> *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, iii, 247 (1337).

<sup>224</sup> Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, ii, 267 ; Junyoll, *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 193.

b. 'Alī b. Bābawaih al-Qummī (d. 381/991), the author of "*Man lā Yastah-ḍiruhu 'l-Faqīh*".

In addition to these two men mention must also be made of Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067) who is the celebrated author of "*Tahdhībū 'l-Aḥkām*" and "*al-Istibṣār fī ma'khtalafa fīhi 'l-Aḥbār*".

(iv) *Poets, scientists and other men of learning.*

Among the poets of the period we need not give any special notices of al-Mutanabbī and Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, firstly, because they are already well-known and secondly, because they were more or less connected with the Ḥamdānīd court at Aleppo. We must not, however, forget that these two masters of poetry exercised an incalculable influence on the poetry and the literary taste of the period.

Less in importance but connected with Baghdād was Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd'ul-Wāhid commonly known as *al Babbaghā*, so called because of fluent tongue. He started his poetic career at the court of Saifu'd-Dawla after whose death he came over to Baghdād, and was probably admitted to the court of 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla, for, in his *Yatīma*, iii. 3. Tha'ālībī gives verses from a *qaṣīda* which aims at praising Sābūr b. Ardshīr, one of the Wazīrs of the Buwaihids. Babbaghā died in 398/1008. In addition to a *ḍiẓwān* of poems, Babbaghā is the author of a "*collection of Letters*" of which Tha'ālībī cites some in his *Yatīma*, i, 209-14. P. Wolff published at Leipzig in 1838 the life of the poet with selections from his poetry and part of his correspondence with Ṣābī.

Another poet of note was Abū 'Abdi'llāh al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad known as Ibnu 'l-Ḥajjāj whom Tha'ālībī praises beyond proportion and devotes more than fifty pages to the selection of his poems in his *Yatīma*, iii, 25-88. Ibnu'l-Ḥajjāj was a native of Baghdād and belonged to a family of distinguished officers; while he himself was trained in secretarial work by the Ṣābian Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl.<sup>225</sup> The power of poetic utterance that was latent in him soon manifested itself and he realised that eulogising nobles and princes was more lucrative than his original calling of a *Kātib*. This brought him in contact with Wazīrs like Sābūr b. Ardshīr and Ṣāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād, and princes like 'Izzu 'd-Dawla, 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla and Bahāu 'd-Dawla. The Egyptian monarch is reported to have given him 1000 dīnars to shut his mouth from uttering a satire on him;<sup>226</sup> while some authorities<sup>227</sup> go so far as to say that his entire wealth was acquired by blackmail of this sort.

'Izzu 'd-Dawla appointed him to the post of the Censor of Public Morals (*Muhtasib*), but he seems to have been found incompetent and was consequently removed from the post.<sup>228</sup>

His *ḍiẓwān* filled, we are told, more than ten volumes most of which was obscene poetry. His friend, the poet ash-Sharīfu 'r-Raḍī, made a selec-

<sup>225</sup> *Eclipse*, iii, 304.

<sup>226</sup> Prof. Margoliouth, article in the *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 381.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, i, 448.

tion of less obscene poems ; another selection, by no means free from obscenity, made by one Hibatu 'llah al-Uṣṭarlābī, is preserved in the Paris MS. 5913 which also has a prefatory note from the pen of the famous grammarian Ibnu 'l-Khashshāb.

While on his way to Baghdād, Ibnu 'l-Hajjāj died at Nīl in 391/1001. According to his will he was buried beside the Imām Mūsā b. Ja'far and the words *وكتبهم باسط ذراعيه بالوصيد* were engraved on his tomb.<sup>229</sup> Raḍī has an elegy on his death.<sup>230</sup>

Another poet to be mentioned was Abū Sa'īd ar-Rustumī. He was highly admired by that great patron and critic of poetry, Ibn 'Abbād, who is reported to have called him "the best poet produced by Iṣfahān".<sup>231</sup> Rustumī abandoned poetry and its composition owing to indisposition or piety, in the latter portion of his life. Some of his fine poems are preserved in the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* of Tha'ālībī;<sup>232</sup> a small portion of one of his letters is also to be found in the book mentioned. I could not succeed in finding the dates of his birth as well as death.

We now turn to Sallāmī who has been considered the "greatest poet produced by 'Irāq."<sup>233</sup> He started composing poems when he was hardly ten. His admission into the circle of great poets like Abū 'Uthmān al-Khalidī, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghīā and others at Mouṣil, was a definite recognition of his poetical talent, while the letter<sup>234</sup> of introduction which the Ṣāhib Ismā'il Ibn 'Abbād gave him to Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Yūsuf al-Hakkār, wazīr of the Buwaihid 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla, is the finest tribute to his poetic talent. Sallāmī eulogised the important nobles and prominent wazīrs of the time and died in 393/1003. He was a favourite of Ibn 'Abbād and 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla.

The next poet to be mentioned was Ibn Nubāta Abū Naṣr 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. 'Umar as-Sa'dī (not the court-preacher of Saifu 'd-Dawla). Born in 327 A.H., he travelled a good deal ; then he came to the Wazīr Ibnu 'l-Amīd whom he eulogised in the best of his compositions. The Wazīr's death sent him to the patronage of the Ḥamdānid Saifu 'd-Dawla. He could not remain at the Ḥamdānid court for a long time as he was invited by Fakhrū 'l-Mulk, the Wazīr of the Buwaihids. Ibn Nubāta has been claimed by some to be one of the great poets of his time with this fault that he boasts too much.<sup>235</sup> In addition to a *Diwān* of poems, Ibn Nubāta is also the author of a *collection of Maqāmāt*.<sup>236</sup> Tha'ālībī<sup>237</sup> who was his contemporary, declares him to be an excellent poet and a charming friend. Ibn Nubāta died at Baghdād

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, *Shadharātu'dh-Dhahab*, iii, 136.

<sup>230</sup> This elegy is printed in his *Diwān* (ed. Beirut), ii, 862-64.

<sup>231</sup> Tha'ālībī, *op. cit.* (ed. Cairo, 1934), iii, 272.

<sup>232</sup> P. 273.

<sup>233</sup> Tha'ālībī, *Yatīma*, ii, 364.

<sup>234</sup> This letter is preserved in *Ibid.* (Cairo, 1934), ii, 370, as also in Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, iii, 112-13.

<sup>235</sup> *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, x, 466 (5641).

<sup>236</sup> Tha'ālībī, *al-Muntahā*, annotated by Abū Aḥmad 'Alī in *al-Muntahā*, p. 331.

<sup>237</sup> *Yatīma*, ii, 349-50.



in 405/1015. Miḥyār,<sup>238</sup> the Dailemite has an elegy on his death.

Among the greatest of the poets of the period is ash-Sharifu 'r-Raḍi who is unanimously declared to be "the greatest of the 'Alawi poets" while some consider him the greatest poet among the Quraish. In my monograph entitled "*The Greatest 'Alawid Poet*"<sup>239</sup> I have dealt at length with his life, times and works, and need not repeat the matter here. The Sharif died on Sunday, Muḥarrum 6, 406 A.H./June 26, 1015 A.D.

His pupil the Dailemite Miḥyār b. Marzawaih attained fame as a great poet during the Sharif's life-time. In a paper<sup>240</sup> sent for reading at the 10th Oriental Conference held at Tirupati, I have attempted a brief life-sketch of the poet and have shown "*The Historical value of his Poems*". We might have some idea of his poetry if we note that even in our days the word *Miḥyārī* means poetic.<sup>241</sup> Miḥyār died at Baghdād in 428/1037-8.

Having so far considered the poets of the time we now turn to some other men of learning who deserve notice. Among these, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. 'Alī Albattī was the secretary of the Caliph al-Qādir and a man of encyclopaedic learning. He composed poems occasionally and led a very pious life. Yāqūt<sup>242</sup> gives details of his early life when he would wear "*Ṭailasān*" and attend lectures of the great exponents of Tradition and Qur'ān. The Wazīr al-Maghribī once remarked: "Albattī is a man of varied learning and did not handle any subject but waxed eloquent in it."<sup>243</sup>

On his appointment to the secretaryship of al-Qādir bi'llāh, Albattī also got admission into the court of Bahāu 'd-Dawla where his witticism and ready-replies endeared him to all; and so popular did he become that without him the company would seem dull and lifeless. Courtiers vied with each other in extending patronage to him: finally he attached himself to the Wazīr Fakhrū 'l-Mulḳ, whose favours, we are told, made him brighter still. A number of witty stories are told about him during this period.<sup>244</sup>

In the latter part of his career Albattī gave up composing poems and busied himself in trivialities. Besides a *ḍiẓwān* of poems he is the author of:—

- (i) "*Kitābu 'l-Fakhrī*";
- (ii) "*Kitābu 'l-Qādiri*," and
- (iii) "*Kitābu 'l-'Amīdī*".

Albattī died on Monday, Sha'bān 21, 405 A.H./1015 A.D. His friend the poet Raḍī<sup>245</sup> wrote an elegy on his death.

<sup>238</sup> *Diwān*, iii, 54.

<sup>239</sup> I hope to publish it within the near future.

<sup>240</sup> The title of this Paper is "*The Historical Value of the Poems of Miḥyār, the Dailemite*."

<sup>241</sup> I am indebted for this to my own tutor, the late Professor D. S. Margoli-outh.

<sup>242</sup> *Irshād*, i, 233.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-4.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-41.

<sup>245</sup> *Diwān*, i, 138.

The account we have so far given of poets and writers would indeed be faulty, if mention is not made of that great inventor of "*Maqāmāt*" literature,<sup>246</sup> Badī 'uz-Zamān al Ḥamdānī<sup>247</sup> (d. 398/1008). We need not attempt his life-sketch, as he is already too well-known. But we must point out that his introduction of this variety in Arabic literature is the earliest form of drama which has come to occupy a prominent place in modern times, due to the western contact.

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<sup>246</sup> For the various connotations of this term, and a detailed account of the origin and development of *Maqāmāt* literature, see BROCKELMANN's article in the *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 161-164.

<sup>247</sup> For his life-sketch, see Margoliouth, *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 242-43.

## A FURTHER NOTE ON TAKKI

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Dr. S. M. KATRE was kind enough to point out to me a very small Kaḍavaka from *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* which, according to its author, is written in Dhakka-bhāṣā. The Kaḍavaka occurs in the 103rd Saridhi of the *Purāṇa*. The passage is a very small one consisting of barely nine lines and is full of proper names of Yādavas. Hence the passage does not afford to us any great opportunity to study the dialect in which it is written.

We find the following vowels in this dialect : *a, ā, i, ī, u, e* and *o*. The consonants in their initial position are generally preserved. In the medial position they are either preserved or lost. There are some cases in which the loss of occlusion in medial aspirates is found. At times the medial surds are sonantised. The laws of palatalisation and cerebralisation are also at work. There is not a single dental *n* in the whole Kaḍavaka ; everywhere it is cerebralised into *ṇ*. The liquid *r* is never changed to *l*. In this respect the present dialect at once differs from the Ṭākkī found in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. There is also one more salient aspect in which the present dialect is at variance with the one in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. In the dialect of this Kaḍavaka all the three sibilants *s, ś, ṣ*, are reduced to the single dental sibilant *s*. In this respect this dialect is not in conformity with the European and Syrian Romani where we find two sibilants *s* and *ś* as in the Ṭākkī of *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

There is nothing very particular to be noted in Morphology. The nom. sg. of mas. nouns in *-a* ends in *-u*. The masculine nouns in *-ī* and *-u* are brought over to the *-a* type so that in the gen. sg. of all these nouns we get the termination *-ssa*. In a solitary case we find the termination *-him* for the gen. sg. instead of *-ssa*, e.g. *Subhāṇu-him*. Mārkaṇḍeya while describing the characteristics of Ṭākkī gives *-ham* and *-hur* as the optional terminations for the gen. plu. He is silent as regards the terminations for gen. sg. We do not find this termination *-him* in Ṭākkī of *Mṛcchakaṭika* either.

As regards conjugation we get only a few forms of the present indicative, e.g. *bhavadi, sāhai* etc.

Below is given a complete index of all the words occurring in the Kaḍavaka. The references are given to the page number and the line number in the *Apabhraṃśapāṭhavalī*, edited by M. C. Modi.

*Anandana*-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Anandana*-.

*Kisamajjhuddesanteura*-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.142, Sk. *Kṛśamadhyoddeś-āntaḥpura*-.

*Kusumasara*-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Kusumaśara*-.

*Kesava*-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.136, Sk. *Keśava*-.

*Jaṇasida*-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Yamunāśrita*-.

*jaga-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *jagat-*.

*Jara-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Jara-*. Mr. MODI thinks that this is equivalent to Sk. *jarataḥ*. I think it is only a proper name.

*jēma jēma*, 65.135, Sk. *yathā yathā*.

*ṇa*, occurs very often, Sk. *na*.

*Nanda-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Nanda-*.

*Nandaṇa-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Nandana-*.

*ta-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.141, Sk. *tad-*.

*titti*, nom. sg. 65.136, Sk. *ṭṛptih*.

*tēma tēma*, 65.135, Sk. *tathā tathā*.

*Divāyaṇa-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Dvīpāyana-* or *Dvaipāyana-*.

*Dunḍuhi-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Dundubhi-*.

*Devasena-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.141, Sk. *Devasena-*.

*Paūra-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 66.143, Sk. *Paura-*.

*Paramesara-*, nom. sg. -*u*, 65.135, Sk. *Parameśvara-*.

*Bhagada-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *Bhagada-*.

√*bhava-*, pres. third sg. -*di*, 65.142, Sk. √*bhū-*.

*Bhānu-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *Bhānu-*.

*Bhoya-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.141, Sk. *Bhoja-*.

*mahāyaṇa-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.143, Sk. *mahājāna-*.

*risigaṇa-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 66.143, Sk. *ṛṣigaṇa-*.

*Samba-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 66.138, Sk. *Sāmba-*.

*sam*√*bhava-*, pres. third, sg. -*di*, 65.136, Sk. *sam*√*bhū-*.

*Saccaī-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Sātyaki-*.

*sadhāviya-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *śraddhāpita-*.

*sasimuddasaṇeura-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.142, Sk. *śaśasimudrānūṣura-*.

*sassuḍḍhasira-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.143, Sk. *śvāsordhvaśiras-*. I follow Mr.

MODI in the Sanskrit rendering. Chāyā gives *śaśvat-* in place of *śvāsa-*.

*sahayaṇa-*, nom. sg. -*u*, 65.135, Sk. *sabhājāna-*.

*Sāraṇa-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Sāraṇa-*.

*Sāra-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Sāra-*.

√*sāha-*, pres. third sg. -*i*, 65.135, for Sk. √*kath-*.

*Sini-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Śini-*.

*Subhānu-*, gen. sg. -*him*, 65.139, Sk. *Subhānu-*.

*sutṭhuva-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *suṣṭhuka-*.

*se*, gen. sg. third pers. pron., 65.137, Sk. *tasya*.

*sesiyasuyavayaṇāmiyarasa-*, gen. sg. -*ssa*, 65.136, Sk. *śeṣitaśrutavacanā-mṛtarasa-*.

√*harisija-*, present third sg. -*i*, 65.135, Sk. √*hṛṣ-*.

*hu*, 65.136, Sk. *khalu*, Pā. *khu*.

# THE SRAUTA COUNTERPART OF THE GODANA CEREMONY<sup>1</sup>

By

C. S. VENKATESWARAN.

The *Godāna*<sup>2</sup> is one of the purificatory rites (*Samśkāras*) conducive to longevity (*āyusya*) prescribed in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* for a sacrificer or a boy entering adult life. The *Gṛhya-sūtras* lay down the age of sixteen or eighteen for this ceremony. The mantras employed here are almost identical with those of the *cūḍākarmaṇ*. But, in the *Godāna* rite, not only is the head shaved, but also the beard, the hair on the body, and the nails are also pared.<sup>3</sup> The etymology of the word which means "cutting of hair" (from *go* "hair" and  $\sqrt{dā}$  to "cut") gives a clue to the nature of the rite; but, this sense, in the opinion of some scholars,<sup>4</sup> is only secondary being derived from

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<sup>1</sup> Based on the suggestions of Dr. V. M. APTE in his article in Vol. III of the *New Indian Antiquary*, Nos. 2-7.

<sup>2</sup> A rite similar to the *Godāna* could be found in the *Barashmūn nū shaba* of the Parsis. Originally a purificatory rite prescribed for a person defiled by the dead, it was later prescribed once at least at the time of the *Nū zūdi* at the age of fifteen when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community. It is a nine days' rite meant to wash away "the natural uncleanness contracted in the maternal womb" and consists in the sprinkling of *gomēz* over all the parts of the body with the recital of the fiend-smiting *mantra*, *Yathā Ahū vairyo*.

<sup>3</sup> We have a reference to the cutting of hair and paring of nails and their disposal with the utterance of spells in the *Vendīdād* portion of the *Avesta* where the laws of purification are revealed to the Zarathustra by Ahura. The hair and nails, once they are separated from the body, become unclean and become weapons in the hands of the demon called Ahirman. He has to be exorcised by spells in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead. They are withdrawn from his power by the recital of the *Ahuna Vairya* (akin to the *Gāyatrī mantra*) and by being deposited inside consecrated circles drawn around them as an intrenchment against the fiend. The *Vendīdād* (V. 21) lays especial emphasis on purity. Impurity is described as the state of a person or thing possessed of the demon who can be expelled by purification. A phenomenon by which the bodily nature is altered, whether attended with danger to health or not, is viewed here as a work of the demon and it makes the person unclean in whom it working. Ahura Mazda, in answer to Zarathustra says that a man working when combing his hair or shaving it off or paring his nails, drops them without performing the requisite ceremonies, he does a most deadly deed whereby he increases the baleful strength of the *Daēvas*. The idea is emphasized in the *Shāyast Lā Shāyast* (ch. XII. 6). "The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-paring unprayed over (*anāfsūdak*), for, if it be not prayed over (*afsānd*) it turns into the arms and equipments of the *Mazanān* demons."

<sup>4</sup> MACDONELL and KEITH.—The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* refers to the gift of cows at the end of the ceremony.

the gift of cows accompanying the ceremony of shaving the hair on the face.

There seems hardly any likelihood of the *Godāna* being a purely typical *Grhya* ceremony. The *Godāna-mantras*, a few of them, at least, and the context wherein they are uttered, could be traced to the earlier *śrauta* texts, especially the *Taittirīya* and *Vājasaneyi Samhitās*.

The *mantras*, (1) *āpa undantu varcase* and (2) *oṣadhe trāyasvainam svadhite mainam himsiḥ*, employed in the *grhya* rite occur in these two *Samhitās*. The first *mantra* occurs in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (I. 2. 1. 1) in the chapter on sacrifice. The sacrificer, duly purified by a shave, has to enter the hall called *prācīnavamśa*. The *mantra* is recited in the context of shaving. The *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (IV. 1) employs a similar *mantra* in a like context.

In the above context, shaving is prescribed for the sacrificer as an important item of purification<sup>5</sup> entitling him to the performance of the sacrifice. The hair and nails<sup>6</sup> are regarded as impure (*amedhya*) and hence the injunction for their removal. The water used to moisten the face is meant for imparting brightness (*varcas*) to it. This is quite sensible, for the *RgVeda* and the *Taittirīya Samhitā* not to speak of the *Atharva Veda* associate with water the powers of purifying, healing and of imparting vitality, immortality, strength and brightness.<sup>7</sup> The *mantra* employed here implies that the *Kṣaura* rite aims at imparting longevity and beauty to the sacrificer (*ḍirghāyutvāya varcase*). Hence the just rubrication of this *mantra* in the *Godāna* which is an *āyusa* rite conducive to longevity.

The second *mantra* occurs in *Taittirīya Samhitā* (I. 2. 1. 1.) and *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (IV. 1.) and in both it is uttered while shaving off the beard of the sacrificer. It is an appeal to the razor, or the presiding deity

<sup>5</sup> The first object of man is purity, *Yaoḍdāo*. "Purity is, for man, next to life, the greatest good." (*Ven.* V. 21).

<sup>6</sup> In the Avesta, hair and nails, *only when separated from the body*, become impure.

<sup>7</sup> अस्वन्तरममृतमप्सु भेषजम् (*RV.*, I. 23. 16 ; *AV.*, I. 4. 4).

मधुच्युतः शुचयो याः पावकास्ता न आपः शं स्यो ना भवन्तु

(*Taitt. S.*, v. 6. 1 and *AV.*, I. 33. 1).

तीव्रो रयो मधुपृचामरंगम आ मा प्राणेन सह वर्चसा गन्

(*Taitt. S.*, v. 6. 1 and *AV.*, III. 13. 5).

मयि वर्चो बलमोजो विधत् (*Taitt. S.* V. 6. 1).

एमा अगमन्रेवतीर्जाविधन्याः (*RV.* VII. 26. 14).

The powers of water are described in the Avesta also : *Yasna*, lii. 2 "bearing every form of healing virtue which comes to us from waters. *Yasna* lxv describes *Arədui sūra Anāhitā* (Waters) as healing in her influence, efficacious against the *Daēvas* and as furthering all living things. She is invoked for health of many kinds, power, weal, immortality and glory. In *Yasna* lxvii Water is prayed to act as a torment to and defence against the evil doer.

thereof, not to harm the sacrificer. The *mantra* with its idea of not harming the person shaved is taken over to the *gṛhya* ceremony.

Again, there is a third *mantra* : *yena dhātā Bṛhaspateḥ Agneḥ Indrasya cāyuse vapat, tena ta āyuse vapāmi suślokyāya svastaye*. It can be traced to the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (III. 9. 5) with a slight transposition of words, the purport being practically the same. Here, too, the idea is conveyed that the *vapana* is meant for long life and prosperity, in general. The idea has, no doubt, been pressed into service in the *Godāna* rite also.

An evaluation of the above data will lead us to the natural and reasonable conclusion that the *gṛhya* rite of *Godāna*, both in regard to its *mantras* and the context wherein they are employed, has its counterpart in the *śrauta* texts. This fact strengthens Dr. V. M. Apte's proposition that "the rubrication of *śrauta-mantras* in the literature or ritual is not arbitrary, as has often been supposed, nay, there are certain well-defined principles underlying the citation and liturgical employment of the *śrauta-mantras* in the *gṛhya-sūtras*."

# A NOTE ON THE 'ABHIRAS' IN PATANJALI\*

By

D. G. BHAVE.

'Ābhīras' as the name of a country or its inhabitants.

Wilson in his *Indian Caste* says about the Ābhīras :<sup>1</sup> "They are first locally brought to notice, in the *Mahābhārata* along with the Śūdras, dwelling on the banks of the Indus.<sup>2</sup> The 'Ābhīras' are recognised as in that position by Ptolemy, who denominates the district in which they were found *Abiria* ;<sup>3</sup> and their representatives are still seen in the 'Ahirs', a class of shepherds and cultivators in Sindh, Cutch and Kathiawad." These people are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a tribe with the Draviḍa, Puṇḍra and Śabara,<sup>4</sup> and the Barbara, Yavana and Garga ;<sup>5</sup> in the *Rāmāyaṇa* along with the Surāṣṭra, Vālhika and Bhadra,<sup>6</sup> and the Marū, Anumarū and Sūra,<sup>7</sup> and in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* along with the Parāta, Surāṣṭra and Sūra.<sup>8</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* they are also said to have encamped on the river Saraswati.<sup>9</sup> Probably they were a wandering tribe. It appears that the women of the country were beautiful.<sup>10</sup> These people spoke a somewhat uncultured language dubbed *Apa-bhramśa* by Daṇḍin.<sup>11</sup>

## Ābhīra as a Caste.

*Manusmṛti* tells us that the Ābhīra is the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa and a female of the Ambaṣṭha tribe.<sup>12</sup> The *Mahābhārata* says that the Draviḍas (of the south-east of India), Ābhīras, Puṇḍras (of the east of India), and the Śabarās became Vṛśalas by their omission of the Kṣtriya rites.<sup>13</sup> This view is in agreement with that of *Manusmṛti* which tells us, that "the following

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\* I am deeply indebted to Prof. V. M. Apte for the help rendered by him in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.*, *Bhīṣma Parvan*, 305 (Cal. ed., ii, p. 344).

<sup>3</sup> *Ptol.*, *Geo.*, lib. vii, p. 102 (edit. Bert.)

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.*, XIV. 30. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh.*, II. 78.99.

<sup>6</sup> *R.*, IV, 43.5.

<sup>7</sup> *R.*, IV, 43.19.

<sup>8</sup> *VP.*, II. 3.16.

<sup>9</sup> *MBh.*, II. 35.10.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Udbhṭa quoted in Apte's *Dictionary* :

आभीरवामनयनाहृतमानसस्य दत्तं मनो यदुपते तदिदं गृहाण ।

<sup>11</sup> *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 36. आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंशा इति स्मृताः ; also *Sāhityadarpaṇa* आभीरेषु तथाभीरी (प्रयोक्तव्या) .

<sup>12</sup> *Manu.*, X. 15 आभीरोऽम्बष्ठकन्यायामायोगव्यान्तु धिग्वनः ।

<sup>13</sup> *MBh.*, XIV. 30. 16 : एवं ते द्विविडाभीराः पुण्ड्राश्च शबरैस्सह वृषलत्वं परिगता व्युत्थानात् क्षत्रधर्मतः ।



races of the Kṣatriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brāhmaṇas, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes (the Śūdras) viz., the Pauṇḍrakas, the Draviḍas, the Yavanas etc.”<sup>14</sup>

It appears to me that the classification given in *Manu*. (X. 15) and the account of the degradation of the originally Kṣatriya 'Ābhīras' in *Manu*. (X. 43-45) and the *Mahābhārata* (XIV. 30.16) does not represent any historical development.

Patañjali in his discussion about the *dvandva* compounds in his *Mahābhāṣya*, states the prima facie view that such a compound as *śūdrābhīram* cannot be justified, inasmuch as 'Ābhīra' is but a *viśeṣa* (a particular) of the *sāmānya* (general category) of Śūdras, and no *dvandva* compound can be formed between a *viśeṣa* and *sāmānya*. After that Patañjali dismisses the prima facie view by saying that such a compound is possible, for the 'Ābhīras' form a *separate* caste.<sup>15</sup> This shows that in Patañjali's days it was a debatable question whether the Ābhīras were a sub-caste or a group comprised within the Śūdras, or a separate caste by itself. Now the *Mahābhārata* also mentions the *śūdrābhīraganāḥ*.<sup>16</sup> This compound can be dissolved so as to mean either the " *gaṇas* (groups) of the Śūdras and the Ābhīras" or the "group of Ābhīras of the Śūdra class." Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* says that the Ābhīras were a *bheda* (subdivision) of the Vaiśyas.<sup>17</sup>

In my opinion the clear and specific mention of the Ābhīras in this passage clearly reveals the state of things when the task of the absorption of foreign people into the Hindu society raised curious problems. The fourth class, viz., the Śūdra (and often even the third) generally made room for this foreign element; but this did not ultimately prevent the formation of a new sub-caste standing apart, the question being always debatable, as in Patañjali, whether they were Śūdras or a *jātyantara*.

<sup>14</sup> *Manu*., X. 43-45.

<sup>15</sup> *Mahābhāṣya*, i. 2, 3 on Pān. I. 2.73 : यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवती-  
त्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम्...न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरजात्यन्तराणि ॥

<sup>16</sup> *MBh.*, II. 35. 10 : शूद्राभीरगणांश्चैव ये वाञ्छित्य सरस्वतीम् ।

<sup>17</sup> *H.* 522, Sch. f. : वैश्यभेद एव आभीरो गबाधुपजीवी ॥

A REVISED AND ENLARGED VERSION OF THE  
NIRUKTA—DISCUSSION ON THE MEANINGLESS-  
NESS OR OTHERWISE OF VEDIC MANTRAS  
IN THE ŚĀBARA-BHĀṢYA.<sup>1</sup>

By

D. V. GARGE.

The author of the *Nirukta* discusses the meaninglessness or otherwise of Vedic *mantras* in *Khaṇḍas* 15 and 16 of Chapter I. The same topic is treated in greater detail in *Adhikaraṇa* IV of *Pāda* II of Chapter I of the *Śābara-Bhāṣya*.

In the *Nirukta* it is Kautsa, who propounds the *prima facie* view that the *mantras* convey no meaning, and hence he is the *pūrvapakṣin* against whom Yāska advances his arguments to establish his thesis that Vedic *mantras* are not a mere mass of meaningless jargon ; every *mantra* has some meaning and it should be investigated with the help of the science of etymology (*Nirukta*). In the *Bhāṣya*, on the other hand, the *pūrvapakṣa* arguments are attributed to no specific person nor to a body of thinkers. They are the creations and anticipations put forth by the *Bhāṣyakāra* himself, to be refuted by himself later on. This practice is common to all the systems of Indian Philosophy.

The *Bhāṣya* gives two new arguments in addition to the six given in the *Nirukta* for the *pūrvapakṣa* and for the *Siddhānta* view gives three additional arguments for which there is no counterpart in the *pūrvapakṣa*.

In a paper which I propose to publish later on, I shall give the arguments from the *Nirukta* and the corresponding ones from the *Bhāṣya* in parallel columns commenting on them in detail. For the present, I present only the new arguments of the *Bhāṣya* which are not found in the *Nirukta*.

It should be noted that though the text of the *Bhāṣya* has been quoted *verbatim*, no literal translation has been added, because the original text is easy enough to understand. But in order that the exact point should be brought home to the mind of the reader the summary of each argument has been added below the quotation from the *Bhāṣya*.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Śābara-Bhāṣya* version is here supposed to represent the *Jaimini-Sūtra* version also, because there is no independent explanation available of the latter, apart from that embodied in the *Śābara-Bhāṣya* and therefore what is attributed in the following discussion to the author of the *Śābara-Bhāṣya* is to be taken as attributed to Jaimini also, for no separate treatment of the two is possible at this stage.

( पूर्वपक्ष ) स्वाध्यायवदवचनात् ॥ ३७ ॥

स्वाध्यायकाले पूर्णिकाऽवहन्ति करोति । माणवकोऽवहन्तिमन्त्रमधीते । नासौ तेन मन्त्रेण तदभिधानमभ्यस्यति, अक्षरानुपूर्व्या अवधारण एव यतते । येन च नाम प्रयोजनं तदभ्यसितव्यम् । अत उच्चारणाभ्यासादुच्चारणेन प्रयोजनमित्यवगच्छामः ।

The *pūrvapakṣin*, in this *sūtra*, supports his argument that the *mantras* are meaningless for reasons as follows :

Suppose a student is repeating the *avahanti-mantra* (i.e. the *mantra* which is employed at the time of *threshing* in the performance of a sacrifice) and suppose that Pūṁikā, a maid, is actually threshing corn by his side at the same time. Here it cannot be said that the student goes on repeating the *mantra* with a view to learn the meaning of it by associating mentally the words of the *mantra* with the real act of threshing that is going on simultaneously by his side. All his efforts, as a matter of fact, are centred on mastering the *mantra* in its fixed sequence of letters only. It is the definite order of the syllables of the *mantra* that matters most for the student, *not* the meaning in the least. And as the student learns and practises the reciting alone, we conclude that it is the reciting alone of *mantra* that serves a useful purpose.

Now, just as the recitation of the *mantra* on the part of the student has nothing to do with the simultaneous act of threshing, so also at the time that the sacrifice is being performed, the *mantras* are chanted not for conveying any idea of things connected with the sacrifice, but for their sound only.<sup>2</sup>

( सिद्धान्त ) विद्यावचनमसंयोगात् ॥ ४८ ॥

यत्त्वक्रमकालेऽवहन्तिमन्त्रेण माणवको न पूर्णिकाऽवहन्ति प्रकाशयितुमिच्छतीति । अयज्ञसंयोगाद्, न यज्ञोपकारायैतत्प्रकाशयितुमिच्छति । ननु प्रकाशनानभ्यासोऽक्षराभ्यासश्च परिचोदितः । उच्यते । सौकर्यात्प्रकाशनानभ्यासो दुर्ग्रहत्वाच्चाक्षराभ्यासः ।

This *sūtra* refutes the *pūrvapakṣa* argument in *sūtra* 37. The illustration of the student learning the *mantra* and a maid threshing corn by his side, cannot cover the actual performance of a sacrifice. A distinction must be made between the two occasions. An idea of the meaning is not conveyed at the time of the learning of the *mantra*, not because the *mantra* is incapable of any meaning, but because at this time, the indication of the meaning of the *mantra* has no bearing upon the performance and consequently has no use.

It might be urged that what is enjoined by the scriptures is not the teaching and learning of the meaning, but of the verbal text only ; and hence we need not trouble about the meaning. Our answer to this is that the understanding and remembering of the meaning is easy and hence there is no special injunction for it ; but mastering the verbal text is difficult and hence it requires a specific injunction.

<sup>2</sup> For an independent refutation of this view, compare "R̥gveda Mantras in their ritual setting in the G̥hyasūtras" by Professor Dr. V. M. APTE.

( पूर्वपक्ष ) अनित्यसंयोगान्मन्त्रानर्थक्यम् ॥ ३९ ॥

अनित्यसंयोगः खल्वपि भवेत् मन्त्राभिधानार्थेषु । यथा ' किं ते कृष्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावः ' इति, कीकटा नाम जनपदाः । नैवाशाखं नाम नगरम् । प्रमगन्दो राजेति । यद्यभिधानार्थाः, प्राक् प्रमगंशान्नायं मन्त्रोऽनुभूतपूर्व इति गम्यते । तदेतैस्तदर्थशास्त्रादिभिः कारणैर्मन्त्राणामविवक्षितवचनता ।

If the *mantras* were to convey some meaning then they might be inseparably bound up with some impermanent things and thus become impermanent themselves. Many of the *mantras* do refer to such evanescent things ; for instance, *Rg-Veda* III. 53. 14 :

“ Among the Kikaṭas what do thy cattle do ?

They yield no milk, they heat no cauldron.

Bring thou to us the wealth of Pramaganda ; give up to us, O Maghavan, the Naicāśākha ” ( which according to the *Bhāṣya* is the name of a city ).<sup>3</sup>

This *mantra* mentions *Kikaṭa*, the name of a country, *Naicāśākha*, the name of a city and *Pramaganda*, the name of a King, all of which are evanescent, having had a beginning in time. If such *mantras* were meant to convey a meaning, then it would follow that this *mantra* did not exist before the time of King *Pramaganda*. For these reasons the *mantras* are meaningless.

( सिद्धान्त ) उक्तश्चानित्यसंयोगः ॥ ५० ॥

‘ परन्तु श्रुतिसामान्यमात्रम् ’ ( १. १. ३१ ) इत्यत्र ।

An answer to objections like these is given once for all, under the *Sūtra* ‘ There is only a similarity of sounds. ’ There, it has been declared that words like *babara* and *prāvāhaṇi*<sup>4</sup> are not the names of persons in flesh and blood but designations of some eternal conceptions. *Babara* is a word imitative of the sound produced by the blowing wind ; and the term *prāvāhaṇi* signifies ‘ one who carries things in an excellent manner ’. Similarly, in the present case words like *Kikaṭa*, *Naicāśākha* and *Pramaganda* denote some permanent conceptions and not any evanescent ones as the *pūrvapakṣin* thinks.<sup>5</sup>

Three new arguments on the side of the *siddhānta* for which there is no counterpart in the *pūrvapakṣa* are as follows :—

I. लिङ्गोपदेशश्च तदर्थवत् ॥ ५१ ॥

‘ आग्नेय्याऽग्नीध्रमुपतिष्ठते ’ इति विधानाद्विवक्षितार्थानामेव मन्त्राणां भवति लिङ्गेनोपदेशः यदि तेऽभिप्रयोजनास्ततस्त आग्नेय्या नामिशब्दसंनिधानात् ।

The scriptural direction given in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, ( 3. 1. 6. ) enjoins the use of a *ṛk* named *Āgneyī*. Now, the *ṛk* must convey some meaning because otherwise it would not be called *Āgneyī* i.e. ‘ addressed to Agni ’;

<sup>3</sup> Sāyaṇa also says that *Naicāśākha* is the name of a place and thus supports the view of Śabara.

<sup>4</sup> Taitt. Saṁh. 7. 1. 20.

<sup>5</sup> By the bye, this argument is interesting as implying that there could be no reference to a human personality in the Veda.

for the name could be given on the strength of the meaning alone.

## II. ऊहः ॥ ५२ ॥

ऊहदर्शनं च विवक्षितार्थानामेव भवति । किमूहदर्शनम् । न पिता वर्धते न मातेति । अन्ये वर्धन्त इति गम्यते । प्रत्यक्षं कौमारयौवनस्थाविरैर्वर्धन्ते मात्रादयः । शब्दो न वर्धते इति ब्रूते । का पुनः शब्दस्य वृद्धिः । यद् द्विवचनबहुवचनसंयोगः ।

Another proof is the laying down of an *ūha* or "modification" of a *mantra* to adapt it to another context. For example, there is the *ūha* all the words in the *mantra* : *anvenam mātā*, etc.,<sup>6</sup> except the words *mātā* and *pitā*, may be changed. This must necessarily imply that *mantras* have meaning.

## III. विधिश्ब्दाश्च ॥ ५३ ॥

विधिश्ब्दाश्च विवक्षितार्थानेव मन्त्राननुवदन्ति, शतं हिमाः शतं वर्षाणि जीव्यासमित्येतदेवाहेति ।

Lastly there are certain *Brāhmaṇa-texts* which comment on the *mantras* in a way that leads us to conclude that the *mantras* must have some meaning. For instance, in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts : *śatam himāḥ śatam varṣāṇi jīvyāsam ityetadevāha*<sup>7</sup> the word *himāḥ* in the *mantra* : *Agne grhapate*, etc.<sup>8</sup> is explained as "winters" meaning "years".

The three new arguments thus provided are : (1) the *names* given to *mantras*, such as *Āgneyī* etc., (2) the modifications that are proposed in order to adapt them to another context and (3) the comments in the *Brāhmaṇas*. All these show that *mantras* must have some meaning.

<sup>6</sup> *Taitt. Samh.* 3. 6. 6. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Sat. Brā.* 2. 3. 4. 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Vāj. Samh.* 2. 27.

# THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AS REFLECTED IN THE SIMILES OF THE DAWN-HYMNS IN THE R̥GVEDA.<sup>1</sup>

By

P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI.

In the figures of speech occurring in the *R̥gveda* we find the stamp of simplicity and naturalness. The *R̥gveda* poets deeply appreciated their natural environments and have almost unconsciously embellished their songs with living similes and metaphors which reflect contemporary cultural and social conditions. Wilson to whom verses of the *R̥gveda* appeared singularly prosaic except in their rhythm and in a few rare passages says that, "their chief value lies not in their fancy but in their facts, social and religious."<sup>2</sup> This article is an attempt to explain a few such facts lying buried in the similes occurring in hymns addressed to the goddess of Dawn as they are easily the most poetic among the *R̥gvedic* hymns.

## *Women and married life :*

Uṣas, the goddess of Dawn, is conspicuous as the only feminine divinity of any considerable prominence in the *R̥gvedic* pantheon. So, naturally enough, in the descriptive lauds composed to propitiate her, we get some glimpses of the contemporary social life of women. Uṣas comes like a lady, the Bountiful one (*sūnārī*), 'carefully tending everything.'<sup>3</sup> And as she comes all living beings are stirred up and birds begin to fly. This description calls up to our mind the picture of a housewife who, responsible for the conduct of household affairs, as the mistress of the house, gets up in the small hours of the morning and rouses others who are still asleep so that they may attend to their respective duties without delay. This presupposes that woman was an inspiring influence in the home and managed household affairs with great

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<sup>1</sup> The subject was suggested by an article in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, I. (1911) by H. D. GRISWOLD entitled 'Vedic social life according to similes in the Agni hymns of the *R̥gveda*.' My attention was drawn to this article by my Professor Dr. V. M. APTE, to whom I am indebted for the interpretation of the *R̥g* verses cited.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Griffith, *The Hymns of the R̥gveda*, preface to the first edition, viii.

<sup>3</sup> आ घा योषेव सूनर्युषा याति प्रभुञ्जती ।

जरयेती वृजनं पृद्वदीयत् उत्पातयति पृक्षिणः I. 48. 5.

A passage which breathes a similar spirit describes Uṣahina in the Avesta, as follows : "We sacrifice to the morning, the shining, of the glittering horses having men of forethought (as its servants), yea having men of forethought and heroes (awake and at their work), to the morning which gives light within the house." (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI, p. 387.)

efficiency. As a maiden would go forth, well-dressed, proud of her beauty, to meet her lover (like an *abhisārikā*), so Uṣas, conscious of her personal charm goes to god Sūrya longing to win her, and then smiling, uncovers her bosom before him.<sup>4</sup> The Dawns sing their songs as regularly as women go on with their appointed tasks.<sup>5</sup> The housewives of those days were industrious and very regular in the discharge of their household duties. Putting on colourful forms, "like a dancer, she displays her bosom, like a cow her udder."<sup>6</sup> These similes suggest that the life of women had its bright and gay side as well. It was not unusual for them to sing and dance and to put on colourful attire at the time of the dance. No false modesty would prevent a lady from showing herself to the best possible advantage in a festive gathering. In I. 123. 11. we read "Beautiful as a youthful maiden, *dressed up by her mother*, Uṣas exhibits her person."<sup>7</sup> We have here a glimpse of the family life in those ancient days the mother helping her daughter's make-up, especially at the time of her wedding which is supposed to be the only context of the verse by some scholars. In I. 124. 8, we get another glimpse of family life—sister goes away from sister taking a long lingering look behind before going.<sup>8</sup> That festive occasions were not few and far between is clear from the simile "like alluring damsels thronging to a festivity."<sup>9</sup> "Like a maiden who has no brother Dawn is said to seek men."<sup>10</sup> This suggests that a maiden sought the help of her other male relations if not blessed with a brother and from this it may be inferred that (next to their fathers) girls looked up to their brothers as guardians and that their absence created a gap in their family life.

In the *Rgveda* very often one comes across stanzas which reflect the happy atmosphere in which a married couple lived. A simile describes, "Uṣas like

4 कन्ये'व तन्कङ्कशादानौ एषि' देवि देवमियक्षमाणम् । I. 123. 10.

5 अर्चन्ति नारीरूपसो न विष्टिभिः । I. 92. 3.<sup>a</sup>

6 अधि पेशासि वपते नृत्तुरिवापोरुते वक्ष उक्षेव बर्जहम् । I. 92. 4.

7 सुसङ्काशा मातृमृष्टेव योषा । I. 123 11.<sup>a</sup>

The description of Ardvī Sūra Anāhitā, an important female deity in the Avesta, who assumed the shape of a maid, may be interesting in this connection. "Ardvī Sūra Anāhitā hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high girded, pure, nobly-born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle with all sorts of ornaments and radiant." (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIII, p. 72.)

8 स्वसा स्वस्त्रे ज्यायस्यै योनिमारैरुपैत्यस्याः प्रतिचक्ष्येव । I. 124. 8.

9 व्युच्छन्ती' रश्मिभिः सूर्यस्याज्यंक्ते समनगा इव ब्राः । I. 124. 8.

Woman in Kianian Iran also "attended social and religious gatherings in company with man". And women were also "invited to ceremonies on the same terms as men." (Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, pp. 74-75.)

10 अञ्जातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची । I. 124. 7.

a loving wife dressing herself well and exhibiting her charms to her husband.”<sup>11</sup> The simile makes it clear that women were anxious to endear themselves to their husbands and to make them happy.

#### *Sacrifice :*

Drawn as they are from the sacrifice, many R̥gvedic similes testify to the existence of the institution of sacrifice and ritual. Similes in the Dawn-hymns can be cited to illustrate this. In a verse a comparison is made between the “tints that deck the post at sacrifices” and the wondrous splendour of Dawn.<sup>12</sup> Skandasvāmin<sup>13</sup> and Sāyaṇa<sup>14</sup> both explain this colour as due to the melted butter with which the post used to be anointed. It is doubtful, however, in my opinion, whether melted butter could give such a beautiful colour or colours to the *yūpa* as to make it comparable to the wondrous splendour of Dawn. So it will not be unwarranted to presume that the Vedic people not only anointed the post but also painted it with some colouring substance like saffron mixed with melted butter so as to give it an attractive appearance. In another verse, Dawn is compared to the *yūpa* by virtue of the common position of both in the east.<sup>15</sup> These two instances enable us to conclude that the painted *yūpa* with its position to the east of the sacrificial ground was so common a feature at that time, that the Vedic poets spontaneously thought of it as an object of comparison.

#### *The Arts of War :*

The soldiers of the Vedic age fought with dazzling weapons. In the eyes of a R̥gveda poet the Dawns who raised their banner in the east and spread abroad their light appear like soldiers who burnish their weapons for war.<sup>16</sup> The simile shows that the weapons were nicely polished and this indicates the high level which the manufacture of weapons had attained. In one of the verses Dawn is described as chasing foes “like a valiant archer” and as repelling darkness like a swift draft-animal.<sup>17</sup> This simile bears out two

11 जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासो उषा हृष्टेव निरिणीते अप्सः । I. 124. 7.

The same condition prevailed in Kianian Iran also. “In picturesque language, the texts (*Yasṭs* in *Zend Avesta*) describe a loving wife adorning herself in gay attire and ornaments, such as would make her attractive in the eyes of her husband, reclining on couches provided with soft cushions and anxiously waiting to greet him with charms of beauty on his return home from daily toil.” (Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, pp. 79-80.)

12 स्वर्ं न पेशो विदथेष्वाञ्जस्त्रिं दिवो दुहिता भानुमश्नेत् । I. 92. 5.

13 यथा स्वः पेश आज्यसम्बन्धादुज्ज्वलरूपे । Skandasvāmin.

14 यूपं यथाज्येनाध्वर्यवोऽज्जन्, अश्नन्ति । Sāyaṇa.

15 अस्थुरु चित्रा उषसः पुरस्तान्मिता इव स्वर्वोऽध्वरेषु । IV. 51. 2.

16 एता उ त्या उषसः केतुमकृत् पूर्वै अर्धे रजसो भानुमज्जते ।

निष्कृष्टाना आयुधानीव धृष्णवः प्रति गावोऽरुषीर्यन्ति मातरः ॥ I. 92. 1.

17 अपेजते शूरो अस्तेव शत्रून् बाधते तमो अजिरो न वोळ्हा । VI. 64. 3.



facts ; one that there were heroic men among the soldiers and the other that draft-animals were used for war purposes. Uṣas mounts the chariot as it were to gather riches.<sup>18</sup> From this we may conclude that those who won battles used to gather valuable war-spoils. A reference to a banner in I. 92. 1. shows that this symbol of victory was in vogue then.

### Cattle :

The Vedic Aryans were a pastoral people and cattle formed their primary possession. The *R̥gveda* abounds in references to this possession of cattle. In the Dawn-hymns, the cow is mentioned not less than four times for the purpose of comparison. "The Dawn exposes her bosom as a cow exposes her udder."<sup>19</sup> In the same verse occurs another simile—"Dawn hath laid the darkness open as the cows their stall".<sup>20</sup> "The Dawn sends forth her rays (as one would drive forth) cows. The rays rush on like the rapids of the Sindhu."<sup>21</sup> Another simile reads that the Dawns come like a troop of cattle.<sup>22</sup> These references prove the enormous wealth of cattle, the Indo-Aryans had in those days and the great store they laid on their possession.

### Shipping :

The antiquity of the maritime commerce which India carried on with neighbouring countries is a much debated point. But it is accepted on all hands that the people of the Vedic age sailed out into the open main for riches, braving the perils of the deep. This view is maintained on the authority of the various passages in the *R̥gveda* which distinctly refer to shipping. In one of the verses connected with Uṣas the goddess who sets the chariots into motion by her arrival is compared with "glory-seekers who send ships to sea."<sup>23</sup> Without straining the evidence too much, it can be inferred that shipping was more or less in a prosperous condition and it was considered as a lucrative business.

### Morality :

"May not the Sun scorch you with his rays, as he would scorch an inimical thief"<sup>24</sup> prays one of the sages. The kind of punishment meted out to a thief which is hinted at in this simile is rather interesting in my

<sup>18</sup> ग॑र्ता॒रुगि॒व॑ स॒नये॒ धन॑ानाम् । I. 124. 7.

<sup>19</sup> अपो॑'णु॒ते व॒क्षः॒ उ॒त्से॒व॒ ब॒र्ज॑हम् । I. 92. 4.

<sup>20</sup> गा॒वो न॒ ब्र॒जं व्यु॑षा॒ आव॑र्त॒मः । I. 92. 4.

<sup>21</sup> पु॒श्न॒श्च चि॒त्रा सु॒भगा॑ प्र॒थाना॑ सि॒न्धुर्न॒ क्षोद॑ उ॒र्वि॒या व्य॑थैत् । I. 92. 12.

<sup>22</sup> ग॒वां न॒ सर्गा॑' उ॒षसो॑' ज॒रन्ते॑ । IV. 51. 8.

<sup>23</sup> उ॒वा॒सोषा॑ उ॒च्छा॒ञ्च नु॑ दे॒वी जी॒रा रथो॑नाम् ।

ये अ॒स्या आ॒चरे॑णेषु द॒ध्निरे॑ स॒मुद्रे॑ न श्र॒व॒स्य॒वः ॥ I. 48. 3.

<sup>24</sup> ने॒त्वा स्ते॑नं यथा॑ रि॒पुं तपो॑ति॒ स्रो॑ । V. 79. 9.

opinion. Were thieves exposed to the scorching heat of the blazing sun by way of punishment? The description that Dawn smiles like a flatterer<sup>25</sup> reminds us of the picture of a flatterer, smiling in his sleeve while flattering. In I. 92. 10 Dawn is compared to a clever gambler<sup>26</sup> and the simile only confirms what is established by the "Gambler's hymn" in the *R̥gveda*.

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<sup>25</sup> अत्रिये छन्दो न स्मयते । I. 92. 6.

<sup>26</sup> श्वघ्नोर्व कृत्तुर्विजे आमिनाना । I. 92. 10.

# GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS AND THE PURANIC TRADITION<sup>1</sup>

By

D. R. PATIL

Views about the historicity of traditional accounts have their own interesting history. In the infancy of research these accounts were readily accepted as representing sober history. But soon a reaction set in and each of them was interpreted and explained away as this or that form of a myth. This sort of apathy could not long endure. Half a century's sensational discoveries of an ancient civilization, actually dating from the age to which the Greek legends refer, testify that the Trojan War was not a pure myth and that the Homeric heroes might have once existed.<sup>2</sup> Excavations at Ur and Kish have revealed that the Biblical story of the Deluge was not a deliberate invention of some ambitious priest but is a record of an event that did actually take place.<sup>3</sup> Similar attempts in India may not be unrewarded though one has to admit the fact that Indian tradition, more than any other, has suffered from being too much varnished with religious sentiments.

For the history of pre-Mauryan Āryāvarta archæology gives us next to no information. What little has come down to us about the history of this period is enveloped with clouds of myths and legends. The *Purāṇas* (including the Epics) profess to chronicle the events of ancient India. But the tale is hidden behind the teaching and it is difficult to separate the story from the sermon. For the extant texts that go by the proud title of *Purāṇa*, are *religious* books and they cannot pose, at least before a critical scholar, as works of 'history.' That they do have a historical root or basis has been rarely denied,<sup>4</sup> but the process of separating fact from fiction, or so to say, of seeking the historic roots amidst the tangled forest of this vast religious superstructure is a most toilsome and weary work. And there is again the feeling of uncertainty of building conclusions on weak founda-

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<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to Professor H. D. SANKALIA for giving him this subject for investigation and for substantially helping him with valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, pp. 510, ff. for historical traditions in the Iliad; also BURN, *Minoans Philistines and Greeks*, pp. 17-25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. PEAKE, *The Flood*, (London, 1930); *Antiquity*, V., pp. 213-20.

<sup>4</sup> For the value of the *Purāṇas* as sources for the Ancient History of India see, SMITH, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), pp. 11-12; RAYCHAUDHARI, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th ed.), pp. 5 ff.; PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Chap. I; *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 267 ff.; and *Bhandarkar Comm.*, pp. 107 ff.; *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 299-300.

tions. We need help from an outside source, and it is the hope of the present writer that by invoking the aid of the inscriptions some valuable results may be obtained.

We need not emphasise the value of inscriptions, however scanty in extent, for procuring a mine of information in all departments of Indian research. That has already been sufficiently done by scholars competent in that field. "The comparison of the partly insignificant notices in the inscriptions with the accounts of literary tradition...permits us to have an occasional peep into the developments of all types of literature and of all the religious systems, a peep whose worth is considerably significant in the absence of really historical details."<sup>4a</sup>

For the purposes of the present article *Purāṇa* has been taken in its widest sense, i.e. the 'archæologia' or the 'ancient lore' of the Hindus in whatever form it is found. It will be readily admitted that there did exist in ancient times a mass of floating literature, which in the Heroic Age of India, as in other ancient lands, was mainly the property of the bards or the *sūtas*.<sup>5</sup> These *sūtas* sang of the exploits of the kings and heroes of yore at the royal or other ceremonies. Their songs might have been specially popular in the Kṣatriya circles. When this bard poetry ceased we do not know; but this literature did pass into the hands, not of the learned Brāhmaṇas, the Veda-knowers, but of the lower professional priesthood, who congregated in temples and places of pilgrimage.<sup>6</sup> How and when did this great transference take place? It need not be seriously doubted that the present texts are the fruits of an intense Brahmanical activity. It is probable that the *idea* of recasting the *Purāṇas* into their present form originated about the time of the Guptas.<sup>7</sup> There was an outburst of intellectual activity<sup>8</sup> in this "golden age" of India's history similar to that in Elizabethan England. Sanskrit became the official language of India, an event which must have been of considerable importance to the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>9</sup> There was a Hindu revival on all sides. Buddhism was showing signs of decay and the orthodox faith, though in a newer form, was gaining ground, since the *pāṣaṇḍas* could no more invoke the

<sup>4a</sup> BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> For the antiquity of Indian bard poetry and its subsequent development in the present form see WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, I, pp. 318 ff., and pp. 387 ff.; HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 365 ff.; JAOS, XIII, pp. 254-5; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-8; VAIDYA, *JBBRAS.*, 1915, pp. 34-5; and *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 297-8.

<sup>6</sup> WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

<sup>7</sup> R. G. BHANDARKAR, *A Peep into the Early History of India*, (Coll. Works, I), p. 55; R. D. BANERJI, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 108-12; PARGITER, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. xii.

<sup>8</sup> For the intellectual activities of the Gupta Age see R. G. BHANDARKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-61; R. D. BANERJI, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-29; SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-24.

<sup>9</sup> R. G. BHANDARKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.; SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

royal patronage.<sup>10</sup> The half-civilised alien tribes who poured down into India before the rise of the Gupta empire had already been submerged in the Indian population and it was but natural that they should have transformed the existing faiths to suit their own level of understanding.<sup>11</sup> Knowledge and tradition might have been brought up-to-date to meet the needs of the times ; and it is clear that the priests, with an imperfect knowledge of the materials they were handling,<sup>12</sup> could not have done so without pouring "new wine into old bottles." Thus, if the Brāhmaṇas were so prominent and if they promulgated the literary activity of working on the fluid texts of tradition that were extant in their days, it is legitimate to look for *that tradition*, on which they worked and which they brought up-to-date. Can the tradition, which the Gupta subjects cherished and honoured, be worked out from a separate and more reliable source than the *Purāṇas*? The natural hope is that the Gupta inscriptions may, to a certain extent, supply us the data. And it is with this hope that the present enquiry has been undertaken.

The appendix<sup>13</sup> presents a sort of comparative table of all the traditional hints or samples that the writer has gleaned from the Gupta inscriptions.<sup>14</sup> It does not unveil a harmonious and composite picture of the tradition that was current in Gupta days, but rather gives us *fragments* from which that tradition has to be re-constructed, as far as it is possible to do so. The value of these fragments lies, not in their assertion to present us the tradition, which they do not profess to do, but in echoing it. The question arises as to whence did the scribes or the *dūtakas*<sup>15</sup> get their references? It does not seem that they should remind us of their knowledge of a particular treatise on tradition, but most probably they speak to us with the knowledge and beliefs of the people, their contemporaries. It is the people's living memory they reflect. Their references are *obiter dicta*, incidental, by way of analogy or imagery. Though often in a mood to praise a particular god or hero they do not display the propagandistic and sectarian zeal of the Purāṇic compilers. From their stray hints we can reconstruct the stories they

<sup>10</sup> Of course, there was no religious intolerance even though the Gupta emperors were Brahmanical Hindus, specially devoted to "the feet of the Divine One," i.e., to Viṣṇu. See SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

<sup>11</sup> For instance Kadphises II was a Śaiva as was the Kushāna prince Vāśudeva. The Saka satraps also showed greater inclination towards the Brahmanical faith. See SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>12</sup> See PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 63 ff., where the author has shown instances of historical confusion due to the imperfect knowledge of the Purāṇic priests.

<sup>13</sup> Issued as a separate "Appendix" attached to this number of the *Bull. D. C. R. I.*

<sup>14</sup> That is to say the inscriptions of the "Early Guptas" or of "The Imperial Guptas" and of the dynasties which were under their influence. Thus only those inscriptions, which approximately fall within the period 300 A.D. to 500 A.D. have been employed for the purposes of the present enquiry.

<sup>15</sup> The word *dūtaka* in the body of this article is used in the sense of 'a writer of inscription.'

knew ; and since we know the time and place (though in some cases only approximately) when and where they knew them, we can set up a *terminus ad quem* for their existence in time and space.

In what relation do these fragments stand to the texts<sup>16</sup> that are handed down to us? That is an important task, for that will be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of traditional chronology and history.

*Uddhava, the Andhakas and Vidura* (see Nos. 5, 243, 259).

The following are the important points that are suggested by this inscriptional hint :

- (1) Uddhava belonged to the Andhaka tribe or clan.
- (2) His highly religious character was an asset to the Andhakas.

The context shows that Bhagavaddoṣa, son of Bhānuguptā, was supposed to be like Uddhava, Vedhas and Vidura by one Govinda who wrote the inscription. The inscription is non-sectarian.

Now about the Purāṇic tradition :—

There are abundant references to Uddhava in the traditional literature.<sup>17</sup> They may be conveniently arranged as follows :—

I *Where Uddhava appears as a prominent figure in the main theme :*

(i) *In conversations with Kṛṣṇa*<sup>18</sup> on high doctrines of philosophy especially when the doom of civil war was fast approaching the Yādavas. The dialogue which followed between them just before the commencement of this terrible tragedy reminds us of a similar occasion of the Great Bhārata War when Kṛṣṇa gave to the world the famous *Gītā* through Arjuna. Its lengthy version appears in the *Bhāgavata*<sup>19</sup> where it is called the *Uddhava-gītā* and the *Avadhūta-gītā*. Uddhava survived the catastrophe that befell the Yadu race and as advised beforehand by Kṛṣṇa he retired to Badarikāśrama. After a pious hermit life he went to the Abode of the Lord.

(ii) *In conversations with Vidura*<sup>20</sup> :—Vidura was on a pilgrimage and met Uddhava on the way. Vidura, being ignorant of what had happened, asked Uddhava about Kṛṣṇa and others. Uddhava, then, narrated the story of the civil war incidentally touching upon the life of Kṛṣṇa.

(iii) *In conversations with Yośodā, Rādhā and others.*<sup>21</sup>

II *Where Uddhava's name is incidentally mentioned*<sup>22</sup> :

Of special interest is a passage where Dhṛtarāṣṭra, much worried by the acti-

<sup>16</sup> References to *Purāṇas* in this article are from the following editions : Brahma, Vāyu, Agni, Brahma-Vaivarta, Matsya and Padma (Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, Poona). Mārkaṇḍeya, Varāha and Kūrma (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta). Bhāgavata (Bombay Edition published by Mr. D. S. Yande). Viṣṇu (Vai Edition by Rashivadekar Shastri). Līṅga and Brahmāṇḍa (Venkateshvara Press, Bombay). Rāmāyaṇa (Edited by Parab, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay). Mahābhārata (Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

<sup>17</sup> *Bhāg.*, III. 1-4 ; IX. 24. 67 ; XI. 6. 40 to XI. 29. 47 ; *MBh.*, I. 21. 7906-16 ; II. 1790-5 ; I. 6996-7000 ; I. 7990-3 ; III. 15. 644-7 ; V. 5329-31 ; XVI. 3. 67-69 ; *Br.*, 14. 18-5 ; *Viś.*, V. 37. 30-33 ; *Pad.*, 279 ; *BV.*, IV. 91-98 ; *HV.* 35. 1826-35 ; 35. 1926-35.

<sup>18</sup> *Bhāg.*, XI. 6. 40 to XI. 29. 47 ; *Br.*, 210. 31-3 ; *Viś.* V. 37. 30-33.

<sup>19</sup> *Bhāg.*, XI. 6. 40 to XI. 29. 47.

<sup>20</sup> *Bhāg.*, III. 1-4.

<sup>21</sup> *BV.* IV. 91-98. The Rādhā cult did not exist in the Gupta period. See R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, (Ency. Indo-Aryan Res.) pp. 82 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *MBh.*, loc. cit.

vities of his haughty son, Duryodhana, at the game of dice, says,<sup>23</sup> "Vidura does not like it. . . . I, my son, always follow his advice. . . . He is regarded as the best among the Kurus. *Uddhava*, of great mind, is revered by the *Vṛṣṇis*. So, enough with this game of dice." Uddhava was the son of Devabhāga, a *Vṛṣṇi*.<sup>24</sup> His descendants are not spoken of.

Thus the Purāṇic tradition fully corroborates the inscriptional suggestion as to Uddhava's character.

Particularly interesting is the fact that Bhagavaddoṣa is compared with Uddhava as well as with *Vidura*. We have only to note the Vidura-Uddhava dialogue and the statement of Dhṛtarāṣṭra referred to above. Probably Govinda knew them in some form.

But our fragment states that Uddhava was an Andhaka while the Purāṇic tradition informs that he was a son of a *Vṛṣṇi* named Devabhāga<sup>25</sup>. But the line of distinction between the Andhakas and the *Vṛṣṇis* is not clear in the *Purāṇas*. Ugrasena, father of Kaṁsa, who was an Andhaka,<sup>26</sup> appears in a passage<sup>27</sup> as the king of the *Vṛṣṇis* only. It seems Govinda includes *Vṛṣṇis* also when he uses the term "Andhakas."

*Kṛṣṇa and Devakī* (see Nos. 103, 144).

This fragment suggests the following important points :—

- (1) Kṛṣṇa was the son of Devakī.
- (2) Kṛṣṇa attained victory by killing his enemies.
- (3) Kṛṣṇa's visit to his mother, Devakī, after this victory.

The context shows that Skandagupta went through similar circumstances and re-established the ruined fortunes of his lineage. The inscription is a Vaiṣṇava one.

The *Purāṇas* entirely agree with this well-known relation of Kṛṣṇa to Devakī.<sup>28</sup>

The enemy of Kṛṣṇa alluded to in our inscription can be most appropriately taken to be Kaṁsa. Kṛṣṇa vanquished many foes, but the context suits only the story of *Kaṁsa-vadha*, which the poet had in mind when he introduced the simile.

The account of the Kṛṣṇa-Kaṁsa fight appears in several *Purāṇas*,<sup>29</sup> with slight variations in the main theme. Some of them omit the affectionate scene of Kṛṣṇa's visit to Devakī, while some referring to the scene depict Kṛṣṇa delivering a sermon on the importance of devotion to one's own parents.<sup>30</sup> On the occasion when the mother saw after a period of long separation her boy crowned with a wonderful victory the reminiscence of the pangs of child-birth rose in her breast.

<sup>23</sup> *MBh.*, II. 1790-95.

<sup>24</sup> *Hv.*, 35. 1826-35 ; 35. 1926-35 ; *Br.*, 14. 18-25.

<sup>25</sup> See fn. 24, above.

<sup>26</sup> See PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 105, 171 and 103-6.

<sup>27</sup> *MBh.*, I. 21. 7906-16.

<sup>28</sup> *BV.*, IV. 7 ; *Ag.*, 12. 5-7 ; *Kūr.*, 24 ; *Viṣ.*, IV. 15 ; *V.* 1-2 ; *Pad.* III. 13 ; *Bhāg.*, III. 1 ; 33 ; III. 2. 17 ; X. 3. 24 ff., *Br.*, 181-2 ; *MBh.* I. 63. 2428 ; *Bd.*, 71. 195-200 ; *Lg.*, 69. 46-48.

<sup>29</sup> *Br.*, 193. 78-9 ; *Viṣ.*, V. 21. 79-81 ; *Pad.*, VI. 272. 382-85 ; *Hv.*, 87. 4775-76 ; *Bhāg.*, X. 44. 50-51 ; X. 45. 1-11 ; *BV.*, IV. 72, etc.

<sup>30</sup> *Br.*, 194. 1-5 ; *BV.*, IV. 72. 109 ff ; *Bhāg.*, X. 45. 1 ff.

This touching scene has, no doubt, been narrated by some of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>31</sup> Our fragmentary account is plain and simple without any religious veneer, much like that we find in the *Harivaṁśa*<sup>32</sup> where Kṛṣṇa is stated to have "touched the feet of his mother with his head" and the mother "with the reminiscence of the pains of child-birth sprinkled Kṛṣṇa with tears of joy."

Thus it is apparent that the poet knew the story of Kṛṣṇa-Kaṁsa fight most probably in a form like that which is preserved in the *Harivaṁśa*.

*Kṛṣṇa, Śakra, Govinda and Govindasvāmīn* (see Nos. 145, 115-118, 217).

The Mandasor Inscription hints at the festival of Śakra (i.e. Indra) which was "commenced as then being allowed by Kṛṣṇa on the approach of the auspicious rainy season." The inscription being Vaiṣṇava the reference is quite natural.

The story of the tussle between Kṛṣṇa and Indra which led to the famous incident of Kṛṣṇa's lifting up the Govardhana mountain occurs in several *Purāṇas*.<sup>33</sup> The words "as then being allowed by Kṛṣṇa" give a strong clue to our inference that this is the story meant by the scribe.

The following main features of this tale constantly appear in the Purāṇic accounts and hence it is a reasonable presumption that the *dūtaka* knew them in general, allowing variations in minor details.

These are :

- (1) Formerly Nanda's ancestors performed the *Indra-mahotsava* every autumn (i.e. *Śarad*). He actually says that it is an ancient custom.<sup>34</sup>
- (2) Kṛṣṇa by his usual witticism wins over his foster-father to his arguments that it is better to offer ceremonies to the cows and the Govardhana mount, for from these they draw the sustenance for their existence.<sup>35</sup>
- (3) Indra's anger creates the flood-havoc but Kṛṣṇa manages to protect the Gopas. Indra's pride is humbled and he comes down on earth to pay homage to his victor. At Kāmadhenu's request<sup>36</sup> Kṛṣṇa is consecrated as Govinda (i.e. Indra of the cows).
- (4) Kṛṣṇa thenceforward assumes an additional name i.e. Govinda.<sup>37</sup> (This should be noted for we have an inscription mentioning the erection of a temple of Govindasvāmīn).

The inscription, however, asserts that the *utsava* was commenced "on the approach of the auspicious rainy season" (*prāvṛk [ṛṣṭi]-kāle śubhe prāpte*) while all the Purāṇic references<sup>38</sup> agree that it was performed in the *Śarad*,

<sup>31</sup> *Bhāg.*, X. 44. 50-51; X. 45. 1-11; *Hv.*, 87. 4775-76; *Pad.* VI. 272. 382-85.

<sup>32</sup> *Hv.*, 87. 4775-76.

<sup>33</sup> *Ag.*, 12. 20-22; *Bhāg.*, III. 2. 32-33; X. 24. 7; *Br.*, 187-88; *Pad.*, VI. 272. 181-216; *Viṣ.*, V. 10-12; *BV.*, IV. 21; *Hv.* 71-76.

<sup>34</sup> *Bhāg.*, X. 24. 11; *BV.*, IV. 21. 98.

<sup>35</sup> *BV.*, IV. 21 gives a lengthy conversation between Nanda and Kṛṣṇa on this topic.

<sup>36</sup> *Bhāg.*, X. 27; *Viṣ.*, V. 12. 11-12.

<sup>37</sup> For the explanation of this name see *Bhāg.*, X. 27. 23; *Br.*, 188. 35; *Viṣ.*, V. 12. 12; *Ag.*, 12. 21; *Hv.*, 76, 4004-6.

<sup>38</sup> *Viṣ.* and *Hv.* give a long description of the *Śarad* when they begin this episode. Cp. *Viṣ.*, V. 10; *Hv.*, 71-76.



"when the rainy season had already passed away." This offers a *lacuna* and for the present we are unable to escape this inconsistency.

The *Purāṇas* are silent about the continuation of this festival after the truce between Kṛṣṇa and Indra. But though they do not plainly assert that it was revived, the implication is strengthened by a concluding compromise between them at the end of the incident. *Agni Purāṇa*,<sup>39</sup> however, openly admits that Kṛṣṇa gladly allowed the festival to be revived in honour of Indra.

The inscription which mentions the name, Govinda, seems to take it as a synonym for Viṣṇu (see No. 115). The origin and the use of the name Govinda<sup>40</sup> has already been explained above. Its use as a synonym for Viṣṇu puts forth a strong case for the agelong identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu.<sup>41</sup> The *avatāra* theory had already been developed.<sup>42</sup> We have also other inscriptional references (see Nos. 116-118) regarding the erection of a temple of Govindasvāmin to be assured of this identity of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

*Jāmbavatī* and *Viṣṇu* (see Nos. 130-266).

The inscriptional statement implies that *Jāmbavatī* was a consort of Viṣṇu.

In the *Purāṇas*<sup>43</sup> she always appears as wife of Kṛṣṇa. The incident of her marriage with Kṛṣṇa was the result of a rivalry about the most covetable Syamantaka jewel. The *Purāṇic* accounts are unanimous on this main point. But for the rivalry about this jewel the marriage would not have taken place at all.

As it is : Satrājī (Śakrajī,<sup>44</sup> Śaktisena<sup>45</sup> etc.), one of Kṛṣṇa's kin, secured it from Sūrya, the Sun-god, as a reward for his intense devotion. Kṛṣṇa coveted this remarkable jewel but on moral grounds he desisted from claiming it. Prasena, a younger brother of Satrājī, who had the jewel with him, went away one day on a hunting expedition and fell prey to a lion, who in its turn was killed by *Jāmbavān* (i.e. lit. a boar) to whom naturally the jewel then passed. On Prasena's long absence suspicion grew about Kṛṣṇa's hand in the tragedy and he had naturally to make his position clear by searching out the jewel. A fight ensued between Kṛṣṇa and *Jāmbavān* and its happy end was the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with *Jāmbavatī*, the daughter of *Jāmbavān*.

As stated above, the identity of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa was well established in

<sup>39</sup> *Ag.*, 12. 20-22.

<sup>40</sup> See R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, p. 36, "...but more probably Govinda is a later form of *Govid* which in the *Ṛg-Veda* is used as an epithet for Indra in the sense of 'the finder of the cows.' This epithet... must have been transferred to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, when he came to be looked upon as the chief god." Here is then the legend which symbolically enough shows Indra 'transferring' his epithet to Kṛṣṇa accompanied by a consecration ceremony. Almost all the *Purāṇas* explain the etymology of the name 'Govinda' when they narrate this tale. See fn. 37 above.

<sup>41</sup> See fn. 40 above ; *Ibid.*, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>42</sup> See *Varāha* etc., pp. 160 f. below.

<sup>43</sup> *Pad.*, VI. 276. 1-37 ; *Vā.*, 96. 20-51 ; *Mat.*, 46. 1-17 ; *Br.*, 16. 11 ff. ; *Bhāg.* X. 53 ; *Viṣ.*, V. 13, 8-32 ; *MBh.*, XIII. 14. 616 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Vā.* 96. 20.

<sup>45</sup> *Mat.*, 46.3.

the Gupta period and there is no inconsistency in the *dūtaka's* statement which leads to the inference that Jāmbavatī was a consort of *Viṣṇu*. In fact it strengthens the assumption. And thus we can without any fear of contradiction presuppose the *dūtaka's* knowledge—in whatever version—of this *Sya-mantakopākhyāna* when he alludes to Jāmbavatī and *Viṣṇu*.

*Sagara, Bhagīratha and Bhāgīrathī or Gaṅgā* (see Nos. 54-61, 111, 211-5).

The inscriptional hints about these four names may be reduced to the following points :—

- (1) Sagara and Bhagīratha were famous kings of antiquity.
- (2) The sanctity of the river Gaṅgā or Bhāgīrathī was well established.
- (3) The river Gaṅgā flowed from the matted hair of Paśupati (i.e. Śiva).

The Purāṇic tradition<sup>46</sup> unanimously asserts that Bhagīratha was a descendant of Sagara of whose greatness the Purāṇas talk very highly. Sagara belonged to the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā. He vanquished the Tālaṅghas, Śakas etc. who had snatched his father's throne. His sons were out for an Aśvamedha expedition but unfortunately due to their insolent behaviour towards the sage Kapila—while the latter was engaged in penance—they were burnt to ashes in Pātāla. Since it was necessary that the heavenly river, Gaṅgā, should wash that place to cleanse them of their curse, Sagara's descendants tried to make every effort to bring the river down from heaven. Bhagīratha, son of Dilīpa, was able to please the heavenly river, who was ready to descend if a passage was offered to her without disturbance to the cosmic order. Bhagīratha invoked Śiva's favour and he was prepared to sustain the great Gaṅga as she fell. He then led Gaṅgā to Pātāla and thus freed his forefathers from the torments of the curse. From that time onwards Gaṅgā is called "Bhāgīrathī."

Shorn of all the other varying details the Purāṇas generally give the account as above. And looking at the above inscriptional fragments we may be reasonably sure of its existence in Gupta times.

*Pr̥thu or Vaiṇya* (see Nos. 202, 245).

There are two inscriptions which allude to this great king of yore. One informs of his liberality and the other of his inborn virtues. In one he is called Pr̥thu and in the other he is mentioned simply by the patronymic Vaiṇya.

From the unanimous evidence of Purāṇic traditions there cannot be any doubt about the identity of Pr̥thu and Vaiṇya. We may give an analysis of the Purāṇic accounts of Pr̥thu or Vaiṇya<sup>47</sup>—presenting only the invariable germs of the tale as follows :—

- (1) Pr̥thu was a son of Veṇa, a sworn opponent of the orthodox faith. (Some *Purāṇas*,<sup>48</sup> however, attempt to explain, in their usual fashion, the

<sup>46</sup> *Vā.*, 88. 121 ff.; *Viṣ.*, II. 8. 116-17; IV. 4. 1-17; *Pad.* V. 19. 184-93; V. 8; *Br.*, 73-76; and 78; *MBh.*, III. 116-19; *Bhāg.*, IV. 8-9; XII. 3. 10; *Rām.*, I. 38-44.

<sup>47</sup> *Br.*, 2.20ff.; *Pad.*, II. 26ff.; V. 8. 1-34; *Mat.*, 8. 2; 10; *Br.*, 4; *Vā.*, 62. 92 ff.; 70. 21; *Bhāg.*, IV. 13 ff.; *Viṣ.*, I. 13.

<sup>48</sup> *Bhāg.*, IV. 13; *Pad.*, II. 37. 11.

divine cause behind Veṇa's evil nature, while the *Padma*<sup>49</sup> attributes it to his conversion to Jainism. Whatever it be, the *Purāṇas* harp upon his tyranny.)

- (2) After vain attempts to bring him to reason the sages took the matter into their own hands and deprived him of his kingdom. The *Purāṇas* give different accounts of his end.
- (3) The birth of Pṛthu, according to all the *Purāṇas* that narrate it, seems to have taken place in a very unnatural way. In no *Purāṇa* does he appear as a legitimate son of Veṇa. He is often mentioned by the patronymic Vaiṇya. It might be noted that some *Purāṇas*<sup>50</sup> incidentally touch upon the origin of the Mleccha-jātis and of the Sūtas and the Māgadhas<sup>51</sup> when they narrate the story of Pṛthu.
- (4) Pṛthu was the first anointed king on the earth. (Some *Purāṇas*<sup>52</sup> bring in a Vaiṣṇava element claiming that he was an incarnation of Viṣṇu or that he attained kingship under Viṣṇu's divine favour. Apparently a divine theory of kingship is here implied. From the fact that the *Pṛthvī-dohana-ākhyāna*—i.e. Pṛthvī as a cow is milked by Pṛthu assisted by the Gods and others—forms an essential ingredient of Pṛthu's tale it is clear that the *Purāṇakāras* looked upon him as the originator of Kingship and orderly government<sup>53</sup>. Pṛthvī is so named as if she were his daughter.
- (5) His virtuous and glorious rule is also described in the *Purāṇas* along with his liberality. It is said that the newly-born Sūtas and Māgadhas refused to sing of his best deeds since he had not yet performed any; but the sages urged them to sing of such glorious deeds which Pṛthu promised to perform afterwards.<sup>54</sup>

Pṛthu's or Vaiṇya's virtues and liberality are specifically mentioned by the inscriptions along with his relation to Veṇa. Since the above germs of Pṛthu's tale constantly appear in the Purāṇic tradition we may naturally suppose that the Guptan subjects cherished it at least in its skeleton presented above.

*Nārada and Tumburu* (see Nos. 191, 242) ; and *Gandharvas, Nāras, Kinnaaras, Siddhas and Vidyādharas* (see Nos. 108-110, 140, 190, 226-27, 260-62).

There is only one solitary instance of inscriptional reference to Nārada where he is known to have been adept in choral skill and musical accomplishments. He is mentioned along with Tumburu.

When we turn to the Purāṇic tradition we find Nārada in a double character :—

- (1) In his first character he is a wandering rhapsode of the heavens, travelling through the sky and attending the most jubilant events on the earth to

<sup>49</sup> *Pad.*, II. 36. 14 ff.; and also see *Bhāg.*, IV. 19. 24 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Pad.*, II. 27. 40-43 ; *Viṣ.*, I. 13 ; *Vā.*, 62. 120-24 ; *Bhāg.*, IV. 14. 44-46 ; *MBh.*, XII. 59. 2216-19 ; *Pad.*, V. 8. 7.

<sup>51</sup> *Vā.*, 62. 137 ff. ; *Pad.*, II. 27. 66 ; *Br.*, 4. 60-67 ; *Viṣ.*, I. 13.

<sup>52</sup> *Bhāg.*, IV. 15. 2-3 ; *MBh.*, XII. 59. 2248 ; *Bhāg.*, I. 3. 14 ; *Pad.*, V. 8 8-10.

<sup>53</sup> *MBh.*, XII. 59 ; *Vā.*, 62. 134.

<sup>54</sup> *Vā.*, 62. 143-50.

add to their gaities.<sup>55</sup> An expert at the *vinā*, made of tortoise-shell, he is regarded as the best amongst the Gandharvas.<sup>56</sup> Often mentioned along with the Gandharvas, he is said to have recited the heavenly *Mahābhārata* before the gods.<sup>57</sup> He is sometimes shown as keeping company with Tumburu for singing at joyous occasions.<sup>58</sup>

- (2) He is son of Brahmā, of cunning talent, often coming to aid the gods in their worries from the oft-rebellious Dānavas<sup>59</sup>. An instigator of quarrels, he also appears in our works frequenting the harems of kings and gods.<sup>60</sup> As a staunch Bhāgavata he frequently preaches the Vaiṣṇava doctrines<sup>61</sup>. We also find him telling stories and holding conversations.<sup>62</sup>

It seems that his original character was that of a Gandharva and the second phase of his character (as given above) was a later development of his mythological history, retaining, of course, a reminder of his former instinct to travel and to sing.<sup>63</sup> It is interesting to note that he is stated to have been born of that portion of Brahmā's *kaṇṭha* which is named *nārada*.<sup>64</sup> This etymological explanation of the origin of his name is significant.

The inscription seems to imply only the first part of his character but about the second it is silent. *Argumentum ex silentio* will not help us much and we are only left to guessing whether this part of his character did or did not exist in Gupta days.

About Tumburu the *Purāṇas* fully agree with the inscriptional statement about his musical accomplishments.<sup>65</sup>

The Gandharvas, Siddhas, Naras, Kinnaras and Vidyādhara appear in the *Purāṇas*<sup>66</sup> in the same garb as in the inscriptions. They are the heavenly hosts of singers often volunteering to display their skill when exceptionally happy events occurred on the earth. The *Purāṇas* devote more attention to the Gandharvas<sup>67</sup> than to the others who are merely mentioned by name. *Bali*, (*Indra*), and *Viṣṇu* (see Nos. 32, 263) and *Indrānuja* (see No. 128).

<sup>55</sup> *Br.*, 13. 170; *Bhāg.*, X. 27. 24; etc. See SÖRENSEN, *Index to Names in the Mbh.*, under *Nārada*.

<sup>56</sup> *MBh.*, IX. 54. 3051ff.; *BV.*, I. 8. 41-49; *MBh.*, I. 65. 2552; I. 123. 4813.

<sup>57</sup> *MBh.*, I. 1. 106; *Br.*, 13. 170. <sup>58</sup> *Bhāg.*, X. 27. 24; V. 25-28.

<sup>59</sup> *Bhāg.*, VIII. 11. 43-45; *Mat.*, 154; 111 ff.; 187. 14 ff.; *Rām.*, VII. 20-21.

<sup>60</sup> *Pad.*, VI. 90; *BV.* I. 8. 41-49 (here while cursing Nārada, Brahmā exposes the main traits of Nārada's character); *Mat.*, 187. 14 ff. Cf. also *MBh.*, IX. 54. 3051 ff.

<sup>61</sup> *Pad.*, IV. 84-85; VI. 81. 52 ff.; VI. 189 ff.; *Bhāg.*, I. 5-6 (here it is mentioned that the Bhāgavata was written by Vyāsa at Nārada's advice.)

<sup>62</sup> *Mat.*, 54-57; 83; *Pad.* VI. 92 ff.; I. 10 ff.; V. 44; VI. 113; VI. 81. 52 ff.; etc. See also SÖRENSEN, *loc. cit.*

<sup>63</sup> Cf. SÖRENSEN, *loc. cit.* The *Bhāg.*, (I. 5. 23 to 6. 34) also gives the story of his second birth as a devotee of Viṣṇu.

<sup>64</sup> *BV.*, I. 22. 1-3.

<sup>65</sup> *Bhāg.*, X. 27. 24; V. 25-28; XII. 11. 33; *MBh.*, I. 65. 2559; I. 123. 4810; II. 4. 130; etc.

<sup>66</sup> *Bhāg.*, X. 27. 24; IV. 15. 7; *MBh.*, II. 10. 396; *Viṣ.*, I. 9. 92; *Pad.*, V. 6; VI. 82. 13 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Bhāg.*, II. 1. 16; also VIII. 8. 9-12; *Br.*, 3; 13. 170; *Pad.*, V. 6; *BV.* I. 12, 13 and 18.

The Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta states that Viṣṇu brought back from Bali the goddess of Wealth and Splendour for the sake of the happiness of the Lord of the gods (i.e. Indra). The inscription is Vaiṣṇava in its general tendency.

This reference gives in a nut-shell the story of Bali's fall at the hands of Vāmana or the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. Following is the invariable gist of the different Purāṇic accounts<sup>68</sup> of this great king of the demons.

(1) Bali, son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlaḍa, was the lord of the demons. All the Purāṇas that speak of him testify to his high character. Unlike others in his place, he had faith in sacrifice and he was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu.

(2) He snatched the power of Indra. Whatever his character, he had the complexion of a Dānava and naturally the gods contrived to depose him. In some Purāṇas<sup>69</sup> this account is preceded by the story of the *Amyta-manthana* where Viṣṇu's trickery proved too costly to the Dānavas.

(3) A deputation comprising of the gods and sages waited on Viṣṇu as usual with prayers and complaints for the redress of their grievances. Viṣṇu promised sympathetic consideration and action. Some Purāṇas<sup>70</sup> narrate the story of Aditi's penance, because she had been greatly afflicted at the miserable plight of her son, Indra. Viṣṇu promised her that he would be born as her son. Hence Viṣṇu is called Indrānuja.<sup>71</sup>

(4) Viṣṇu was born as Vāmana (i.e. dwarf) to Aditi. This divine *divija* boy attended the sacrificial session just started by Bali, who, without any idea of what would happen, promised Vāmana as much as he could cover with his three strides as his religious dues. The foresighted Sukra intervened but in vain.<sup>72</sup>

(5) Vāmana now assumed his divine *svarūpa* and covered within his two strides the whole universe. He demanded from Bali the fulfilment of his promise. Bali, with no feeling of remorse, asked the Lord to put His third step on his head. Indra got his power back and Bali had to retire to Rasātala or Satala.<sup>73</sup>

(6) After all Bali was a great king and Viṣṇu proposed to appease him with a boon. Bali, however, as a true devotee only asked for the Lord's constant attention towards himself. For this purpose it is said that Viṣṇu is still standing as a gate-keeper at Bali's palace in Rasātala.<sup>74</sup>

The inscriptional abridged version of this tale would seem to imply knowledge of the points mentioned in paras 2 and 5 above and in the case of the others there would be no difficulty in admitting them also to the Gupta tradition, since they, in their broad outline, constantly appear in all the Purāṇic accounts of Bali's history. As to the point mentioned in para 3 we need only point to another inscriptional reference to Indrānuja, which clearly refers to Viṣṇu's birth as a son of Aditi, i.e. as a younger brother of Indra.

<sup>68</sup> *Br.*, 3. 68 and 73; *Kūr.*, p. 208; *Mat.*, 244-46; *Pad.*, VI. 266-67; *Bhāg.*, VIII. 8ff; *MBh.*, XII. 341. 12943-44; *Rām.*, I. 29; *Ag.*, 4. 5-11; *BV.* IV. 61.

<sup>69</sup> *Bhāg.*, VIII. 8ff; *BV.*, IV. 61; *MBh.*, V. 10. 297-99.

<sup>70</sup> *Mat.*, 245; *Kūr.*, *loc. cit.* In the *Rām.* (I. 29) Kaśyapa, Aditi's husband, performed this task of pleasing the god Viṣṇu. We are also informed that in the Siddhāśrama—which is also described—Vāmana performed his great feat of vanquishing Bali.

<sup>71</sup> *MBh.*, III. 12. 4845.

<sup>72</sup> *Br.*, 73. 32-3.

<sup>73</sup> *Bhāg.*, VIII. 23. 10.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

*Viṣṇu.*

The following names of Viṣṇu occur in our inscriptions and it need not be pointed out that they are usual synonyms for Viṣṇu in the Purāṇic tradition.<sup>76</sup>

Ananta-svāmin, Bhagavat, Cakrabhṛt Cakra-gadā-dhara, Cakra-pāṇi, Cakra-svāmin, Garuḍa-ketu, Govidna, Govinda-svāmin, Indrānuja, Janārdana, Madhusūdana, Nārāyaṇa, Puruṣa, Sārṅgin, Vāsudeva (see Nos. 4, 33-46, 81-89, 113, 115-18, 128, 132, 167, 192-93, 205, 221-23, 251 and see also Viṣṇu Nos. 263-75).

Some of these names tell their own tale; e.g. 'Madhu-sūdana' implies the story of Viṣṇu's killing of the demon Madhu (together with Kaiṭabha). Such of these tales that can be reconstructed have been given below.

From the inscriptional hints about Viṣṇu an attempt may be made to present a vivid picture of Viṣṇu's form as it was worshipped by the Gupta Vaiṣṇavites.

Viṣṇu enjoyed his eternal sleep in the ocean of milk<sup>77</sup> (see Kṣīrodadhi Madhusūdana and Puruṣa) reposing on the body of the mythical snake called Ananta (see Anantasvāmin). In one hand he held the famous *cakra* and in the other a *gadā*. He wielded the bow named Śārṅga. His consort, Lakṣmī, sat by his side attending on him (see No. 156). The Kaustubha jewel (which he got at the time of the churning of the ocean) and a garland (*vanamālā*?) adorned his breast.

This description is familiar to the Purāṇakāras.

The following myths in which Viṣṇu appears prominently may be noted as forming part of the Vaiṣṇava tradition current in the Gupta period :—

I *The Story of the Amṛta-manthana*.<sup>78</sup> (See Kaustubha, Lakṣmī, Airāvata, Bali, Smara or Kāmadeva, Nos. 139, 156, 3, 136)

Wherever the *Purāṇas* explain the origin of Lakṣmī,<sup>79</sup> Airāvata<sup>80</sup> and Kaustubha<sup>81</sup> they tell us that these arose out of the churning of the Ocean. Śiva's burning of Kāmadeva by opening his third eye reminds us of his swallowing the deadly poison (*kālakūṭa*) which also arose out of this churning. The rivalry between the gods and the demons forms a favourite theme of Hindu mythologists and this is one of its episodes.

<sup>75</sup> Only the more important of the names of Viṣṇu and Śiva that are found in the inscriptions have been here included. The writer proposes to deal with all names of Viṣṇu and Śiva alluded to in the inscriptions in a separate article.

<sup>76</sup> See SÖRENSEN, *Index to Names in the Mahābhārata*, under "Viṣṇu and his 1000 names".

<sup>77</sup> Note also the usual explanation of the name "Nārāyaṇa" as "one whose couch is the waters".

<sup>78</sup> See WILSON, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (Eng. Trans.) Vol. I, Edited by Hall, (1864), p. 146, fn. 1. See also p. 158 above.

<sup>79</sup> *Bhāg.*, VIII. 8. 7-29; *BV.*, II. 37; *Viṣ.*, I. 8. 15; I. 9. 98ff.

<sup>80</sup> *Bhāg.*, VIII. 8. 4; *MBh.*, I. 19. 1151 etc.

<sup>81</sup> *Mat.*, 250. 4; *Bhāg.*, VIII. 8. 5; *MBh.* I. 8. 1147; V. 102. 3613.

II. *Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu (and Kaiṭabha)* (see No. 167).

The Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman says that the god Madhu-sūdana (i.e. Viṣṇu) awakes from his sleep on the 13th day of the bright half of the month Kārtika.

From the evidence of the Purāṇic tradition Viṣṇu killed the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha who disturbed him in his sleep. Though no mention of Kaiṭabha occurs in our inscription his name seems to have been implied since tradition knows that Viṣṇu killed the two demons at the same time and yet he is never called *Madhu-Kaiṭabha-sūdana*.<sup>82</sup>

Different versions of this tale occur in the *Purāṇas*. According to one<sup>83</sup>, these two demons were born of the *mala* or dirt of Viṣṇu's ears while the other<sup>84</sup> says that they arose out of *tamas* and *rajas* while the Lord was engaged in His cosmic act of creation. The Purāṇic accounts generally agree about these two threatening to kill Brahmā who was sitting on a lotus arising out of Viṣṇu's navel. About their end by Viṣṇu there are different accounts. One version<sup>85</sup> says that Viṣṇu killed them immediately after he was disturbed in his cosmic sleep; while the other<sup>86</sup> explains their death as being due to their own boon which they had to confer on Viṣṇu when they arrogantly asked the latter to demand any boon from them.

We do not know as to which of these versions can be taken as existing in Gupta days; but there can be no doubt that the story of these demons' death did exist then.

II. *Story of Vāmanāvatāra*. (See Bali p. 158 above).

IV. *Story of the Varāhāvatāra*. (See Nos. 247-248).

The Eran inscription of Toramāṇa says that Viṣṇu in his form of a Boar lifted the earth out of the waters.

The Purāṇic accounts of the Varāhāvatāra fall into two distinct classes.

- (i) Accounts of this class<sup>87</sup> are purely *cosmological*. After the periodical *pralaya* or destruction creation begins anew. Pṛthvī (i.e. the goddess of the Earth) is unable to bear the burden of the process and is about to sink into Rasātala. She applies to the Lord for help and Viṣṇu in his Boar form lifts her up. The *Mahābhārata* attributes Pṛthvī's sinking to the constant growth of population in Kṛta age when men did not die. But other details agree.
- (ii) In the accounts of the second class<sup>88</sup> Pṛthvī does not play an important rôle. Here Hiraṇyākṣa, the Lord of the Demons, happens to disturb the harmony of the world order. He snatches Indra's throne and the usual entreaties of the gods prevail on Viṣṇu, who in his Boar-form kills the demon.

<sup>82</sup> *Devī Bhāg.*, I. 4; *Mārķ.*, 81. 68-77; *BV.*, I. 4. 26-28; *Pad.*, V. 37. 19-50; *MBh.*, III. 13.555-81; also III. 12. 498, and VI. 67. 3025-7 where the name 'Madhu-sūdana' is etymologically explained.

<sup>83</sup> *BV.*, I. 4. 26.

<sup>84</sup> *Pad.*, V. 37. 19ff.

<sup>85</sup> *BV.*, I. 4. 28.

<sup>86</sup> *MBh.*, III. 13.555-81; *Mārķ.*, 81. 68-77.

<sup>87</sup> *Pad.*, V. 3. 21 ff.; VI. 165; *Mat.*, 248; *Vā.*, 6; *MBh.*, III. 142; *Bhāg.*, I. 3. 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Bhāg.*, III. 13. 18ff; *Pad.*, VI. 264; *Ag.*, 4. 1-2; *MBh.*, XII. 341. 12940-41.

The first class of accounts is clearly corroborated by our inscription. About the second we are as yet in the dark.<sup>89</sup>

V. *Story of Kṛṣṇavatāra.* (See pp. 153 ff. above).

*Siva* :—Hara, Īśa, Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Paśupati, Pṛthivīśvara, Śaileśvara-svāmin, Śambhu, (see Nos. 119, 129, 170-173, 177-184, 198, 201, 216, 219-220 and 229).

All these names of Śiva which are found in the inscriptions also occur as different names for Śiva in the Purāṇic tradition.

Śiva's description from the hints of the inscriptions may be presented as follows :—

He was the lord of the mountains (Śaileśvarasvāmin) and of the herds (Paśupati). The river Gaṅgā flowed from his matted hair (see p. 155 above) and the moon shone brightly on his forehead. His abode was the Mount Kailāsa.

This description is familiar to the Purāṇic tradition.

The following Śaivite myths may also be noted as being popular in Gupta times :—

#### I. *The story of Skanda's birth and achievements* :—

The references of the inscriptions about this tale may be reduced to the following points :—

- (i) Hara destroyed Kāmadeva's body. (See No. 119).
- (ii) Rati and Prīti were wives of Smara or Kāmadeva. (See Nos. 203, 209).
- (iii) Skanda led the Mātṛs or the female ghosts. (See Nos. 186, 230).
- (iv) Mahāśena was the commander-in-chief of the heavenly hosts. (See No. 175).

When we correlate all these scattered hints of the inscriptions we are reminded of the episode which inspired Kālidāsa to write his famous poem, the *Kumārasambhava*. As it usually happens, a demon, by name Tāraka, troubles the gods.<sup>90</sup> Indra is unable to cope with the situation. It has been prophesied that Śiva's son would bring about the end of Tāraka. Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī is yet to take place. Means are devised to drag Śiva into the world of passions.<sup>91</sup> Poor Kāmadeva, at Indra's behest, displays his prowess before the god engaged in penance. But the latter in divine fury burns Kāma's body to ashes.<sup>92</sup> Rati, the wife of Kāma, laments the death of her husband and due to Śiva's favour Kāma comes back to life though now he is bodiless. Hence the God of Love is called as Anaṛga.<sup>93</sup> Eventually Śiva and Pārvatī are married and the desires of the gods accomplished.

This is the gist of the Purāṇic accounts of this episode. All varying details have been omitted. It would then seem that the writers of the inscriptions

<sup>89</sup> The relation between Varāha and Kokāmukhasvāmin will be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>90</sup> *Pad.*, V. 37 ff.; *Mat.*, 154. 207 ff.; *MBh.*, IX. 44. 2448; the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 37) gives an altogether different account where Tāraka does not figure at all.

<sup>91</sup> *Mat.*, 154. 111 ff.

<sup>92</sup> See *Bhāg.*, X. 55. 1.

<sup>93</sup> *MBh.*, XII. 6977; *Mat.*, 15. 272; *Pad.*, V. 40. 265.



had knowledge of this tale in a form similar to that given above. The relation of Skanda to the Mātṛs is attested by the *Mahābhārata*<sup>94</sup>; and the names for Skanda—Mahāsenā and Brahmanya—that are found in the inscriptions are also frequently used in the *Purāṇas*.<sup>95</sup>

II. *The Story of Gaṅgāvataraṇa* i.e. the descent of the river Gaṅgā on to Śiva's matted hair. (See p. 155 above).

III. *Līṅga worship*. (See Nos. 157-64).

Some *Purāṇas* try to explain the origin<sup>96</sup> of *līṅga* worship and its religious efficacies<sup>97</sup>. We have also one *Purāṇa* bearing that name, *Līṅga*. But since the inscriptions only barely mention the word, *līṅga*, we are not able to vouch for the existence of these *Purāṇic* accounts in the Gupta period.<sup>98</sup>

*Bṛhaspati, Indra and Śukra*. (See Nos. 75-78, 233).

In the Gupta period people believed that Bṛhaspati and Śukra were the talents *par excellence* of ancient times. They knew that Bṛhaspati was the preceptor of Indra and of the gods; and though the inscriptions do not inform us as to what they thought of Śukra's relation to the demons, yet we may take it for granted from the traditional testimony<sup>99</sup>.

The *Purāṇic* tradition gives many tales woven round these great *Gurus*<sup>100</sup>. Śukra seems to have had a brain to be coveted. He is called a *Kāvya*<sup>101</sup>. But since the inscriptions do not enlighten us by any hints about their mythic history we may leave the matters where they are with only the information that the Gupta subjects believed them to be the great preceptors of the gods and the demons respectively.

*Caturudadhi* or *Catus-samudra*, *Citrakūṭa*, *Gaṅgā*, *Jambudvīpa*, *Kailāsa*, *Kṣīrodadhi*, *Meru* or *Sumeru*, *Pātāla*, *Rāmagiri* and *Triloka* :—

(See Nos. 73, 90-100, 101, 111, 131, 133-135, 154, 188-89, 199, 208).

These inscriptional fragments indicate a part of the historical geography current in Gupta days. The river Gaṅgā had its own history (see p. 155 above). About Citrakūṭa<sup>102</sup> and Rāmagiri the inscriptional statements are

<sup>94</sup> *MBh.*, III. 14359 ff.; IX. 45. 2473 ff.

<sup>95</sup> The name *Kārttikeya* is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions included in our enquiry; but it is found in the inscriptions of the Later Guptas. (See FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 206 and 286).

<sup>96</sup> *Pad.*, VI. 164; VI. 282; *Vā.*, 55.

<sup>97</sup> *Ag.*, 327, *Mat.*, 188; *Pad.*, VI. 164; IV. 101. 113-35; IV. 105; VI. 236; IV. 110. 166 ff.

<sup>98</sup> For the prevalence of Līṅga-worship and for the Lakulīśa sect during the time of the Guptas see BHANDARKAR, *El.*, XXI, pp. 4ff.

<sup>99</sup> *Pad.*, V. 13. 181 ff; V. 24; VI. 18. 70-90; *Vā.*, 98. 23 ff; *Mat.*, 47; 249. 3-12; and 25-33.

<sup>100</sup> For Bṛhaspati see *Pad.*, V. 13. 181 ff; *Vā.*, 98. 23 ff; 38. 44 ff; *BV.*, IV. 47; II. 37; II. 59; *Mat.*, 49; 24. 45 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *Pad.*, VI. 18. 70-81; *Vā.*, 97. 98. 23ff.; *Mat.*, 47; *Pad.*, V. 13. 181 ff.

<sup>102</sup> *Rām.*, II. 55-56; II. 93 ff; *MBh.*, III. 277. 15982; *Bhāg.*, V. 19. 1.

vague and we are not sure whether we can associate them with the story of Rāma. Kailāsa was supposed to have been the highest peak and Meru was taken to be the biggest mountain. The "four oceans" were believed to have covered the expanse of the earth and the mysterious 'milky ocean' was known to have been in existence. Jambudvīpa<sup>103</sup> was reckoned to be famous for "nurses and nourishers" (*āpāyaka-pōshakachitrasya Jambudvīpa-sya*).

The conceptions of 'geography' which were popular in those days are very interesting. They are abundantly reflected in the *Purāṇas*<sup>104</sup>. But about the 'four oceans', which seem to have been very popularly known in Gupta times, the *Purāṇas*, as far as the writer's knowledge goes, say little or nothing; we get 'seven seas' instead<sup>105</sup>. But, at any rate, the spirit of looking at geographical enquiry seems to be the same in both. Pātāla, Kṣīrodadhi and Triloka (see No. 73) were some of the items of the *topographia sacra* popular in Gupta times and we need not point out that they are familiar to the Purāṇic tradition.

*The Kṛta-yuga* (see Nos. 147-151).

According to the writers of the inscriptions the *Kṛta-yuga* was the age of virtues and perfect religion. Kings often aspired to be like those who were supposed to have ruled in this period of perfect bliss. But about the other *yugas* we have no mention, not even about Kali. These *yugas* or the eras of the *dharma* scale are fully developed in the Purāṇic tradition.<sup>106</sup> In the *Kṛta-yuga dharma* was in full force; men were in perfect state of bliss like those in Rousseau's "state of nature". It is from that time onwards that man gradually "fell" and in this *Kali-yuga* he has become the modern wicked being. This is the Purāṇic view of the history of human nature and it seems the subjects of the Guptas held similar views.

*Greatest kings of antiquity known and honoured in Gupta times.* Bhagīratha, Bharata, Pārtha, Pṛthu (Vaiṇya), Rāghava (Rāma), Ripughna, Sagara, Yudhiṣṭhira (see Nos. 54, 69, 196, 202, 206-7, 210, 211-215, 245, 290-294).

These are the kings whom the *dūtakas* often remembered when they wanted to praise the glory and greatness of their patrons. They might have rightly thought that these names of antiquity would inspire reverence and awe in the minds of their contemporaries. The inscriptions do not tell us as to what achievements of these great figures of the past made them dear to the hearts of the people. They only generally hint at their liberality and other good qualities.

<sup>103</sup> For Jambudvīpa see *Vā.*, 34-35; *Viṣ.*, II. 1. 12 ff.; II. 3; *Mat.*, 113 and 121; *Ag.*, 107-108; 119; *Var.*, p. 332; *Pad.*, I. 3; VI. 129 etc.

<sup>104</sup> For Kailāsa see *Vā.*, 41-47 and 54; *Bhāg.*, V. 16. 27 etc. For Meru see *Vā.*, 34-35; *Bhāg.*, V. 16. 7-27; *Mat.*, 124; *Ag.*, 212; 107-108; *Pad.*, I. 4; V. 15 etc.

<sup>105</sup> *Viṣ.*, II. 1. 5-6; V., 16. 2; *Ag.*, 108. 2. etc.

<sup>106</sup> See PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 175 ff.

The Purāṇic tradition is never tired of telling about these rulers. They are among the famous kings lauded in the *Purāṇas*.<sup>107</sup> Some of them, like Bhagīratha, Bharata, Pṛthu (Vaiṇya), Rāma and Sagara, belong to the famous category of the *Ṣoḍaśa-rājika*, or the sixteen celebrated monarchs, of the past.<sup>108</sup> These “really famous kings occur repeatedly and were well established in tradition. . . . It is very remarkable. . . how widely these kings differ from those extolled in the *Rg-veda* and the Vedic literature”.<sup>109</sup> It should be noted that they belong entirely to the *Purāṇic* stream of tradition.

Thus we have attempted the reconstruction of the Guptan tradition—though only in a part here and a part there—by corroborating the inscriptional hints from the unanimous tradition of the *Purāṇas*. Since the inscriptions were never intended to present the full Purāṇic tradition, an attempt has been made here to collect from them such information as may indicate their knowledge of this Purāṇic tradition. This line of approach has proved to be useful in most cases, and we can now be certain that the Purāṇic tradition (as we now have it) existed in its broad outlines and in the form indicated by the above reconstruction in the Gupta period also.

It is clear from the above attempt that the Purāṇic accounts do not generally clash with the evidence of the inscriptions. What the people of northern India knew about their past in the fourth and the fifth centuries of the Christian era, the notions they had in their days about the earth, the gods they worshipped and revered, and the views they held about the *Kṛta-yuga*—all these, as we deduce them from the inscriptions, are abundantly reflected in the texts that are handed down to us. All these show that they evidently lived in the age of Purāṇic mythology. Viṣṇu and Śiva loom large in their religious horizon. Indra is often under Viṣṇu's favour. Varuṇa accepts an insignificant position on the “western point of the compass.” (See No. 250) History had already become mythologised. Bhagīratha had already stepped into the realm of mythology and Kṛṣṇa was in a stage of deification having come out successful in his contest with Indra. Some of the stories repeatedly described in the *Purāṇas* were popular in those days. We have always kept in view the caution that the inscriptions do not pretend to inform us about the ancient history of India as known to them yet they unconsciously betray their feelings about the past of Āryāvarta. We find the tradition current in the Gupta period, as far as we know it, in the same garb as we find it in some of the *Purāṇas*. The subjects of the Guptas show nearly the same attitude towards their past as do the *Purāṇas*. Thus already in the fourth and the fifth centuries after Christ history had become mythical and heroes had become deities.

As regards the theory of the redaction of the important *Purāṇas* under the Gupta régime our investigation leads us to a peculiar position. The *dūtakas* are not at all clear on this point, nor was it their intention to be outspoken on these matters. We are told of *mantras*, *bhāṣyas* and *pravacanas*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

(see No. 200) but no indication is given as to what these *pravacanas* were about. Some of the inscriptions allege that the stanzas on land-grants have been quoted from what the great sage, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas, had said in the *Mahābhārata*; but Mr. Pargiter has pointed out<sup>110</sup> that these stanzas are more peculiar to the Purāṇas than to the great epic. As regards "Veda-vyāsa" (see Nos. 252-255) the Purāṇic tradition is never tired of asserting that its "father" was also "the arranger of the Vedas." But the orthodox Pandits put forward "the doctrine that the Veda existed from everlasting, hence to admit that anyone had compiled or even arranged it struck at the root of their doctrine and was in common parlance, 'to give the whole case away'."<sup>111</sup> That the inscriptions—which were writings of some public importance—should allude to the Purāṇic point of view about the compilation of these sacred scriptures is a matter of great significance; and when we look to the other circumstances<sup>112</sup> which prevailed in the Gupta period it becomes more and more probable that the Purāṇic ideas and thoughts seem to have had a firm hold on the minds of the people. Unfortunately about the *Purāṇas* themselves not a hint occurs in the inscriptions; not a single *Purāṇa* is mentioned by name, nor does the word *Purāṇa* occur in its generic sense of an historical compilation. We hear of the *Kathāvids* and the *Vandakajanas* (see Nos. 137, 246) but not a single reference gives us the status of the Sūtas and the Māgadhas. What value should be attached to this "evidence from silence" must remain an individual conjecture. The Sūtas and the Māgadhas formed an important part of the royal retinue in ancient times but in the Gupta period no word is heard of their activities. The *dūtakas* tell us of the heavenly reciters, the Gandharvas etc., but about these Sūtas and the Māgadhas they tell us nothing. Many times emperors and kings are praised but these ancient praisers themselves are not honoured even by a mere mention of their names. The great Samudragupta boasts of having performed an Aśva-medha for the first time after a long interval, but his court-poet, Hariṣena, does not remember the Sūta who in ancient times must have played an important rôle at such ceremonies. Does this mean that the Sūtas and the Māgadhas were already dim figures of the past in the fourth century A.D. and their cherished possession had been lost to them? We may only hazard a guess for the answer, though the temptation is strong to answer in the affirmative.

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<sup>110</sup> JRAS., 1912, p. 253.

<sup>111</sup> PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>112</sup> See above p. 164.

## NĀGAUR \*—A FORGOTTEN KINGDOM

By

M. A. CHAGHTĀ'Ī

Nāgaur is the head-quarters of a district of the same name in the state of Jodhpūr, Rājputānā, situated on the Jodhpūr-Bikāner Railway. The town is said to take its name from its traditional founders, the Nāga Rājputs and was held successively by Rājputs, Mussalmāns and the Chiefs of the Jodhpūr State.

It is very difficult to say anything definite about the early history of Nāgaur under the Rājputs. It can, however, be believed that very early during the period of Muslim rule in India, indeed as soon as Northern India came under the sway of the Ghaznawid dynasty, Nāgaur also came under their control. Baharām Shāh of Ghaznā the fifteenth king, in the days of his prosperity led two expeditions into Hindūstān to chastise his refractory subjects and the collectors of revenue. On the first occasion he attacked Muḥammad Bāḥalīm, who had the charge of the Government of Lāhore on behalf of his predecessor Arsalān. Having defeated and taken him prisoner, on the 27th of Ramaḍān in the year 512 A.H./1118 A.D., he pardoned him upon his swearing allegiance. The king then reinstated him in the government and returned to Ghaznā. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad Bāḥlīm had built the fort of Nāgaur in the province of Siwālik, whither he conveyed his wealth, his family and his effects. He then raised an army composed of Arabs, Persians, Afghāns and Khālīs, and began devastating the territories of the independent Indian princes with such success, that he aspired at length to the throne. Sulṭān Bahrām, appraised of his movements, collected an army and marched a second time towards Hindūstān. Muḥammad Bāḥalīm advanced as far as Multān to oppose the king. With him were his ten sons who had each the command of a province. A battle ensued; but the curse of ingratitude fell like a bolt on the head of the perfidious rebel, and in his flight he, with his ten sons and attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, wherein they all perished. The king after his victory appointed Sālār Ḥasan, the son of Ibrāhīm 'Alī, the Chief Commander of the conquered part of India and himself returned to Ghaznā.<sup>1</sup>

Some histories have also asserted, on the authority of *Tāju 'l-Ma'āthir* and others, that Rāja of Nāgaur and many other Hindū Rājas,<sup>2</sup> having gathered together, sent emissaries to the Rāi of Nahrwāla asking him to aid them in attacking the Mussalmāns who were but few in number. On becom-

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\* Usually the name is spelt NĀGORE.

<sup>1</sup> Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (Text, Asiatic Society of Bengal ed., Calcutta, 1864), pp. 23-25; *English Translation* of the same by Major RAVERTY, pp. 110-112 (Calcutta, 1881); also *Ferishtā* (Tr. BRIGGS), i, 149-154.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabaqāt* (Eng. Tr. by RAVERTY), p. 520.

ing aware of this intention Qutbu 'd-Dīn who was then at Ajmer, resolved to be beforehand with them and so he proceeded there. After a great struggle and a series of fights, which need not be detailed here, Qutbu 'd-Dīn returned victorious to Delhī by way of Ajmer in 592 A.H./A.D. 1195.

Hājīu 'd-Dabī has noted in his *Arabic History of Gujerāt* on the authority of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*<sup>3</sup> that Amīr Ikhtiyāru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār, a native of Ghor, of the Khalj tribe, reached Ghaznā during the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izzu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ghori. He came to the Sulṭān's court so that he might be enlisted in the army. After he had settled in his office, he went to Delhī; but in the discharge of his duties there he could not cope with Qutbu 'd-Dīn, and he returned to Ghaznā. He stayed there with his paternal uncle Amīr Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. He accompanied him in the battle against Golāh Rāi Pithorā and hastened to defeat him. Then he returned towards Nāgaur where his brother 'Alī b. Muḥammad was residing, for Nāgaur was then under his control. Qannauj was also added to Nāgaur and thus the circle of the jurisdiction of Amīr 'Alī was extended. He awarded the insignia of rulership of Kashmandī<sup>4</sup> to his brother, Muḥammad and sent him there, but Ikhtiyāru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad remained with him. When Amīr Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd was martyred while fighting there, Ikhtiyāru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad took possession of his kingdom. He appointed Amīr 'Alī in his brother's place; thus he became permanent Amīr. After this Ikhtiyāru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār Khalji achieved other conquests and became the first Muslim ruler of Bengal and held that position upto 602 A.H./1205 A.D.

There is no need to emphasise that Nāgaur had from the very beginning become part of the Muslim kingdom in India. When Sulṭān Shamsu 'd-Dīn Iltutmish gained his victory over Arām Shāh in 607 A.H./1210 A.D., and ascended the throne he struck coins, which bore besides the religious verses and the emperor's name and his portrait on horseback, particularly the name of the mint. We are glad to note here that EDWARD THOMAS has mentioned one such coin as from Nāgaur dated 608 A.H./1211 A.D., the second year of Iltutmish's reign.<sup>5</sup> This clearly establishes the suzerainty of Iltutmish over this part of Rājputāna also. As far as our knowledge of Indian coinage is concerned, we are probably right in asserting that, as regards Muslim Sulṭānate of India, Iltutmish was the first Muslim monarch who struck his first coins in Nāgaur. Although after him we find that Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn Ulugh Khān Balban struck his coins also in Nāgaur. This latter is at present in the unique collection of Professor Shāyirānī of Lāhore.

<sup>3</sup> Here the printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt* is somewhat vague, although Hājīu 'd-Dabīr has based his information on the same *Ṭabaqāt*; text, pp. 146 f. (tr., pp. 548 f.); Hājīu 'd-Dabīr, p. 953.

<sup>4</sup> Kasmandī (or Kashmandī, or Kastmandī) is a small town in Lucknow district, five miles north-west of Malihābād (HODIWALA, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939), p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> EDWARD THOMAS, *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi* (London, 1871), p. 78.

Sultān Shamsu 'd-Dīn Iltutmish had recovered Ranthambhor, which had fallen into the hands of the Hindūs, in 623 A.H./1225 A.D. and in the following year he marched against the fort of Mandore<sup>6</sup> within the limits of Siwālik, after which he marched towards the capital to make preparations for the reception of the emissaries from the Khalīfa of Baghdād, who, bearing honours, rich and ample presents from the Khalīfa and starting from the port of Daibul journeyed through the limits of Nāgaur and reached Delhī in 626 A.H. 1228 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

This leads us to conclude that the emissaries from Baghdād must have taken the general grand trunk road of those days between Delhī and Port Daibul. This might also encourage one to make some conjecture as to the limits of the conquests of the early Arabs. Sarsakī, the successor of the conqueror Muḥammad bin Qāsim of Sindh, did not live long and Junaid b. 'Abdi'r-Raḥmān al-M'arrī succeeded him to the office in 105 A.H./724 A.D. and he revived the memories of Muḥammad's victories. Although his conquest did not prove so lasting, yet it cannot be denied that his activities extended the limits of Arab rule and surpassed the achievements of Muḥammad bin Qāsim. Junaid, after quelling internal revolts and risings, led the first campaign against Kairaj and some days later he invaded Mandal. According to ELLIOT it is the ancient Mandawar, which we have identified as Mandore in Jodhpūr State.<sup>8</sup> This would enable us to assert that if it is true that Arabs had reached the limits of ancient Rājputāna from one side, they had also opened a straight road between Daibul and Rājputāna upto Mandore, the ancient capital of the Parīhāra Rājputs. The same road later on extended to the central capital Delhi, and this was used by the emissaries from Baghdād through Nāgaur. The same route is, even to this day, fol-

”بعد ازان بيك سال در شهر سنه اربع و عشرين و ستمائة عز بهت قامه مندور كرد از حدود سوالك حق تعالى آن فتح اورا ميسر كردانيد

Trans.: “A year subsequent to this, in 624, he marched against the fort of Mandore within the limits of Siwālik, and its capture the Almighty God facilitated for him.”

This word *Mandore* has been a source of great discussion among the historians, although RAVERTY had done his best clear the ambiguity and he is perfectly right in taking Mandore as the old capital of Parihāras, lying five miles north of the ancient runs of Jodhpūr. Mr. Garrick has given us a nice description in his *Report of a Tour in the Punjab and Rājputānā in 1883-84* (vide *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 73-85). It is a pity that it has been taken by Sir W. Haig as “Mandawar”, a fortress eight miles north of Bijnaur (vide: “*Cambridge History of India*”, Vol. iii, p. 53). But if it is situated in Siwālik, then one need not go so far as Bijnaur. No doubt “the limits of Siwālik” are also not very clear, yet they extended as far west as the borders of Kashmīr, and someone has clearly asserted that Siwālik was the ancient name of the territory of Nāgaur (vide: *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 200, 468, 611). It is really a surprise that *Ferishtā* and *Badā'ūnī* have written *Mandu* instead of Mandore.

<sup>7</sup> *Ṭabakāt* (trans.), p. 616.

<sup>8</sup> ELLIOT, Vol. i, p. 391, and Syed Hashmi of Faridābād, *The 'Arab Rule in Sindh, Islamic Culture*, 1927, p. 216.

lowed by the railway between Karachi and Delhi via Jodhpūr. Although Nāgaur lies, at present, a few miles north of Jodhpūr.

During Iltutmish's reign Malik Tāju 'd-Dīn bin at-Tighīn, Khāwrizmī, was in the service of Malik Karīmu 'd-Dīn Ḥamza at Nāgaur of Siwālik, and this Malik Karīmu 'd-Dīn was the Governor of the province. Malik Tāju 'd-Dīn went towards Uchcha and joined Malik Nāşīru 'd-Dīn Kubācha. When Sultān Jalālu 'd-Dīn Mangā b. al-Khāwrizmshāh reached the territory of Sindh, Tāju 'd-Dīn b. at-Tighīn left Uchcha and joined Sultan Jalālu 'd-Dīn Khāwrizmshāh. He accompanied him into the territory of Kirmān, and in that province the districts of Kūh and Lūk were entrusted to his charge.<sup>9</sup> After this, during the days of Sultān Shamsu 'd-Dīn Iltutmish, Malik 'Izzu 'd-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khāna's-Salāṭīn was assigned the territory of Nāgaur together with an elephant. When Sultān Nāşīru 'd-Dīn ascended the throne of Delhi, Malik 'Izzu 'd-Dīn requested for the addition of Uchcha together with Multān to his fief. This was granted on the understanding that Siwālik and Nāgaur should be relinquished and that the court should have the right to nominate Malik Saifu 'd-Dīn Ibak Kashlī Khān, the brother of Ulūgh Khān-i-A'zam.<sup>10</sup> In 643 A.H./1245 A.D. Malik 'Izzu 'd-Dīn joined the army of Sultān Nāşīru 'd-Dīn with his contingent to repel the Mughals.<sup>11</sup> But in 647 A.H./1249 A.D. Malik Saifu 'd-Dīn Ibak Kashlī Khān was made Amīr-i-Ḥājib and the fief of Nāgaur was made over to the new Amīr-i-Ḥājib. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāşīrī* also mentions under the events of 649 A.H./1251 A.D. that Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān began to act contumaciously at Nāgaur in that year and that, therefore, the Sultān had to move against him. After this in the fourth month of the same year, he presented himself before the Emperor and made his submission. But before the date on which he made his submission at Nāgaur, he had fallen into the hands of Sher Khān.<sup>12</sup> Malik Mu'aẓẓam Ulūgh Khān-i-A'zam led a body of forces towards Nāgaur, and strife went on between him and Malik Sher Khān near the banks of the river Sindh. Malik Sher Khān had to retire from the conflict and proceeded towards Upper Turkistān.<sup>13</sup>

In 651 A.H./1253 A.D. Ulūgh Khān-i-A'zam moved from Hansī and retired to Nāgaur and the fief of Hansī together with the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib was entrusted to prince Ruknu 'd-Dīn Fīroz Shāh, while the Sultān with his forces returned to the capital.<sup>14</sup> In compliance with royal command he led a Mussalmān force in the direction of Ranthambhor. The greatest of the Rāis and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindūstān assembled an army to suppress Ulūgh Khān. The Mussalmāns, however, inflicted a crushing defeat on their enemies and obtained a large number of horses, arms and treasure. They then returned with their booty to Nāgaur which in consequence of Ulūgh Khān's presence had now become a place of importance.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāşīrī* (Calcutta), pp. 199-200.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 668.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 783-789.

<sup>14</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāşīrī* (Eng. Trans.), p. 695.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 781-798.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 792.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 827.



There arose a rivalry between 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Rihānī and Ulūgh Khān, because the latter had been banished from the court on account of the intrigues of the former. Therefore, Ulūgh Khān marched from Nāgaur to oust 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Rihānī and the strife went on between them.<sup>16</sup> 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Rihānī had advised His Majesty Nāşiru 'd-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh to go forth and repress the malcontents, and accordingly he led his army towards Sunām where the festival of 'Idu 'l-Fiṭr was celebrated in 652 A.H./1254 A.D. Ulūgh Khān-i-A'zam was in Tabarhindah. He had with him the forces of several other chiefs, specially the forces of various Maliks, namely of Malik Tāju 'd-Dīn, of Arsalān Khān, of Sanjarī-i-Chast, who had accompanied Ulūgh Khān at Nāgaur in 651 A.H./1253 A.D., of Malik Saifu 'd-Dīn, of Bāt Khān, and of Ibāk of the Khān-i-Malik Jalālu 'd-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh. The chiefs and nobles on both sides deemed it desirable to hold a parley. The discontented nobles represented to His Majesty that they were all willing to obey his commands, but that they had no security against the machinations and outrageous conduct of Imādu 'd-Dīn Rihānī. If he were banished from the court they would all submit willingly and obey the orders of the Sultān. So he was dismissed from office as Minister and the fief of Badā'un was entrusted to him.<sup>17</sup>

Malik Tāju 'd-Dīn Sanjarī-i-Tez Khān was purchased by Sultān Shamsu 'd-Dīn Ilṭuṭmīsh who raised him to the position of Amīr-i-Ḥājib ; but Sultān Nāşiru 'd-Dīn made him Nā'ib-i-Amīr-i-Ḥājib (deputy). When Ulūgh Khān-i-A'zam marched victoriously towards Nāgaur, Malik Taju 'd-Dīn Sanjarī-i-Tez Khān was particularly devoted to his interest and friendship ; and even after the further elevation of Ulūgh Khān he remained with him throughout in perfect harmony.<sup>18</sup>

It seems necessary to mention here that the expansion of Islām in India was not only due to the valour and sacrifice of the warriors, but was also due, in a large measure, to the spirituality of the saints and mystics of Islām, whose silent but effective propaganda of Islām helped a great deal. Every city, which has held an important position in history and politics, has also been renowned for the sanctuaries of great saints, who are to this day deeply revered by the public. The annual commemorations of these saints still attract thousands of people from far and near. Nāgaur in this respect also stands very high, second only to Ajmer. Two great saints of Nāgaur deserve mention, viz., Qāḍī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn (who died in 644 A.H. at Delhī where he lies buried) and Shaykh Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn known as at-Tārikīn (who died in 673 A.H. at Nāgaur where he lies buried).<sup>19</sup> These saints have made this town famous as a Muslim centre in every way ; and since then many of their followers have settled in Nāgaur and their memories are fresh even today. Both these Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīns were among the successors of Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Chishtī Ajmerī (died 633 A.H./1235 A.D.).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 696, 767, 829.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 699, 702.

<sup>18</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāşiri*, p. 759.

<sup>19</sup> *Akhhāru 'l-Akhyār fī Asrārī 'l-Abrār* (Old Delhī Edition), 35, 44.

Khāwja Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Ḥasan Chishtī, was a son of Ghivāthu 'd-Dīn Ḥasan and was born in 537 A.H./1142 A.D. in the village of Sijz of the province Sijistān.<sup>20</sup> In the same year that Mu'izzu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām surnamed Shihābu 'd-Dīn Ghori took Delhi (589 A.H./1193 A.D.), he arrived at that city, and with a desire to lead a life of seclusion and quiet meditation he soon withdrew to Ajmer and there inspired the same zeal among his numerous disciples by his own great example. From a study of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* we gather that Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Chishtī had a share in Sulṭān Mu'izzu 'd-Dīn's struggle against Rāi Pithorā, which is obvious from the Khāwja's own words as quoted therein: "I was in that army along with the Sulṭān Ghāzī (Mu'izzu 'd-Dīn), and the number of cavalry composing the army that year was one hundred and twenty thousand arrayed in defensive armour."<sup>21</sup> Of course, as a great saint the services of the Khāwja towards the propagation of Islām need no further statement from us, although many of the later writers have exaggerated this a great deal.

In fact the part played by the saints has remained common knowledge, while political strifes have been forgotten. Specially, this was the period when Muslim monuments began to be erected at Nāgaur. From the events we gather that the residence of these two saints at Nāgaur was not contemporaneous. About the latter Ḥamidu 'd-Dīn it is mentioned in *Akhlāru 'l-Akhyār* that he was the first Muslim child to be born in Delhī after its capture by the Mussalmāns.<sup>22</sup> From this the number of the Muslims at that time in India can be estimated. Mr. GARRICK, basing his statement on some local authorities, has asserted that both these saints of Nāgaur were the first two Mussalmāns to settle down at Nāgaur, which is obviously contrary to history, as we have noted above, from the time of Muḥammad Bāḥalīm onwards. Long before these two saints a good many prominent Mussalmāns lived there, as is attested by their graves.<sup>22a</sup> No doubt, these two saints of Nāgaur and other great names in arts and letters have contributed a great deal to the greater fame of the city and to the cultural history of the Mussalmāns of India in general. This will be dealt with separately later on.

<sup>20</sup> *'Ain-i-Akbarī*, (trans. by JARRET), iii, pp. 361-62; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Eng. trans., pp. 465-66. Recently Shamsu 'l-'Ulamā M. A. Ghani, M. A., of Nagpur University, has written a long article under the title "Quṭbu 'l-Hind Ḥazrat Khāwja Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Chishtī, a famous Persian Sūfi at Ajmer" in the *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec. 1939, No. 5., in which the Shamsu 'l-'Ulamā has clearly stated his name as "Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Chishtī Sanjarī Iṣfahānī", which is not in agreement with the facts noted above. Many other points also are mentioned in the article which require careful investigation. In the *Haft Iqlīm* under the heading "Nāgaur", the author Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī has noted that the saint Shaykh Ḥamidu 'd-Dīn of Nāgaur had received "*khirqāh*" from the Khāwajah Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Sijzī (B. A. S. ed. Calcutta, 1918, p. 93). The Shamsu 'l-'Ulamā could have based his information even on the very popular work by BEALE, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* which would have helped him a lot.

<sup>21</sup> It may also be noted here that Minhāj-i-Sirāj has mentioned him under the title "Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Ushī", which according to RAVERTY is no other than the celebrated saint whose tomb is at Ajmer.

<sup>22</sup> *Akhlāru 'l-Akhyār*, p. 44.

<sup>22a</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 177.

In the course of his account of 'Alāu 'd-Dīn Khaljī Amīr Khusraw has described in his *Khazā'inu 'l-Futūh* the defeat of the Mughal Tumāns "who had raised an uproar under the dog Kapak" thus : "When the fierce infidel army (God destroy it !) came proudly like autumn into the Garden of Hindūstān...dust arose from the borders of the land of Sindh and the inhabitants...dispersed like autumnal leaves. But the storm of destruction, being unable to raise any dust in the regions of Kohrām and Sāmāna, turned towards the wilderness of Nāgore (Nāgaur), and overpowered the inhabitants of that region. When the stench of these doomed carcass-eaters led by a hound increased, the sweet Nāgorī rose, which smells like rubbed sandal-wood turned fetid."<sup>23</sup> Messengers conveyed all the news to 'Alāu 'd-Dīn. He immediately dispatched Malik Kāfūr at the head of a large army against them, and they reached their prey as early as possible. All the followers of Kapak were either killed or imprisoned after being taken to Delhī. From this account of Amīr Khusraw one can easily realise that Nāgaur was very famous for its sweet roses at that time. We venture to say that even to this day, in spite of desolation, the scented roses of Nāgaur are famed all over Mārwar.

During the period of the Tughluq dynasty also we may presume that Nāgaur remained in their hands and that it was the centre of great activities, such as when during the Tughluq period the Chauhāns lost their hold over the stronghold of Chitor, the son of Māldev, fled to the Tughluq Sultān at Delhī and persuaded him to march against Mahārānā Hamīr. A battle was fought in which Hamīr defeated the Sultān and took him prisoner. For three months the Sultān remained in prison at Chitor. In the end he purchased his release from Rānā Hamīr by giving him the territory of Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nāgaur and Sūspūr.<sup>24</sup> TOD is mistaken here in mentioning Muḥammad Khaljī instead of Muḥammad Tughlaq. Mr. GARRICK has noted the date of the inscription on the gateway of the sanctuary of the at-Tārikīn, 633 A.H./1235 A.D. and has connected it with the name of Muḥammad b. Tughluq, which is wrong, for if it belongs to Muḥammad b. Tughluq, it ought to be 733, A.H./1332 A.D.<sup>25</sup> Also the style of workmanship of the gateway clearly reflects the same period. Apart from it we have two inscriptions, one from Ladnun and one from Didwānā, bearing the dates 772 and 779 A.H. respectively, which clearly bear the name of Firoz Shāh Tughluq (752-790 A.H.). It leads us to believe that the suzerainty of the imperial Muslim power at the centre was duly acknowledged even at that period. It is just possible that after Firoz Shāh Nāgaur, together with other strategical places in Rājputānā, might have come for a short time under the Rājput chiefs, for it is recorded that in 798 A.H./1395 A.D. "Zafar Khān of Gujerāt marched against the

<sup>23</sup> *Khazā'inu 'l-Futūh*, Tr. by Prof. Ḥabīb, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. iii, pp. 111-112 ; and Elliot, Vol. iii, p. 73, quoted from *Waṣṣāf*, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Muḥammad b. Tughluq reigned from 725 to 752 A. H./1224-1251 A.D. 'Agha Maḥdī Ḥasan, *Muḥammad Tughluq* (London, 1938), pp. 95-96.

<sup>25</sup> *Archæological Survey* (Old series), Vol. XXIII, pp. 48-71.

Rajputs of Mandū and subdued the Rājā after year's siege. After that he performed a pilgrimage to Ajmer, walking the distance. From Ajmer he went to Sambhar and Didwānā and subdued the Hindūs of these parts, and he returned to Pattan after punishing the rebels of Dilwārā and Jalwārāh.”<sup>26</sup>

The inscriptions from Didwānā and Khatū<sup>26a</sup> noted below actually belong to some local dynasty, of which there is no clear mention in any history so far available to us. Therefore, it is necessary to try to trace its history and its other activities. This dynasty seems to have been confined to a small area of Nāgaur and its dependencies such as Khatū, Didwānā, Ladnun etc. The rulers of this dynasty trace their origin to one Shams Khān Nāgaūrī (of Nāgaur), which means that they had their head-quarters at Nāgaur. The inscription from Didwānā is found on the City Mosque :

منصب معالی فیروز خان بن صلاحیت خان بن مجاهد خان بن شمس خان ذاکری ....  
مرمت کرد این مسجد را ..... فی التواریخ ..... سنه ست و سبعین و ثمان مائه -

That from Khatū is found on the mosque on the hill :

مجلس عالی فیروز خان بن صلاحیت خان بن مجاهد خان بن شمس خان ..... مقطع  
معامله کتبه ..... فی التاریخ ..... سنه ست و ثمانین و ثمان مائه -

Professor COMMISSARIAT has well described the origin of this dynasty on the authority of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* : "...during the reign of the great Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, Prince Firoz, then heir-apparent, went to a hunting expedition, during which he wandered from his companions and lost his way and at last found shelter in a village of the Taluka Thānesar in the Sirhind Division of the Punjāb. The chief men of that place were two brothers Sadhu and Sahran by name, men of wealth and consequence, who belonged to Tank tribe of Rājputāna. The prince was hospitably entertained by them and fell in love with their sister, peerless in beauty and loveliness. After he had satisfied his hosts about his rank and family, he was offered the young lady in *nikah* (marriage), and set out for Delhī accompanied by the two brothers, who had decided to follow his fortunes. Shortly after, both the brothers accepted Islām, and such was the loyalty and zeal of Sahran that he received at the royal court the title of Wajīhu 'l-Mulk (the chief of the state). When Firoz Tughluq ascended the throne at Delhi, Zafar Khān and Shams Khān, the two sons Wajīhu 'l-Mulk were promoted to the rank of nobles and appointed to the office of cup-bearers. Zafar Khān was born at Delhi on 30th June 1342 and he was thus well past his prime, when under his new title he was appointed in 1391 to the charge of the important province of Gujerāt at a critical period.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*, Eng. trans. of Farīdī, p. 6.

<sup>26a</sup> M. A. Chaghtāī, *An Exhibition of Impressions of Inscriptions*, Lahore, 1936, Nos. 114, 135-36.

<sup>27</sup> COMMISSARIAT, Khān Bahādūr M. S., *The History of Gujārāt*, I, p. 48 ; see also BAYLE, *History of Gujārāt*, pp. 68-70 ; Ferīšta (tr. BRIGGS), iv, p. 3.

When the central power was shattered by the direct invasions of the Mughuls, and the Tughluqs were on the verge of decline, Tātār Khān, the son of Zafar Khān, then the governor of Gujerāt, became ambitious to rule over Delhī. He urged his father to march on Delhī in 1403. Zafar Khān, then aged sixty, was quite content with the substance of independent power that he enjoyed in Gujerāt and did not agree to so risky an enterprise. So Tātār Khān placed his father in confinement and proclaimed himself king of Gujerāt at Asawal with title of Muḥammad Shāh,<sup>28</sup> The young ruler then continued his march towards Delhī to claim that throne also. Zafar Khān from his confinement sent one of his confidential friends to his brother Shams Khān pointing out the wickedness of his nephew in deposing his father, and urging him to kill Tātār Khān and deliver him from bondage. Shams Khān poisoned him at the town of Sinor. This Tātār Khān, who held the reins of the kingdom only for two months may be called the first (though nominal) Muslim king of Gujerāt. Being restored to power Zafar Khān returned to his capital Pattan as Muẓaffar Shāh Sultān of Gujerāt. It is related that from that day to the end of his life his eyes were never tearless, and he often wished to give over his kingdom to his younger brother Shams Khān and retire from public life; but, owing to the refusal of the latter, he could not obtain his wish. At last he sent Shams Khān to Nāgaur and ordered him to take over the rule of that place from Jalāl Khān Khokhār. After this Muẓaffar Shāh made Aḥmad Khān the son of Sultān Muḥammad, his heir

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<sup>28</sup> The *Ta'rikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says that during the year 806 A.H./1403 A.D. Tātār Khān son of Zafar Khān, the Governor (Amīr) of Gujerāt revolted against his father and put him in confinement at Bharoch and proclaimed himself the king of Gujerāt under the title of Sultān Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. He collected a large army and made his way towards Delhī. But on the way Shams Khān, his uncle poisoned him. \* Immediately Zafar Khān was released from confinement at Bharoch and brought at night to his army, from whom he received submission and a great ovation. ( *Ta'rikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, B. A. S. Calcutta edition, 1931, p. 172). The editor of this printed edition has mentioned Bharoch instead of Asawal as the place where Zafar Khān was confined and he has also given in the footnotes the variants after collating the texts of the Mss. used by him. The *Ma'thir-i-Rahīmī* gives another version: When Tātār Khān bin A'zam Humāyūn Zafar Khān saw that his father was about to retire from state affairs, he confined his father in village Asawal in 806 A.H. and himself ascended the throne and styled himself Muḥammad Shāh and entrusted the office of the minister to his uncle Shams Khān Dandānī. He adopted his imperial monogram with his name and title thus :—

الواثق بنائب الرحمن افتخار الدنيا والدين ابو الغازی محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه .

During the month of Sha'bān of the same year he led an expedition from Asawal to Delhī. On his way he breathed his last on account of an excessive bout of wine. He reigned for two months. When A'zam Humāyūn Zafar Khān received the news of his death, he immediately sent for his dead body and had it sent to Pattan for burial. After this Zafar Khān ascended the throne under the title of Muẓaffar Shāh. In some other histories it is mentioned that Shams Khān Dandānī, at the instigation of Zafar Khān mixed poison with the wine of Tātār Khān ( *Ma'thir-i-Rahīmī*, B. A. S. edition, Calcutta, 1925, Vol. ii, pp. 133-34). COMMISSARIAT, in his *History of Gujerāt*, p. 57, also throws good light on this subject.

and trained him up as such. This Aḥmad Khān succeeded him as Aḥmad Shāh I, the founder of Aḥmedābād.

In 819 A.H./1416 A.D. Sultān Hoshang of Mālwa (808-837 A.H.) began to raise an army and wrote to Shams Khān Dandānī at Nāgaur, offering him the city of Pattan with its *parganas* if he agreed to co-operate with him. He also asserted that unless Shams Khān helped, Sultān Aḥmad (813-846 A.D.) was sure to visit upon him his vindictive displeasure for all that had happened. Shams Khān Dandānī, however, wrote straight to Sultān Aḥmad, setting forth the intention of Sultān Hoshang, and stating that he was not the man to play fast and loose with the fidelity that he owed to the Sultān who had allowed him to rule over a corner of his dominions.<sup>29</sup> Some historians tell us that at the same time Sultān Khidr Khān the Sayyid king, was not far from Nāgaur when he received intelligence of Sultān Aḥmad's arrival there with the intention of capturing it. Thereupon he immediately sent his emissary to Nāgaur whereupon Sultān Aḥmad retreated to Dhār (Mālwa).<sup>30</sup>

From the account of Ferishta and others we conclude that something was wrong with Nāgaur during the regime of Shams Khān Dandānī, which led Sultān Aḥmad to come over to Nāgaur in 819 A.H., and caused Sultān Khidr Khān also to interfere. Similar occurrences led Sultān Aḥmad I of Gujerāt to come again to Nāgaur and Mewāt in 836 A.H./1432 A.D. when Firoz Khān son of Shams Khān was holding the government of Nāgaur. He came out to pay his respects to the Sultān and offered him a million rupees. This restored him into the good books of Sultān Aḥmad, who forgave him and bestowed upon him many kingly favours. After this the Sultān returned to Gujerāt. It is clear from this that the rulers of Nāgaur had been more or less under the control of the Sultāns of Gujerāt.

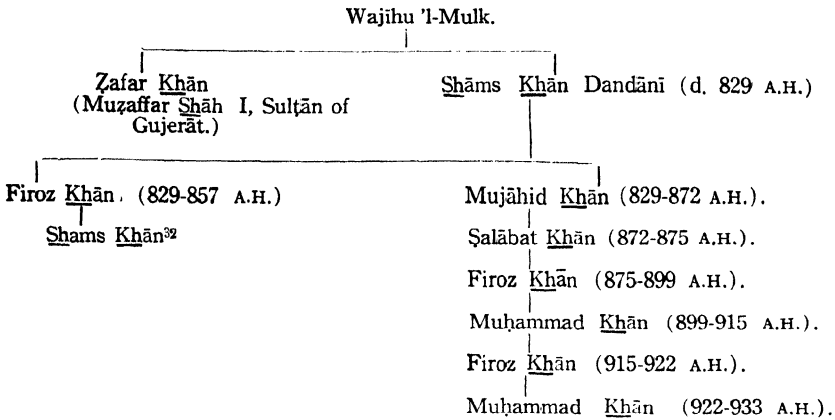
From this brief account we come to the conclusion that the Khānwādah family of Nāgaur was founded by Shams Khān as a minor branch of the family of Muslim kings of Gujerāt. This Shams Khān was called Dandānī on account of his front teeth being abnormally long. He fought a battle with Rānā Mukul in 814 A.H./1411 A.D. and he always remained loyal to the Gujerāt kings.

With the help of the inscriptions<sup>31</sup> appertaining to this particular dynasty and some local information found in the ms. of *Awrad-i-Qādirīya*, which is preserved with the keeper of the Dargāh (sanctuary) of Tārikīn at Nāgaur we can construct the genealogy of the dynasty. We might name them the Khānwādah family of Nāgaur. This dynasty ruled for about a century and a quarter, i.e. upto the advent of the Mughal Empire in India.

<sup>29</sup> *Mi'at-i-Sikandarī* (Eng. Trans. by Faridi), p. 15; *Tārīkh-Mubārak-Shāhī*, p. 186.

<sup>30</sup> ELLIOTT, Vol. V, p.

<sup>31</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslimica*, "Some unpublished Inscriptions from Jaipūr State", 1924 by Mr. Ghulām Yazdāni, pp. 15-25.



Mr. Yazdānī has edited some inscriptions of the period of Mujāhid Khān from Nārāina in the state of Jaipūr, which gave the name of Wajihu 'l-Mulk as that of the founder of the Khānwādah family of Nāgaur. These inscriptions are dated 840 and 848 A.H. and are concerned with the construction of forts and mosques at Dīndawāna<sup>33</sup> (modern Didwāna), Sambhar and Nārāina.<sup>34</sup> Mujāhid Khān had captured these towns in his fight against Rānā Mukul, as the extract from one of the inscriptions shows:—

..... بعد شور موکل مقهور بر قصبات دیندوانه و سنهر و رایته قاهر و غالب شده  
حصار و مساجد از سر نو بنا فرمود.....مصطفی سر نام نهاد.....

<sup>32</sup> He went to Rānā Kumbha to seek his help against his uncle Mujāhid Khān, after which he went to Gujerāt to seek the help of Sultān Qutbu 'd-Dīn against Rānā Kumbhā, and he remained there. Thus Nāgaur ceased to exist as the seat of government. After this Shāms Khān, this branch of the Khānwādah family became extinct and the rulership remained in the hands of Mujāhid Khān's descendants. Although the seat of government was not then at Nāgaur, that city remained more or less under their control.

<sup>33</sup> Didwāna (old Dīndwāna) is a well known district of the Jodhpūr State, about seventy-five miles from Ajmer, on the Degana-Hissar Railway. It was also known for a salt lake.

<sup>34</sup> We must certainly not omit the mention of Nārāina from the kingdom of Mujāhid Khān at that period. It is a small station on the metre-gauge line of the B. B. & C. I. Ry. between Phulerā and Ajmer. Moreover, from our point of view it possesses even greater importance. For we find the mention of one Nārā'in or Nārāyanpūr among the conquests of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1009 A.D. which also, according to Dr. Muḥammad Nāzīm, occurs in a Qaṣīda of the poet Ghadairi as preserved in 'Unṣari, p. 100. He says:—

دو بدره زر بگرفتم بفتح ناراین - بفتح رومیه صد بدره کبرم و خرطال

"I received two purses of gold on the victory of Nārā'in, I will get one hundred such purses and bags on the conquest of Rūmiya." NĀZĪM, *Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, p. 102.

It will not be out of place if we conjecture that this Nārā'in of Mujāhid Khān in Rājputāna, and the Nārā'in of Maḥmūd of Ghazna are one and the same. This Nārā'in was also visited by Muḥammad M'asūm Bhakkārī in 1014 A.H. (*EIM.*, 1924, p. 20).

The ms. of the *Awṛād-i-Qādirīya* preserved at the sanctuary of Tārikīn apart from the mention of the genealogy of this Khānwādah (family), also bears out that Shams Khān had come to Nāgaur from Gujerāt. This dynasty ruled there, and during reign of the last ruler, Muḥammad Khān mosques and mausoleums were destroyed when it passed into the hands of Rāi Māldev. After this it came under the control of Akbar.

In 857 A.H./1453 A.D. Firoz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandānī, the ruler of Nāgaur, died and Mujaḥid Khān, the second son of Shams Khān, captured the fort of Nāgaur. Upon this Shams Khān, son of Firoz Khān, sought the help of Rānā Kumbha, the ruler of Kumbhalgarh, against his uncle Mujaḥid Khān, who was then probably also holding a separate kingdom at Didwāna. There had been many battles fought between Firoz Khān and Rānā Mukul, the father of Rānā Kumbha, in which several thousand Rājputs lost their lives. Therefore, Rānā Kumbha agreed to help Shams Khān, only on condition that three bastions of the fort of Nāgaur should be demolished. On the acceptance of this condition he came out to help with his army. Mujaḥid Khān fled away to Maḥmūd Khalji of Mālwa, and Shams Khān captured the fort of Nāgaur. He intended to demolish the three bastions as promised but his army and the nobles protested against such action, whereupon Rānā Kumbha became angry and began to make preparations to attack Shams Khān. So Shams Khān immediately made his way to Quṭbu 'd-Dīn of Gujerāt to seek his aid against the Rānā and to prevent the recapture of Nāgaur. Sulṭān Quṭbu 'd-Dīn immediately sent an army for its protection. Shams Khān remained in Gujerat in the service of Quṭbu 'd-Dīn. He gave his daughter in marriage to Quṭbu 'd-Dīn, who loved her and was interested in her. In the meanwhile Rānā Kumbha had collected a large army and had reached Nāgaur. There was a severe battle between him and the army sent by Quṭbu 'd-Dīn. A great number of Mussalmāns lost their lives, and the army of Rānā captured the whole town with the exception of the citadel.

At the same time, in 857 A.H., Maḥmūd Khalji was also persuaded by Mujaḥid Khān, who had fled to him, to create a diversion. He marched towards Didwāna, the seat of the government of Mujaḥid Khān, with the ultimate intention of capturing Nāgaur. He received the intelligence of the arrival of Amīr-i-Kabīr Sayyid 'Atāu 'llāh Qiwāmu 'l-Mulk near Nāgaur. The latter had planned a night attack and was waiting in the neighbourhood. But when he attacked, he could not find the Khalji where expected and so he returned baffled. This was because news of his movements had already reached the Khalji, who had been thus warned about his plans. The companions of the Khalji now advised him and prevented him from carrying out his original intentions and compelled him to return to his country.<sup>35</sup>

In 860 A.H./1455 A.D., when Sulṭān Quṭbu 'd-Dīn heard this lamentable defeat of his forces, he made his way to Sirohī, situated on the summit of a mountain, and conquered it. Many of its defenders were killed after the conquest.

<sup>35</sup> *Arabic History of Gujerāt*, pp. 1-15.



Next they turned their face towards Kumbhalgarh,<sup>36</sup> whose mountain forts were stronger and higher than those of Sirohī. They then besieged the citadel itself where Rānā Kumbha had taken refuge. They attacked and after several hard-fought battles the Rājputs were beaten completely and were compelled to submit and to appeal for terms. The Gujerāt Sultān demanded the restoration of Nāgaur and the ransom of an elephant for the Rānā, and of ten thousand gold coins for Shams Khān. The Gujerātis returned victorious to Aḥmedābad. According to the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* Rānā Kumbha being helpless asked for pardon and agreed to the very stringent conditions, promising never again to attack Nāgaur or any Muḥammadan territory. But after the Sultān returned to his own country, the Rānā once again started another war against Quṭbu 'd-Dīn and the Khajū. This also ended with very humble apologies from the Rānā, who agreed to pay tribute and once more promised never to harass the Nāgaur country again. But only three months later the Rānā broke his pledge once more and marched out to plunder Nāgaur. The news reached Malik Sha'bān 'Imādu 'l-Mulk, the Wazīr at midnight. He instantaneously went up to the king and informed him that the "accursed Kumbha" had once again broken his plighted word and had marched against Nāgaur. So in 862 A.H./1457 A.D. Sultān Quṭbu 'd-Dīn himself led an army against the Rānā, and marching through Sirohī entered his territory, laid it waste and returned on 3rd of Rajab 862 A.H./1457 A.D. to his capital.

Rai Bahādur Gaurī Shankar has quoted one inscription from the *Kīrti stambha* of Chitor in his *History of Udaipur*, giving an account of Nāgaur. It says : "Rānā Kumbha had taken Nāgaur from the Sultān of Gujerat by contrivance. He put to fire the lofty Masjid of Firoz Khān and destroyed the fort. He took elephants into his possession. He imprisoned Muslim women and punished many Mussalmāns. He, having released the cows from the Mussalmāns, made Nāgaur a grazing field. He also put to fire all mosques along with the city and captured the treasures of Shams Khān, thus he obtained possession of a huge sum of money."

If we carefully calculate the dates on the hypothesis that Firoz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandānī, died in 857 A.H.<sup>37</sup> after reigning for 28 years at Nāgaur, we shall see that he ascended the throne in 829 A.H., which must be the year of the death of Shams Khān. After this Nāgaur became a field of strife, and though Mujāhid Khān tried to take it, yet he could not maintain it owing to the tussle between Shams Khān, Mujāhid Khān and Rānā Kumbha. From the inscriptions we gather that Mujāhid Khān at the death of Firoz Khān was already holding Sambhar, Didwāna and Nārā'ina as a separate kingdom. Perhaps we may more safely presume that the principality of Nāgaur was divided into two parts at the death of Shams Khān Dan-

<sup>36</sup> The *Arabic History of Gujerāt* mentions *Konaknaer*; the *Mir'at* speaks of *Kombhalmir* and others mention other names. But the modern name is Kumbhalgarh. It is in the Udaipur State.

<sup>37</sup> Ferishta has given 860 A.H. as the date of Firoz Khān's death instead of 857 A.H. as mentioned in the *Arabic History of Gujerāt*, pp. 1-15. Ferishta also differs in some other minor points. See also Faridī, pp. 33-35.

dānī in 829 A.H. According to local information Mujāhid Khān ruled for 43 years or up to 872 A.H./1467 A.D. There are two inscriptions from Didwāna, one on the gate of the *Sayyidon-kī Masjīd*, dated 840 A.H., commemorating the construction of the city wall and gateway of Didwāna. The other inscription is in *Devanāgarī* at the foot of one pillar of the Jāmi'ī Masjīd of Didwāna. It belongs to the period of Mujāhid Khān and it is dated Saṁvat 1502 (i.e. 868 A.H./1463 A.D.). After Mujāhid Khān his son Ṣalābat Khān came to power and ruled for three years i.e. up to 875 A.H./1470 A.D.; then his son Firoz Khān held the reins of government for 24 years and died in 899 A.H./1493 A.D. During his rule mosques were built both at Khatū<sup>38</sup> and Didwāna in 886 and 896 A.H. respectively, as has been stated clearly by their inscriptions. Moreover, it is very satisfactory to find that the inscriptions on both these mosques give the names of Khatū and Didwāna. This is unlike the inscriptions of other dynasties of India. Either this Firoz Khān himself added Khatū to his kingdom or this had been already done by his predecessor Mujāhid Khān. According to the inscriptions edited by Mr. YAZDĀNĪ we can safely say that in 840 A.H. this Mujāhid Khān was only holding Sambhar, Didwāna and Nārā'ina as his kingdom, when he started carving out one for himself. Moreover, from the study of the inscriptions we gather that this Khānwādah (family) was also known as *Nāgaūrī*, i.e. "of Nāgaūr." Yet it seems a pity that no inscription particularly of this Nāgaūrī Khānwādah (family), has come to light from Nāgaūr itself. It is just possible that all such remnants had been destroyed by Rānā Kumba when he came there to dismantle three bastions of the fort of Nāgaūr. This destruction at the hands of Rānā Kumbha has been clearly set forth in the inscription on the Chitor *Kīrti-stambha* as quoted above.

Khān Jahān Lodhī in his *History of the Lodhīs*, describing the deeds of Sikander Lodhī, mentions that while he was engaged in his field of sports in 915 A. H./1509 A.D. Nāgaūr fell to his lot. He says that 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr, relatives of Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Nāgaūr, concerted a

<sup>38</sup> Khatū, a Ta'luqa of Jodhpūr State near Nāgaūr, is known for a great quarry of reddish-yellow stone. It is situated on the Degana-Hissar railway line about 25 miles from Degana. In the history of Muslim India Khatū holds a very important position even from the early days, as is evident from Muslim antiquities of the days of Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish, adorned with inscriptions of that period, being found there. It attained prominence from the days of Shaykh Aḥmad, surnamed Ganjbakhsh and later Khatū. According to the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* Shaykh Aḥmad Khatū was born at Delhī in 737 A.H./1336 A.D. in a noble family of that city. His name was Nāṣiru'd-Dīn. He was a disciple of Bābā Ishāq Maghribī. Shaykh Ishāq Maghribī is lying buried at Khatū and even to this day he is revered by the people and many devotees come there on pilgrimage. Shaykh Aḥmad Khatū came to Gujerāt in the reign of Sultān Aḥmad I. After his return from pilgrimage to the holy cities, the Shaykh settled at Sarkhej, near Aḥmedābād. At this place he died in 849 A.H./1445 A.D., aged one hundred and eleven years. His mausoleum with the attached buildings is said to have begun by Muḥammad Shāh I, the son of Aḥmad Shāh I, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qutbu'd-Dīn (M. A. CHAGHTĀ'Ī, *An Exhibition of Impressions of Inscriptions*, 1936; *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* iii, p. 371; and BAYLEY, *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 90-91).

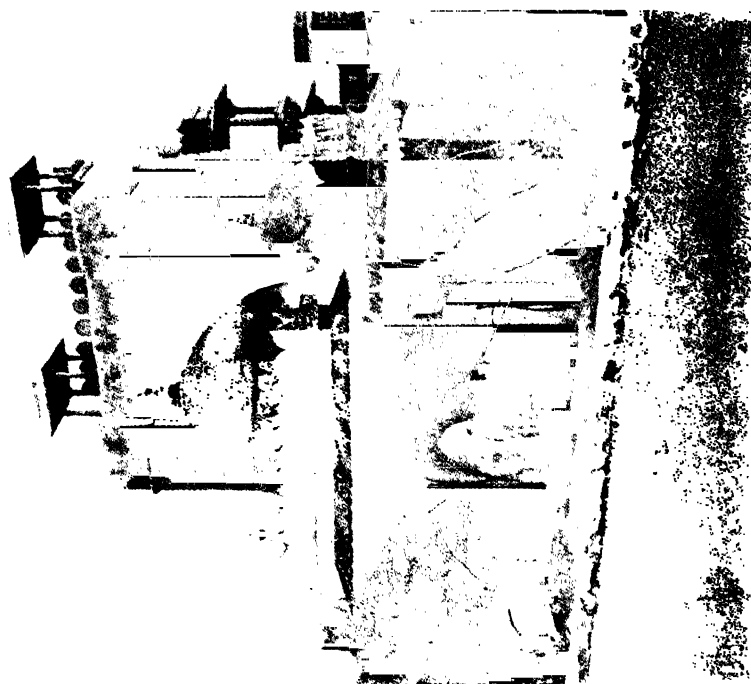
plot against their master and endeavoured by stratagems to break away from him and take possession of his country. However, being informed of their treachery, Muḥammad Khān thwarted their plans. Upon this both of them effected their escape and repaired to the court of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodhī. Muḥammad Khān immediately sent to the Sulṭān not only the assurance of his allegiance together with many valuable rarities and offerings, but also ordered the *Khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in the name of Sulṭān Lodhī. The Sulṭān greatly satisfied, sent in return a horse and a robe of honour to Muḥammad Khān.<sup>39</sup> From the above account it is clear that Muḥammad Khān of Nāgaur had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Lodhīs and according to local information this Muḥammad Khān held the rulership of Nāgaur for 15 years, i.e. upto 915 A.H. After this Muḥammad Khān, as local tradition says, his son Firoz Khān ruled for seven years; and Firoz Khān's son Muḥammad Khān ruled for eleven years and died in 933 A.H./1626 A.D., but we have no information about these two from any other source. It can be presumed that the proclamation of the suzerainty of the Lodhīs over Nāgaur might have allowed the Khānwādāh (family) of Nāgaur to remain at Nāgaur quietly under their control until on the passing of the Lodhīs it again fell into the hands of Māldev of Jodhpūr.

During the rivalry of Humāyūn and Sher Shāh Nāgaur acquired a specially strategical importance while yet remaining in the hands of Māldev of Jodhpūr. During the year 950 A.H./1543 A.D. Humāyūn, not thinking it advisable to remain any longer in the vicinity of Bikāner and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmīr towards Mārwar. The Rājā of Jaisalmīr blocked the road by which his army was to pass, and fought a battle in which he was defeated. In that waterless desert Humāyūn's army suffered terrible distress; so much so that around the wells blood was spilled in place of water, and many soldiers maddened by thirst cast themselves into the wells till they became choked. Proceeding by forced marches from Jaisalmīr to Mārwar, he sent Atka Khān to Māldev for help, and halted for several days in the vicinity of Jodhpūr, awaiting his return. Nāgaur had fallen into the hands of Sher Khān and Māldev had been deeply impressed with his power. Therefore, Māldev, fearing the wrath of Sher Shāh, was afraid to come to the aid of Humāyūn. So he detained Atka Khān on some pretext and sent a large army under the pretence of welcoming Humāyūn, but really with the intention of treacherously attacking him and taking him prisoner. Atka Khān becoming aware of this intention, returned without Māldev's permission and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs, whereupon Humāyūn instantly started in all haste for Amarkot.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> ELLIOTT, Vol. V, p. 103.

<sup>40</sup> *Badā'uni* (Bengal edition), pp. 439-41; and Eng. trans. pp. 562-563. On this point the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Ferishta and *Mā'athir-i-Raḥīmī* differ from one another very slightly but we need not go into these details. However, as to the conquest of Nāgaur they all agree. Moreover, the recently published *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* of Aḥmad Yādgar also contains very useful information on this particular point; but it clearly agrees with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in that Nāgaur and its dependencies fell to the lot of Sher Shāh (Calcutta edition, 1939, p. 164.)





Sher Shāh Sūr occupies the most prominent place in the annals of Muslim India and every student of Indian history knows about his administrative reforms, his public works and about the grand-trunk roads that he constructed between Bengāl and Peshāwar. Several other reforms in the revenue system were adopted by him for mutual benefit of the state and the public, which were adopted wholesale by the Mughals and for which the latter were getting the credit. Similar is the case of his appointment of judges, chief-judges, *paṭwāris*, *shiqadārs* and other officials, and the placing of his armies in various *sarkārs* or "commands." Nāgaur was one among these *sarkārs* of Sher Shāh's kingdom. From this it is clear that Nāgaur continued to occupy an important strategical position.<sup>41</sup>

Hājī Khān a slave (*ghulām*) of Sher Shāh Sūr was making preparations for setting up his rule in Alwar. Hājī Khān left Alwar and proceeded to Ajmer deeming that place to be a secure refuge for his family. Then he prepared his soldiers for battle and took possession of Ajmer and Nāgaur and all the surrounding country. When this success of Hājī Khān was reported to the emperor, he appointed Sayyid Muḥammad Qāsim Nishāpūrī to march against him. When intelligence of this reached Hājī Khān, he disbanded his army. Everyone returned to his own home and Hājī Khān himself fled to Gujerāt.<sup>42</sup> After Sher Shāh his son Islām Shāh ascended the throne and Nāgaur continued to be a part of the Sūr kingdom. We are fortunate in possessing three inscriptions of this period. All these are from a mosque in Nāgaur, and they clearly mention that it was built during the reign of Islām Shāh, son of Sher Shāh Sūr, by the chief judge, Hājī 'Umar b. Ruknu 'd-Dīn Quraishī al-Hāshimī in 960 A.H./1552 A.D.<sup>43</sup>

Immediately after the Sūr family, Nāgaur came under the control of the Mughals. History records that Akbar went to Ajmer in 978 A.H./1570 A.D. and from there he paid a visit to Nāgaur also, for this was the home of his most favourite courtiers Faizī and Abu 'l-Fazl, sons of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgaur. There he ordered the large tank or reservoir of Nāgaur to be repaired, for on that the town had to depend for its agricultural prosperity, and named it as Shukar Talāo. Akbar also caused a fountain with seventeen jets to be erected which is still in existence there. During his stay in Nāgaur Chandra Sen, son of Rānā Māldev, came to pay his allegiance and made his offerings. Rājā Kalyān Mal, the Rājā of Bikāner also came there with his son Rāi Singh to wait upon His Majesty and to present his tribute. The daughter of Rāwal Har Rāi of Jaisalmīr was conducted to the camp by Bhagwān Dās. Akbar also received here the tardy submission of Bāz Bahādūr, who had abandoned all hopes of recovering his kingdom of Mālwa and was fain to accept the nominal command of one thousand horse in the imperial service.<sup>44</sup> Nāgaur also remained as a Jāgīr (estate) of Mīrzā Sharafu 'd-Dīn Husain son of Khawjā Munīru

<sup>41</sup> ELLIOT, Vol. iv, pp. 550-552 quoted from *Wāqī'āt-i-Muḥṣṭaqī*.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 22.

<sup>43</sup> Syed Abdul Haye, *Yād-i-Ayyām*, Aligarh edition, 1919, p. 61. See the brief account of Mufti Ruknu 'd-Dīn.

<sup>44</sup> ELLIOT, Vol. v, p. 335; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. iv, p. 102.

'd-Dīn during this period but later on Mīrzā Shārafu'd-Dīn fled to Jālor where he was arrested by the nobles of Akbar.<sup>45</sup>

According to the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* there were thirty villages (*maḥāls*) in the *sarkār* (division) of Nāgaur and by chance Didwāna, Ladnun and other places were all included in the division of Nāgaur.<sup>46</sup> From Akbar right upto the last Mughal Emperor Nāgaur remained continuously a part of the Mughal Empire, as is obvious from the inscriptions of various monuments of Nāgaur.

As a point of archaeological interest it might be added here that we had the opportunity of examining some graves at the foot of the southern wall of the fort of Nāgaur, covered with slabs of red stone bearing some worn out inscriptions in *nashkī* script longitudinally inscribed on them. With great difficulty the following two could be read :—

- (۱) هذا القبر الشهيد الضعيف المذنب الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى... ..المبدالحسين بن  
ابى سعيد اللاري نورالله موقده في شهور سنة ست و اربعين و ستماية -  
(۲) هذا القبر الفقير الراجي الى رحمة الله ابو بكر بن سعد الله.....

Translation :—(i) This is the grave of the martyr the humble, the sinner, hoping for the mercy of the Almighty.....al-'Abdu 'l-Ḥusain b. Abī Sa'īd al-Lārī, may God illumine his grave, during the year 646 A.H.

(ii) This grave is of Abū Bakr b. Sa'du'llāh.....needy of the mercy of God.

These graves are revered by the local people and there are many similar ancient graves from which much important and useful information could be collected.

In the domain of architecture the extant monuments of Nāgaur deserve a few words. They are of such different varieties and styles that they compel one to the conclusion that Nāgaur had been the home of different peoples at different periods of its history. The oldest extant building at Nāgaur is the gateway of the sanctuary of Tārikīn of the Tughluq period, about which Sir JOHN MARSHALL says : "a lofty gateway embellished in the manner of *Arhā'i din kā Jhomprā* screen at Ajmer, with a medley of geometric and flowing arabesques. The original structure appears to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, but seems to have been restored during the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq and again added to in the sixteenth century. Another is the Shams Masjīd also at Nāgaur which according to local tradition was founded by governor Shams Khān, but which, to judge by its sharply tapering minarets, lofty narrow archways and clerestory gallery under the central dome—a feature manifestly borrowed from Gujerāt architecture—must, in its present form, be assigned to the beginning of the fifteenth century rather than to the thirteenth century."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293 ; *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. ii, p. 247.

<sup>46</sup> *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. ii, pp. 511-512.

<sup>47</sup> SIR JOHN MARSHALL, Muslim Monuments, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. iii, p. 622. See Figs. I and II.

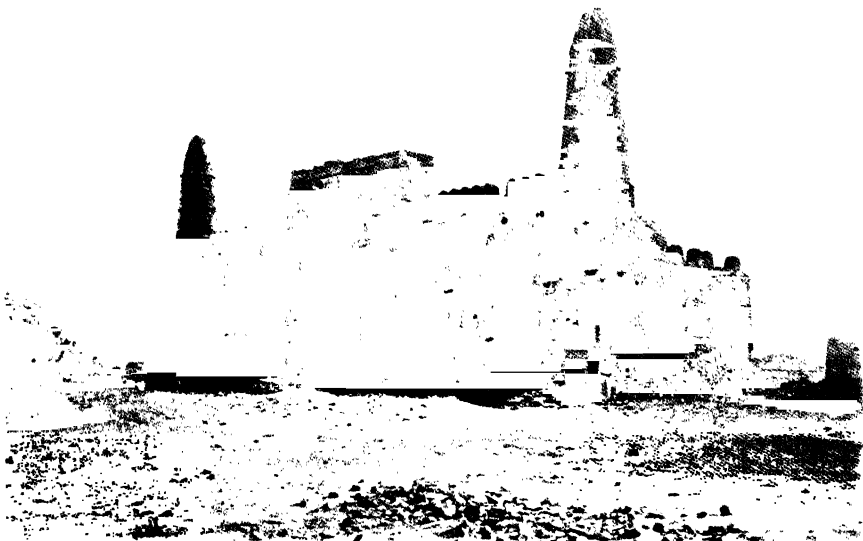


FIG. III.  
SHAMS MASJID : NĀGAUR.

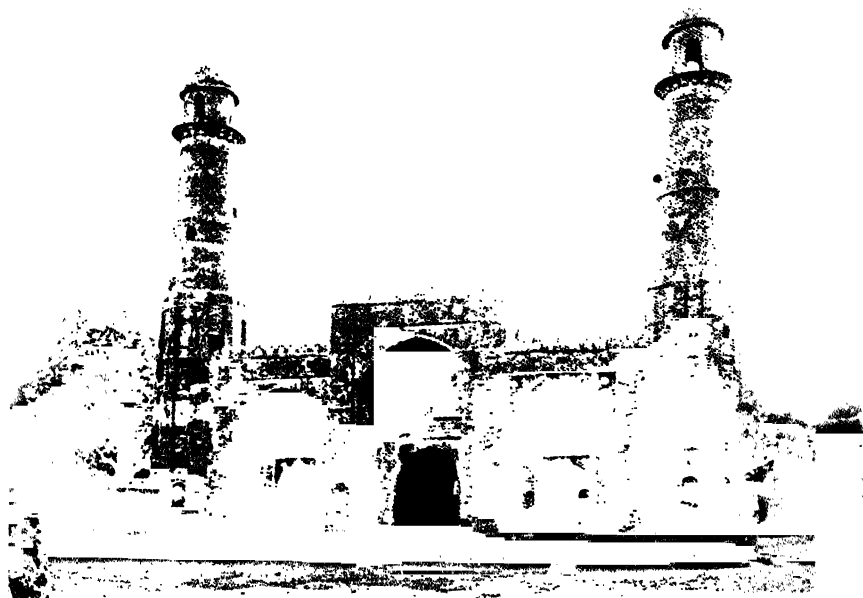


FIG. IV.  
 AKBARI OR JĀMI MASJID : NĀGAUR.



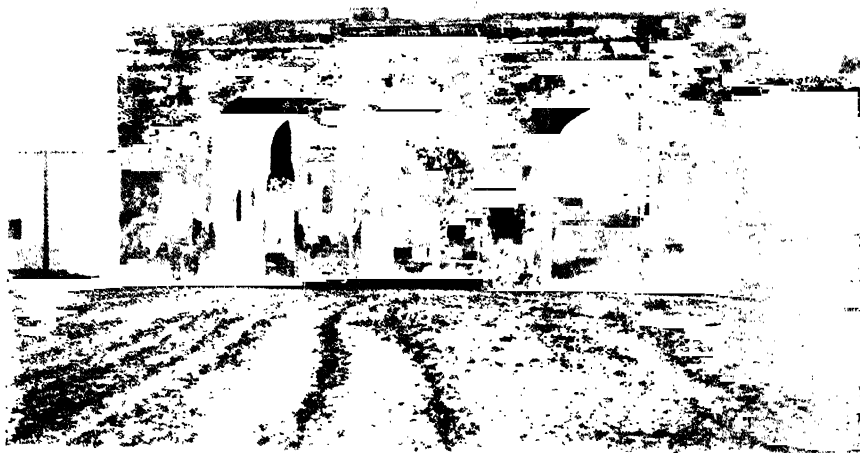


FIG. V  
TIN-DARWĀZĀ, NORTH GATE : NĀGAUR.

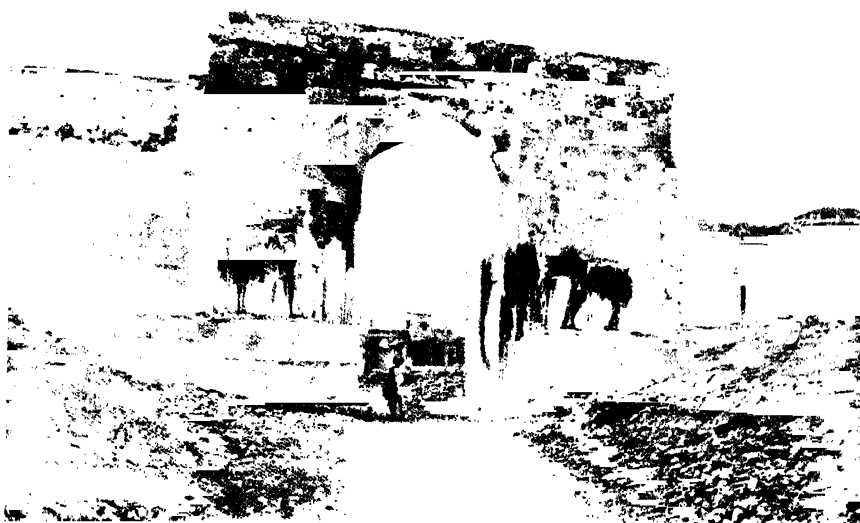


FIG. VI  
HĀTHIPŌL, SOUTH GATE : NĀGAUR.

*Photographs by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

These remarks of Sir JOHN MARSHALL about the gateway and the Shams Masjīd of Nāgaur are correct and appropriate. But it is also necessary that the statement of Mr. GARRICK, particularly concerning the Shams Masjīd,<sup>47a</sup> should be explained here, when he says :—"Extending over two hundred years, at which Nāgaur was governed by a Khānate, deputed by Shamsu 'd-Din Iltutmish and it only remains to describe the interesting old mosque here which was built by Shams Khān, the founder of this family of Khāns."<sup>48</sup> We have already discussed in brief above the origin and history of this Khānwādah (family), which began to rule at Nāgaur under Shams Khān, its founder, at the beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, i.e. about two hundred years after Sultān Shamsu 'd-Din-Iltutmish. Hence it is obviously wrong to read any allusion to this family of Nāgaur in the reign of Sultān Iltutmish. In many respects this family of Nāgaur borrowed many architectural styles from Gujerāt and Mālwa. There is the Shams Talāo (lake) attributed to the same Shams Khān, and perhaps the same that was repaired by Akbar after the destruction of Nāgaur at the hands of Rānā Kumbha. One who has even once visited both Nāgaur and Aḥmedābād will at once realise that the *Tin-Darwāza* (triple-gate) at Nāgaur<sup>48a</sup> built by Shams Khān has been copied from Aḥmedābād's *Tin-Darwāza* built by Aḥmad I. Similarly many other points of resemblance can be traced between the buildings at Nāgaur and at Aḥmedābād.

Mr. GARRICK has furnished us with a complete description of the Shams Masjīd with a plate showing its plan and the detail of its *miḥrāb*, therefore it need not be repeated here. It is very helpful to understand Muslim architecture of early days. But it is a pity that nothing could be said about those monuments of Nāgaur which had been wantonly destroyed as has been recorded in the *Kīrti-stambha* inscription of Chitor. This is the only reason why no inscriptions of the Khānwādah of Nāgaur are available, particularly from Nāgaur itself, where this family ruled for many years.

We are fortunate that here also we have some inscriptional evidence. During the period of Akbar the congregational mosque of Nāgaur was built in 972 A.H./1564 A.D. by one Ḥusain Qulī Khān and in spite of extensive damage and spoliation the extant remains of this mosque give us a fair idea of its past grandeur. This Jām'i Masjīd of Nāgaur was the first monument of Akbar's period to be erected there. But before this in 970 A.H./1562 A.D. another mosque had been built which has only one inscription fixed on the partition wall. This most important piece of historical information appertaining to the mosque was fortunately composed and inscribed by that prince of calligraphists Kātibu 'l-Mulk Durī. His real name was Sultān Bāyazīd, and his pen-name was Durī; and the title of Kātibu 'l-Mulk was bestowed upon him by Akbar for his excellence in the art of calligraphy.<sup>49</sup> Besides these there are other monuments bearing inscriptions of the Mughal period

<sup>47a</sup> See Fig. III.

<sup>48</sup> *Archæological Survey of India Report*, Vol. xxiii (1887), p. 64.

<sup>48a</sup> See Fig. V.

<sup>49</sup> *Badā'ūnī* (text), Vol. iii, pp. 227-228, the account of Mīr Durī.

# MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS IN THE DECCAN AND KARNĀṬAKA

By

H. D. SANKALIA

After examining the monuments at Bhavasari<sup>1</sup> we visited Rajur, about 10 miles west of Junnar, where also, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*,<sup>2</sup> rude stone monuments existed but which had not been examined before. We found there only one monument of the type, a menhir-like standing stone,<sup>3</sup> called *ubhā dhoṇḍā*, situated in the centre of the village, just in front of the school. It is impossible to say whether it is a megalithic sepulture monument, for here, unlike at Bhavasari, it is not associated with the dead. The only reply to our inquiry about it was that the stone was there from the very beginning, when the village was first founded, placed there probably as a boundary stone ! But we were told that there were a number of rude stone and other monuments at Pur. And they were right. We found one 'stone-circle', just on the outskirts of Pur.<sup>4</sup> It is now hidden by a tree. Another we noticed on our way back from Pur to Rajur. Both were perfect specimens of a 'stone circle,' but as the stones over them had been removed, it is not possible to determine whether they were cromlechs or any such sepulture monuments.

In the previous article it was suggested that other districts of the Deccan and Karnataka remain to be explored for establishing links between the Deccan and the South, where every year<sup>5</sup> some megalithic monuments are brought to notice.

The Dharwar district may supply some of the links. For there, in the Renbennur taluka, as Mr. H. G. BENGARI, a student of our Proto-Indian and Ancient Indian History Department, reports, a huge Dolmen exists at Motebennur, which though known to the Archaeological Survey and also noticed by the *Dharwar Gazetteer*<sup>6</sup> has not yet been studied.

A number of dolmen-like structures also exist at Konnur in the Belgaum district, where on excavation a body, with its face to the south, was found. So there is no doubt that it was a sepulture monument.<sup>7</sup>

It is possible that when this and other such monuments in the district will be studied, some important light may be thrown on the ancient megalithic monuments in Karnāṭaka.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Bull. DCRI.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XIII, iii, pp. 118 and 437 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1937*, p. 13, referring to a report of discovery of stone cists of the Neolithic Age at Vandiperiyar in the Travancore State.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. XXII, p. 703.

<sup>7</sup> *Belgaum Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI, pp. 582-84.

<sup>8</sup> Our Department proposes to explore the districts mentioned this year.



Fig. 1. Menhir like Stone at RAJUR.

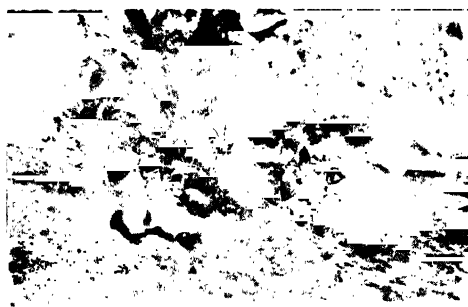


Fig. 2. Stone-circle near PUR.



# CONTRIBUTIONS ON THE STUDY OF INDO-EUROPEAN ACCENT

By

C. R. SANKARAN.

It is a matter of common knowledge that quantity, tone-pitch and loudness are the most important factors of accent and that syllables pronounced with greatest loudness often, as a general rule, carry also the highest tone. In Serbian they lie deep in many cases, while they follow often a syllable with a really greater height.<sup>1</sup>

The vowels which carry the chief tone are often lengthened and un-accented vowels are shortened as in German and Russian. Conversely long syllables take the chief tone on themselves as in Latin and Lithu-slavonian.

A large number of languages carry a strong musical accent on the syllable following the chief tone which differentiates one word from another. The difference between Serbian nominative *dūsa* "soul" < *dūśa* and accusative *dūšu* does not rest merely on the fact that in the first case the tone rises and in the second case the tone falls, but also on the fact that the second syllable in the first case is musically high, and in the second case is deep and beside also, their loudness is different [KIP, *Modern Language Notes*, 20, p. 16 ; cf. HIRT, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen* 1. Teil. 1931. p. 148]. Similar is the case, according to Hermann HIRT, in Swedish where one differentiates between two accents. In the case of the second accent a musically higher tone lies on the last syllable. This is musically higher than the accented radical syllable. On HIRT's authority, the difference is a quint.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "The physiology of speech is such that a stressed syllable tends to have a higher pitch. For the only way to produce stress is to increase the force of the stream of breath passing between the vocal chords and that will inevitably increase the tension of the chords and produce higher pitch, unless the tendency is counteracted by independent muscular adjustment [From VENDRYES, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Effets de l'Intensité en Latin*, P. II, we learn that L. ROUDET in *La Parole*, II. 201, (this periodical is inaccessible to me) has worked out this matter experimentally]. This may be done and it is not at the same time implied that greater stress and higher pitch always coincide. But that they do in a large measure is beyond question. The fact that the later Greek accent in general retained the position of the older accent is evidence that this was the case at some period in Greek." Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, Character of Greek and Latin Accent in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XLII, 1911, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> H. HIRT, *Der Akzent, Indogermanische Grammatik*, Teil V, Heidelberg, 1929, pp. 12-13. BRUGMANN, *Zur Geschichte der stamm abstufenden Declination*, *Curt. Stud.*, IX, 363 ff.

In the Old Indian, there lies on the syllable after the tone (the *udātta*) an entirely different accent which is called the *svarita*. SIEVERS<sup>3</sup> makes use of BRUGMANN'S law—Indo-Germanic *o* is equal to old Indian *ā* in open syllables—as a means to the analysis of sound. Here as HIRT says we have to be very careful. A note of caution has to be sounded with regard to SIEVERS' treatment of the Indo-Germanic  $\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{m}$ ,  $\bar{n}$ . The mistakes in the premises are so obvious that one even doubts the correctness of the sound-analysis.<sup>4</sup>

In the parent speech, there surely existed certain sounds which whatever their precise phonetic value are genetically related to  $r$  etc., precisely as  $\bar{i}$  to  $i$ , or  $\bar{u}$  to  $u$ . Many scholars on the ground of phonetic unreality reject the use of symbols  $\bar{r}$ , etc., which imply the assumption of long syllabic nasals and liquids, but which alone are best adapted to reflect this situation. It is highly doubtful whether these symbols accurately reflect the pronunciation in parent speech, but these indicate sounds which should certainly have contained a nasal or a liquid element and are genetically co-ordinate with  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{i}$ . Like  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$ , the  $\bar{r}$  etc., resulted from contraction of the weak grades of dissyllabic stems, i.e.,  $rə$  etc., which also remain uncontracted and appear in Greek as *ara*, etc., as *thánatos* beside Doric *thnātós*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> E. SIEVERS, *Vedisches und Indogermanisches—Intonation und Ablaut, Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLIII, pp. 158—206, also *Zur Kasusintonation, Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. XLV, pp. 119-51.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Carl Darling BUCK, *Brugmann's Law and the Sanskrit vṛddhi*, in *American Journal of Philology*, XVII, 1896, pp. 445-72, DE SAUSSURE held that sometimes Graeco-Italic *o* corresponding to Indo-Iranian *a* in open syllables in addition to Greek and Italic *o* in open syllables corresponding to Indo-Iranian  $\bar{a}$ , according to Brugmann's law came from the full-grade non-ablating *o*, and to him this was one of the three reasons in support of his thesis that in addition to  $\bar{o}$ , in ablaut relation to  $\bar{e}$  there was another vowel which appeared in Greek and Italic as  $\bar{\theta}$  and which was due to the influence of a certain lost consonant of undefined character [DE SAUSSURE, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*, pp. 96-116 (1879) = *Recueil des publications scientifiques*, pp. 90-109, Heidelberg 1922.] Holger PEDERSEN ["Wie Viel laute gab es im Indogermanischen?" *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXXVI, 1900, pp. 86-103] demonstrated that "there is no correlation between the three lines of assumed evidence" of de SAUSSURE along with the fourth reason supplied by Zubaty [Zum baltischen *u*, in *Bezzenger's Beiträge*, XVIII, pp. 241-66, 1892]. "Indo-Iranian frequently has *a* in an open syllable beside Graeco-Italic *o* in ablaut with *e* (e.g. Skt. *katarás* : Greek *póteros*) cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, Hittite evidence against full-grade *o*, *Language*, 14, 1938, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. "Much as the oppositions of intensity (phonetically of length) in the vowels of early Indian reflect their phonemic relation in the morphological system, where after the oppositions  $i : \bar{i}$ ,  $u : \bar{u}$  of the vowel declensions, a new opposition  $r : \bar{r}$  where  $\bar{r}$  is a phoneme unknown to the Indo-Iranian period, was created" C. B. BAZELL, On form and function, *J. Eng. Ger. Phil.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1938, p. 330. Cf. also "The living and morphologically relevant nature of the quantitative vowel oppositions in vedic, where a new phoneme  $\bar{r}$  seems to have been created on the analogy of other quantitative oppositions ( $i : \bar{i}$ , etc.) in the declensional system, is exceptional and seems to demand a special analysis of these oppositions." C. E. BAZELL, Archimorpheme and Phonomorpheme *Modern Language Notes*, LIII, 1938, p. 363, fn. 2.

Their representation is as follows.

Sanskrit	.. ..	īr ūṛ	ā (ām)
Greek	.. ..	rā lā or rō, lō	nā, mā
			(Att.-Ion. nē mē
Latin	.. ..	rā lā	nā mā

A monosyllabic reduced grade parallel to *ū*, *ī* in the parent speech is reflected by these correspondences. For the parent speech, only uncontracted dissyllabic forms, not only for Sanskrit *īr*, *ūṛ*, etc., but also for what is *ī*, *ū*, in all the Indo-European languages are set up by HIRT. As Carl Darling BUCK<sup>6</sup> points out, to doubt that an *ī* or *ū* which occurs uniformly in all or most of the Indo-European languages (e.g., the *ū* of Sanskrit *abhūt* Greek *éphū*, Church Slavonic *by* etc.) reflects Indo-European *ī*, or *ū* is to abandon the historical and only safe method of reconstruction and it is quite unnecessary too for the general theory of dissyllabic bases.

Skt. *ūrnā*, Dor. *lānos*, Lat. *lāna* (Gothic. *wulla*, Lith. *vilna* etc.)

Dor. *tlātós*, Lat. *lātus*, (\* *tlātós* beside *tollō*)

Skt. *stīrnas* Lat. *strātus* Gr. *strōtós*

Skt. *jātas* Lat. *nātus*.<sup>7</sup>

In the parent speech every syllable of a word was subject to gradation. Generally, the gradation of each syllable is treated on the mono-syllabic basis. But since in certain cases two syllables clearly form a unit, it is necessary to hold them in view.

*u*, is the weak grade of *o*, (i.e. \**eu*), so is *ū*, of *avi*, (i.e. \**owā*) for we find in Skt. *stōtum* : *śrutás* but *bhāvītum* : *bhutás*; we find also *śvānas* : *śūnas*; *ū*, is the weak grade of *vā* (i.e. \*\**wā*\*) also. The hypothesis of a Proto-Indo-European stem \*\**ew*<sup>xx</sup> which if accented in I-E. \**ēwā*<sup>x</sup>, became I-E. \**ēwā* or, if \**ewā*<sup>x</sup> became I-E. \**uā*<sup>x</sup> while, if both syllables were unaccented, the result was *ū*, from \**o* (R + R), or sometimes, by a still further reduction, *u*, brings under one head the two strong forms.

Sometimes, however, under special conditions not now determinable, the I-E. \**iə* \**uə* remained uncontracted and are reflected in a few forms like Gr. *pótnia*, Skt. *patnī*; Gr. *príamai*, beside Skt. *kṛi*-. Similarly in the case of Proto-E. \*\**eyā*<sup>x</sup>, whence in I-E. with the accent on either syllable \**eyā* or \**yā*<sup>x</sup> respectively, the form with accent on neither syllable and reduction of each would be, \**iə* (R+R) which was normally contracted to I-E. \**ī* (RR) as reflected in the historical period.

Similarly in the case of Proto-I-E. \**enā*<sup>x</sup>, \*\**elā*<sup>x</sup>, etc. the forms with reduction of each syllable \**nə*, \**lə*, which again under certain conditions remained uncontracted and are reflected by Gr. *ana*, *ala*, etc., (*thánatos*, *kámatos*, *etálasa*, etc.,) but were normally contracted to something that is reflected

<sup>6</sup> Carl Darling BUCK, Some questions of practice in the notation of reconstructed Indo-European forms, *Language*, Vol. II, 1926, p. 107, footnote.

<sup>7</sup> See Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, 1933. Chicago Illinois, Section 126, pp. 113-114.



by Skt. *ā*, *ām*, *īr*, *ūr* ; Gr. *nā*, *lā*, etc. ; Lat. *nā*, *rā*, etc.<sup>8</sup> MEILLET<sup>9</sup> used *ṇ*, etc., but he also sets up *\*yā*, *\*wā*, whence *ī*, *ū*, and *\*nā*, *\*lā*, etc., whence *nā*, *lā*, etc., in Gr. Lat., e.g. *\*gnā* for Lat. (g)*nātus* and (g)*nārus*.<sup>10</sup>

But *\*nā* is commonly used to represent another probable though rare form of reduction and should moreover, yield European *na* not *nā*.<sup>11</sup>

Even as *ṛ* is the weak grade of *ar*, so is *īr*, or *ūr* the weak grade of *ari*, or *rā*, thus in Skt. *hartum*, *hṛtās*, but *cāritum*, *cīrṇās*, and *prāti*, *pūrṇās*, *pūrdhī*. Even as *a* (I-E. *ṛ*) is the weak grade of *an*, so is *ā* or *ām* ; the weak grade of *ani*, *ami* (or *nā*, *mā*). Thus in Skt. *hāntum*, *hātās* ; but *jānītos*, *jātās* ; *domitā*, *dāmtās*.<sup>12</sup>

FORTUNATOV<sup>13</sup> brought the falling tone of Lithuanian *bėr̃žas* in line with the long of the old Indian *bhūr̃jas*. This has proved of very great consequence. The *ūr*, of the old Indian is presumably the weak grade (*Schwundstufe* or *Reduktionsstufe*)<sup>14</sup> of a dissyllabic strong base and similarly the Lithuanian diphthongs presuppose a dissyllabic strong base. Indeed BEZZENBERGER<sup>15</sup> has proved it.

The Lithu-slavonic acute originated from the fact that the neutral vowel has disappeared in the second syllable of the dissyllabic strong bases. From *erā*, has come *ēr* (*ér*) and from *irā*, *īr* (*ir*) ; it is quite plain that the Lithuanian acute itself which is all-throughout a falling tone can be very easily explained from the standpoint of the accent of Proto-Indo-European but not the ascending (*steigende*) tone of the Slavic. Here some sudden changes must have taken place.

I. Indo-European *enā*<sub>1</sub>, *onā*<sub>1</sub>, = Lith. *én*, *án*, Slavic. *e*, *u*.

Lith. *ántis*, slavic *útva*, Gr. *nēssa*, Lat. *anas*

Lith. *kāndu*, Lettish *kúožu*, Old Indian *khādati*

Lith. *témsta*, Old Indian *támistram*

Lith. *vémti*, Lettish *vémti* Old Indian *vámiti*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. PER PERSSON, *Beiträge zur vgl. Sprachforschung*, II, 631 ff.

<sup>9</sup> MILLET, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues Indo-européennes* 4th edn., Paris, 1915.

<sup>10</sup> MEILLET, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, p. 156.

<sup>11</sup> See *Language*, II, p. 107, footnote.

<sup>12</sup> Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Section 126, pp. 113-114.

<sup>13</sup> *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 4, 588, note 32. Vide also H. HIRT, *Der Akzent*, Section 107, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> Vide H. HIRT, *Indogermanische Grammatic*, Teil II, der Indogermanische Vokalismus, Chapter VI, Die Reduktionsstufe, pp. 76-102, Sections 100-123 H. GÜNTERT, *Idg., Ablautsprobleme*, 1916, E. PROKOSCH, *A. Comp. Germ. Gram.* 1939. p. 94.

<sup>15</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER, Zum Baltischen Vokalismus, 2nd pt. in *Bezzenbergers Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* Vol. XVII, 1891, pp. 221-27. Vide also H. HIRT, *Idg. Gramm.*, Teil II, Chap. 10, Die Schwundstufen der zweisilbigen schweren Basen pp. 124-48, sections 144-65.

II. Indo-European  $er\bar{a}_1, el\bar{a}_1, or\bar{a}_1, ol\bar{a}_1$ , =Lith. *ér, ár, él, ál*.  
 Russ. *eré, oró, oló*, Slavic, *re, ra, la*.  
 Lith. *béržas*, Russ. *beréza*, Slavic, *bérza*, Old Indian *bhūrjas*  
 Lith. *sérgmi*, Russ. *storóža* Old Indian *sūrks̥*  
 Slavic, *sláma*, Russ. *solóma*, Gr. *kálamos*  
 Slavic, *svráka*, Russ. *soróka*, Gr. *kóras*

III. Indo-European  $ew\bar{a}_1, ow\bar{a}_1, aw\bar{a}_1$ , =Lith. *áu*, Slavic *u*  
 Lith. *áukti*, Lat. *augēre*  
 Lith. *kláusti* (*kláuša*), Old Indian *śúśrūṣate*  
 Lith. *pánti*. Old Indian *ṇunāti*

IV. Indo-European  $ey\bar{a}_1, oy\bar{a}_1, ay\bar{a}_1$  =Lith. *ie, éi, ái*; Serbian *i, e, ye*  
 Lith. *liōpa*, Russian *līpa*  
 Lith. *mēilē*, Slavic. *míio, míla, mílo*

V. Indo-European  $a_2r\bar{a}_1, a_2l\bar{a}_1$  =Lith. *ir, il*  
 Slavic, *r, u*,  
 Lith. *gīrna*, Old Indian *grāvan*  
 Lith. *gīrtas*, Old Indian *gūrtas*, Lat. *grātus*  
 Lith. *īlgas*, Lettish *īlgi*, Slavic *dúg*, Old Indian *ḍīrghás*  
 Lith. *īrklas, írti*, Old Indian *arītram*, Gr. *eréssō*  
 Lith. *mīltai*, Lettish *mīlti*, Old Indian *mūrñás*.  
 Lettish *mūlkiš*, Old Indian *mūrkhás*  
 Lith. *pīlkas*, Old Indian *palin*  
 Lith. *pīlnas*, Lettish *pīlns*, Slavic *pun*, Goth. *fulls*, Old Indian *pūrñás*.  
 Lith. *pīrmas*, Old Indian *pūrvas*  
 Lith. *spīrti*, Old Indian *sphurāti*  
 Lith. *tīltras*, Old Indian *tīrthám*  
 Lith. Lettish *uīlna, vīna*, Lat. *lāna*, Goth. *wulla*, Old Indian *ūrñā*  
 Lith. *spūrgas*, Gr. *aspáragos*, Old Indian *sphūrjakas*

VI. Indo-European  $a_2n\bar{a}_1, a_2m\bar{a}_1$ , =Lith *in, im, ūn, ūm*, in Serbian as *ě*.  
 Lith. *dūmti.*, Slavic *dúti*, Old Indian *dhmā*  
 Lith. *intē*, Old Indian *jātā*, Gr. *enáteres* but Slavic *jětrve*, (*Metatone?*  
*Schwundstufe*)  
 Serbian *ime, imena* from *\*anāmēn* and as Reductions-schwundstufe to Greek  
*ónoma*, Old Indian *nāmā*.<sup>16</sup>

In each syllable at least three quantities must be differentiated. In many cases the differences of syllable-accent can be recognised on the basis of quantity.

In relation to the gradation of tone, there exist three different forms, the even-tone, the rising-tone, and the falling-tone, and their combinations.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Sigurd AGRELL, Intonation und Auslaut im Slavischen, *Archives d'études orientales*, Vol. VII, Upsala, 1913, pp. 73 ff.

According to SIEVERS, the even-tone is present usually a little protracted, like *yes* (or *well*) in *yes, if it be so*, and expresses reflection and indecision on the part of the speaker. We find the falling-tone in the simple affirmation *yes* and the ascending-tone in the interrogative *yes?* and *so?* etc. What is called in German the *Stosston*, which describes a slight tonelessness on account of the closing of the *glottis*, is to be clearly distinguished from the *gestossenen* or *stozenden* tone of the Lithuanian which is nothing but the falling-tone.<sup>17</sup>

Generally we find two kinds of syllable-accents in the Indo-European languages and they are called in Greek acute<sup>18</sup> and circumflex<sup>19</sup> and which in Lithuanian are named by the German scholars *gestossen* (falling-tone) and *schleifenden* tones.<sup>20</sup>

In certain Indo-European languages like Lithuanian by the side of the syllable-accents which have come down from the parent Indo-European speech, there have appeared new ones also. LESKIEN<sup>21</sup> for instance reports of a double syllable-accent in his native town of Holstein.

A very significant observation is made by NÖRRENBURG,<sup>22</sup> known as the Lower-Rhinish accent-law, by which he shows that through the disappearance of a syllable, a peculiar intonation is brought about, in the previous syllable. It is another question whether the diphthongization of *ei*, and *au*, from *ī*, and *ū*, in the New High German has to be traced back to a circumflex, which has resulted from the loss of a syllable as Wrede<sup>23</sup> assumes.

The syllable-accents are markedly noticeable in French. Between *lu*, and *lue*, *su* and *sue*, *nu* and *nue*; the following differences are found.

1. the *u* of *lue* is longer.
2. the quality is different.
3. *lu*, has musically the falling tone, *lue* is rising-falling-rising.
4. the *u* of *lu* lies higher than that of *lue*.<sup>24</sup>

In individual Slavonian dialects the syllable-accents of Lithu-Slavonian have appeared in point of difference of quantity. But in Serbian quite a

<sup>17</sup> H. HIRT, *Der Akzent*, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> "The acute consists of a rising of the voice. On that account also the mark is going upwards." H. HIRT, *Der Akzent*, p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> BRUGMANN, *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, Sec. 671, Vol. I, p. 536, Translated from the German by Joseph WRIGHT, 1888.

<sup>20</sup> KURYLOWICZ, On the development of Greek intonation, (*Language*, 8, pp. 200-210) denies any historical relation between the Greek and the Lithuanian circumflex. Cf. Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago, Illinois, p. 370.

<sup>21</sup> LESKIEN and BRUGMANN, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, p. 11. See H. HIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> *Beitr. zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 9, 402; cf. H. HIRT, *loc. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 39, 209; H. HIRT, *loc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. J. POIROT, Deux questions de phonétique française, *Mém de la soc. néophil.* à Helsingfors, 3, 14. Vide H. HIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

new syllable-accent has come. In Russian, the Lithuanian intonation *ar̃*, and *ár*, correspond to *óro*, and *oró*.

Under word-accent ought to be brought different factors which exist between the various syllables of the word. An investigation of this question is extremely difficult for want of adequate material. What we can ordinarily find out is, which syllable of a word carries the chief-tone, and this is most conveniently marked thus : ( ' ), as in *pitā́*.

The ancient Greek Grammarians attempted to designate as "grave", or deep, the tone of syllables which do not carry the chief-tone, as for instance *thêôddôrôs*. The Indians evolved different systems of marking the accents by which every or nearly every syllable receives an accent mark. But these various systems do not indicate to us which among the less-toned syllables comes up into relief, during utterance, stronger than the others. The longer the word is, the greater should be the difference between one unaccented syllable and another, for it is not at all conceivable that in a word like *katephronoúmetha*, all the syllables other than *ou*, were sounded alike.

In German words like *liebliche Gefilde*, the final *e* is slightly more accented than the *lich*. The tone of the latter syllable is called by the German scholars the *Nebentone*, and it may be marked thus : ( ` ), as *è*. Sometimes in a compound word like *Bürgermeister* the first member carries the chief-tone, and at other times the second member : thus we get both *Bürgermeister* as well as *Bürgermeister*. When an original *Nebentone* becomes the chief-tone, then it is called the *Gegentone*. In such cases very often the chief-tone becomes the *Nebentone*. If we take a German phrase like *die bürgermeisterlichen Funktionen*, we see that the syllable *meis* is more accented than *lich* but less than the syllable *bürg*. These three can be represented by the signs ' , ` , and ` ; and the phrase might be accented thus : *die bürgermeisterlichen Fúnktiónen*. Doubtless many shiftings of tone are to be explained by the presence of the *Gegentone*.

It is generally assumed that Latin had the chief-tone on the first syllable of a word before the operation of the tri-syllabic law.<sup>27</sup> Probably the older

<sup>25</sup> Vide H. HIRT, *op cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Vide H. HIRT, *op cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> "With regard to the accent of words in Greek there is the rule of three syllables which besides Greek, exists only in Latin, only one of the three of the last syllables of a word is accented." Anatol F. SEMENOV, *The Greek Language in its Evolution*, Lond., pp. 27-28. "The historical Latin accent resembled Greek in that it could stand farther back than the third syllable from the end of the word. Hence one speaks of the 'three-syllable law,' governing both. But beyond this general restriction the resemblance ceases. In Latin it was the quantity of the penult which determined the position within these limits. The Latin accent was regularly recessive while in Greek it was recessive in the verb but not necessarily so in other forms. This would naturally result from a preceding system of initial accent replacing an Indo-European accent on the ultima which might otherwise have survived within the three-syllable law and did survive in Greek" (*podós*, *patêr*, etc.). Vide Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, pp. 165 f., sec. 222.

chief-tone after the introduction of the peculiar Latin intonation, has remained as a Gegentone.

This appeared on the first syllable of the Latin word in Romance languages, while the unaccented middle syllables disappeared. Thus Latin *mānsiōnāticum* became in French *maisnage*, *ménage*.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the Latin and Greek tone developed a Gegentone on the second or the third syllable from the last.

We determine whether the accent of a language is predominantly expiratory, or musical through the examination of the chief-tone. Among the Indo-European languages ancient Greek and Old Indian as well as modern Italian and Serbian possess a predominantly musical accent. The present day German, at least according to the North German pronunciation, as well as English and Old Swedish have a predominantly expiratory accent.

In languages with a predominantly expiratory accent, the unaccented syllables are strongly suppressed, so that they usually disappear completely. In languages with a musical accent, the gradation of loudness is far more narrow. Thus the difference between the French *exposition* and English *exposition*, is clearly audible. Even though Czechish like German, carries the chief-tone on the first syllable, still the Nebentones in the former are much stronger than in the latter. We often lose sight of the fact that there are essential differences among the syllables which do not possess the chief-tone.

Generally among two unaccented vowels, the weaker one disappears and in this matter, languages with expiratory accent afford immense material. This phenomenon is observable even in languages where the musical accent predominates. If a word becomes fully enclitic, then the otherwise usual chief-toned syllable of the word becomes a nebentoned syllable, and the unaccented syllable which follows this disappears. Thus for instance from Serbian *dobrò jutro* 'good morning' we get *dobròitro*.<sup>29</sup> The tone of the syllable following the chief-toned syllable is also important, besides the nebentone; in Old Indian such a tone is called *svarita*. The systematic marking of it indicates that during utterance, this tone must have been distinctly heard. Such a *svarita* is found in modern languages too; for instance in one of the German dialects, Hessian, we find *némme*.<sup>30</sup> We have already seen that in Serbian there is quite an important difference between nominative *dŭša* and accusative *dŭšu* 'soul'.<sup>31</sup> In the former, the second syllable lies at a higher pitch than the first syllable and it has also a somewhat noticeable loudness. Therefore the first syllable must have a rising tone, in order to reach the higher pitch of the second. In the latter, the vowel of the second syllable lies deep and its loudness is so small that the vowel in many cases gets completely lost. In any case, the loss of the vowel brings about a kind of falling tone. Not

<sup>28</sup> Cf. THURNEYSSEN, *Revue celt.*, 6, 313; H. HIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> H. HIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 18,

<sup>30</sup> H. HIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> See p. 185 above.

only in the more important Indo-European languages there is noticeable a shifting of the chief-tone, but it is found in minor languages also. Thus we observe this phenomenon in Greek, Baltic and Celtic. When we speak about the chief-tone we distinguish free accentuation from restricted accentuation. The position of the chief-tone is restricted if it always lies on a fixed syllable. In Germanic, Czechish and Serbian for instance, it lies generally on the first syllable of a word and in Polish it lies on the penultimate. Sometimes, this restriction depends upon the quantity of one or more syllables. Thus in Latin the accent is on the third syllable from the last, if the penultimate is short and on the penultimate if that is long. In Greek dialects, the position of the chief-tone of a word is partially restricted in that the chief-tone is allowed to appear within the last three syllables and thus any one of the last two syllables can be accented. In Old Indian as well as in Slavonian dialects, in Serbian and Russian, Bulgarian and Lithuanian we have a free accentuation. This was the state of affairs in German also for a very long time until it was replaced by the new accent on the first syllable.

What we are mainly concerned with when we talk of sentence-accent is the task of determining the word which is more strongly accented than others in the sentence. We have to focus all our attention for achieving this, to modern languages and above all to the accent of compounds. It looks as though it were a hopeless task to re-discover the sentence-accent of the ancient languages like the Old Indian or the pre-Vedic and more especially that of the primitive Indo-European speech. Anyhow we must address ourselves diligently to this task irrespective of the results our investigations lead us to.

Investigations into the nature of the accent of Indo-European languages by European Scholars commenced with Otto BÖHTLINGK who published his book in 1843-44, about the accent in Sanskrit,<sup>32</sup> BENFEY<sup>33</sup> reviewing this work pointed out the great importance of the comparative study of accent of Greek and Indian. He believed and after him L. BENLOEW, that accent originally never rested on the stem-syllable but on that element which modified the meaning of the root (cf. *De l'accentuation dans les langues indo-européennes tant anciennes que modernes*, Paris, 1847). According to L. BENLOEW, the Indo-European accent consisted in a musical rising of the voice. In every non-monosyllabic word, some one syllable must necessarily be uttered at a pitch musically higher than the rest of the syllables. According to him this was chronologically the last defining element in the word (le dernier déterminant), for instance, the augment in an augment-tense, the genitive ending in a noun in the genitive, and the preposition when a word is compounded with a preposition. BENFEY,<sup>34</sup> took this principle as a speciality. This theory based

<sup>32</sup> *Mémoires der Petrsburger Akademie*, 6th series, Vol. 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Halleschen allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, May 1845, see also BENFEY, *Kleinschriften*, I, 64 ff.; *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1846, p. 842; *Kl. sprachwiss. Schr.*, 2, 69.

<sup>34</sup> *Kl. sprachwiss. Schr.*, I, 112.

on a large number of accurate observations was an important one in Indo-European linguistics as a first attempt to find out a general principle of accentuation. After BENLOEW's book the next important publication is that of BOPP.<sup>35</sup> He propounded a new theory calling it the theory of accentuation of greatest dignity and force. "I believe," he said "that the principle underlying the Sanskrit accent (and the principle that should have governed the primitive Indo-European accent) is that of the farthest retraction of the accent, which is the accentuation of greatest dignity and force, and the same principle held good in Greek also. But here, subsequent to ramification from the parent Indo-European speech, a new change had come over, by which the accent should not be pushed back farther than the third syllable from the last in Greek and a long final syllable dragged the accent to the penultimate."<sup>36</sup>

This theory of BOPP, like many other theories of that great scholar, is now thrown overboard, as one based on a hasty generalisation.<sup>37</sup> BOPP no doubt took into account a large number of instances in which the Greek accent was in entire agreement with the Indian. He further took upon himself the task of tracing out whether it was the Sanskrit accent or Greek accent that deviated from the accent of the primitive Indo-European speech.

"I am driven to the conclusion," says he, "that in most cases where it was felt necessary to shift the primitive Indo-European accent in Greek, because the words were polysyllabic, or the final syllable was long, it was in Sanskrit that disturbances occurred."<sup>38</sup>

Exactly the opposite view is held to-day by all students of linguistic science. It has been established that the Indian has retained the primitive Indo-European chief-tone. But in the very nature of things, BOPP could not have then arrived at this conclusion, for he did not make use of another *reliable* Indo-European language, by comparing whose accent-system with that of Greek and that of Sanskrit one could easily decide where exactly the original accent of the primitive Indo-European lay.

With the discovery in 1877<sup>39</sup> by Karl VERNER, of the famous law known by his name, a new epoch in the history of linguistic science began. He clearly demonstrated that from the Germanic languages also, the original Indo-European chief-tone could be determined and in all essentials, on the problem of the position of the chief-tone, the evidence furnished by the Germanic languages was on a par with that furnished by the Indian.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Vergleichendes Accentuationssystem nebst einer gedrangten Darstellung der grammatischen Uebereinstimmungen des Sanskrit und Griechischen*, Berlin, 1854.

<sup>36</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 16; M. BLOOMFIELD. *AJP*. Vol. IV, 1888, pp. 31-36. W. D. WHITNEY, *JAOS.*, 5, 1856, p. 205.

<sup>37</sup> H. HIRT, *Der Akzent*, p. 22.

<sup>38</sup> BOPP, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

<sup>39</sup> Karl VERNER: Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung, *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, 23, pp. 97-130.

<sup>40</sup> "The Sanskrit accent, which agrees with that to be inferred from certain consonant changes in Germanic (VERNER's law), is in the main the inherited I-E. accent," Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Sec. 217,

For the first time it was shown by VERNER that the exact position of the chief-tone could be proved with certainty, and its influence on the vowel change in Indo-European languages could also be shown.

Even at that time, it was a matter of common knowledge that most of the Indo-European languages did not retain the old-accentuation; therefore necessarily Indo-European linguists applied diligently to the task of investigating the accent of the Lithu-Slavonian family, which exhibited a free accentuation that could be compared and identified with that of the Vedic Sanskrit in spite of many deviations (*AJP*, IV, 1883, p. 29, fn. 1). VERNER was a great Slavonic scholar and hence in his famous article we find him giving a large number of instances from Slavonic languages. Yet the example that Karl VERNER set up, has not been adequately followed. Even great Slavonic scholars have not yet been able to give us any real accent-theory of the Slavonic language.

FORTUNATOV<sup>41</sup> published a very weighty discovery, but he had to hold back his discovery, for his attempts met with very little encouragement. In the years that followed the publication of VERNER's paper, a large number of small works devoting to some isolated problems concerning the Indo-European accent had appeared, but no systematic attempt had been made to present a complete picture of the Indo-European accent as such. Strongly convinced of the high importance of the Slavonic accent through the proofs that LESKIEN<sup>42</sup> furnished, H. HIRT published his handbook in 1895.<sup>43</sup> He utilized, to the fullest advantage, his knowledge of the Lithu-Slavonian accent. The treatment of this occupied the greatest space in his book, and the question of the other Indo-European languages, naturally received a secondary importance. In this connection it is necessary to mention that VONDRÁK gives

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p. 162. Karl VERNER in his explanation of the German accent and its influence upon the mute consonants, starts with this statement "The Indo-European accent was in its nature chromatic (i.e. musical), and, in its use, of unlimited freedom of position," *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, 23, p. 128; *AJP.*, 4, 35. Cf. J. SCHRIJNEN (*MSL.*, 23, p. 69) "on attribue généralement la conservation (car l'accent exerçait ici une action préservatrice) de la fricative sourde à l'action de l'accent musical libre devenu en germanique commun accent dynamique libre, et reposant sur la syllabe précédant la fricative en question". VERNER himself has formulated this explanation in the following manner (*KZ.*, 23, p. 116). "Der verstärkte Luftstrom in der akzentuierten Silbe die tonlose Explosiva tonlos erhalten." Again "Que l'accent indo-européen musical libre se soit changé sur le sol germanique en accent énergétique libre, je suis d'accord; qu'un souffle renforcé peut avoir exercé une action considérable sur la conservation de la fricative, j'en suis convaincu. Mais alors il faudrait couper les formes comme suit *brōb-ár, fađár*, ce qui serait anormal," (J. SCHRIJNE, *ibid.*, p. 69); cf. also A. DE GROOT, *BSL*, XXVII, 1927, pp. 24 ff; Holger PEDERSEN, *KZ.*, 39, 1906, p. 244, Karl VERNER proceeds to explain the exceptions to Grimm's Law by the assumption that the accent became an accent of stress (expiratory), in primitive Germanic, or possibly a combination of musical and stress accent.

<sup>41</sup> *Archiv. f. slav. Phil.*, IV, 586.

<sup>42</sup> Vide H. HIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> H. HIRT, *Der indogermanische Akzent*, Strassburg, 1895.



an exhaustive treatment of the question of the Slavonic accent in his well-known book.<sup>44</sup> MIKKOLA,<sup>45</sup> too, does the same.

The problem of reconstructing the Indo-European accent is comparatively more difficult than merely reconstructing the primitive Indo-European speech. For the purpose of the latter, all available evidence from the various Indo-European languages can be used. But the accent of all the languages has so much deviated from the primitive Indo-European accent that it is indeed difficult to re-construct the latter by means of the former. Our acquaintance with the problem of Indo-European accent is much more slender than our acquaintance with many other problems in Indo-European phonology or morphology. When writing first began, only symbols were first used to represent the sounds of most of the languages and the position of the accent was generally not marked. So we are compelled to pay greater attention to such of the few languages like Old Indian, where the accent mark appears in historical times.

#### MATERIAL FOR RECONSTRUCTING THE INDO-EUROPEAN ACCENT.

Strictly speaking, we can talk of the accent of the living languages. If there are a few scientific presentations of the living Indo-European languages, still fewer are the treatises which are devoted to the problem of accent in them. But an exception should be made from this generalisation. Lithuanian accent and the accent of the Serbo-Croatian among the Slavonic dialects are adequately investigated and these serve as a valuable aids for reconstructing the primitive Indo-European accent.

Modern Greek also still preserves the Old Greek accent, but much attention is not paid to it. Since, however, the ancient accented Greek texts are accessible to us, the accent of Modern Greek cannot be of any special service for the purpose of reconstructing the accent of the primitive Indo-European.

Therefore our sources for the knowledge of the position and character of the accent in ancient Indo-European languages which have come down to us in writing are:<sup>46</sup> (1) the statements of Sanskrit, Greek and Roman grammarians; (2) the texts in which accents are marked in the manuscripts which we have for the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* of Sanskrit, for Greek and for Old High German. In Greek the Byzantine texts have been handed down with accent. The papyri show that, even earlier, accent was marked in writing. (3) Phonetic phenomena caused by the accent, such as the peculiar development of the unaccented syllables in Latin, Old Irish and in Germanic and other dialects; VERNER'S law dealing with the development of the voiceless

<sup>44</sup> VONDRÁK *Verleichende slavische Grammatik*, I, p. 217.

<sup>45</sup> MIKKOLA, *Urslawische Grammatik*.

<sup>46</sup> BRUGMANN, *Comparative Grammar* (English Translation), Vol. I, Sec. 688, p. 530.

stops in Germanic<sup>47</sup>, the reduction of the unaccented vowels in Modern Greek, etc. and (4) matrical phenomena, including word-accent of poetry in Late Latin, Old Germanic etc. are two other sources.

Languages with a predominantly musical accent can ignore the tone of the word in the construction of a verse. In the case of languages with an expiratory accent, it is not so. In Greek, as in Serbian, the verse-ictus, as well as word-ictus do not fall together. In Latin, there is a difference in hexameter word-ictus and verse-ictus at the end.<sup>48</sup>

In spite of all these sources, our knowledge of the Indo-European accent is always meagre. The earlier we go back in the history of any Indo-European language, the less we know of its accent.

#### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PRIMITIVE INDÒ-EUROPEAN ACCENT.

A few of the Indo-European languages like Latin, the Celtic dialects, Armenian, Germanic, Lettish and West Slavonian dialects have a fixed tone. These do not help us greatly to reconstruct the Indo-European accent. Of more real value are the languages like Old Indian, Ancient Greek and Lithuanian, as well as a few of the Slavonian dialects. Of these the most important is Old Indian. Greek, in consequence of the fact that it has the free Indo-European chief-tone only within the last three syllables, is less in importance. The Lithuanian accentuation has been handed down to us only from very recent times. But, as we find in many problems of phonology and morphology, Lithuanian preserves here also many archaic features. We do not know the accent of Old Bulgarian. But the primitive Slavonian accent can be reconstructed from the accents of the Slavonian languages spoken to-day, and above all from the accents of Russian and Serbian.

Since these languages had a separate development, from one point of view the reconstruction of the primitive Slavonian accent is of even greater value than the evidence furnished by Lithuanian for the purpose of reconstructing the primitive Indo-European accent. The agreement between the accents of Russian, Serbian and other Slavonian languages is important in reconstructing the accent of the primitive Slavonian, which was much nearer in time to the accent of the primitive Indo-European than the accent of the Lithuanian speech.

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<sup>47</sup> Roland G. KENT, *The Sounds of Latin* (Language-Monographs published by the Linguistic Society of America) Supplement to *Language*, No. XII, September 1932; sec. 63, pp. 64-65 and sec. 82, II, p. 79.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, Accent and Ictus in the Latin Elegiac Distich, pp. 73-89 *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 54 (1924); Word-ends and Pauses in Hexameter, (pp. 289-308 *The American Journal of Philology*, 42, 1921); The Doctrine of Cæsura, *AJP.*, Vol. 45, 1924; E. H. STURTEVANT and Roland G. KENT, Elision and Hiatus in Latin Prose and Verse, *TAP.*, 46, 1915, pp. 129-55; Samuel E. BASSET. The Theory of the Homeric Cæsura according to the Extant Remains of the Ancient Doctrine, *AJP.*, 40, 1919, pp. 343-72.

But in course of time many things which the Slavonian lost Lithuanian continued to retain. Thus the syllable accent in the Slavonian, unlike that in Lithuanian, is not the direct descendant of the primitive Indo-European accent.<sup>49</sup>

We can determine the position of the chief accent through the differentiation of the sounds caused by the influence of accent. In all languages sound-laws, wherein the operation of accent plays an important rôle, are well known ; as for instance, it was found that the primitive Indo-European accent was responsible for the difference in treatment of the consonant *t* in English *brother*,<sup>50</sup> O. E. *foeder* and in the mss. of Chaucer *fader*<sup>51</sup>, *modar* through the marvellous discovery of VERNER, according to which in the primitive Indo-European, the voiceless spirants became voiced when the vowel immediately preceding them did not bear the principal accent of the word.

#### *Accent and Ablaut.*<sup>52</sup>

Even as we are able to determine the position and the nature of accent in the case of historical languages through sound-changes and the peculiarities of sounds in them, so also through the same means we are in a position to reconstruct the primitive Indo-European accent. Since KARL VERNER, nay, even from BENFEY, it has been known that the special vowel-changes in the primitive Indo-European speech, the so-called ablaut, were those changes which accompanied a shift of accent. H. HIRT<sup>53</sup> tried to show how far the Indo-European ablaut is dependent upon the accent. He clearly demonstrated that ablaut in many cases depends upon the chief-tone, but there are a few cases where it is not so. The latter, according to him<sup>54</sup> are analogical formations.

Indo-European ablaut can also be used for determining the Indo-European accent. H. HIRT<sup>55</sup> has differentiated various epochs of ablaut and proved that the general nature of the Indo-European accent has changed in course of time. At a time when the vowel is strongly reduced or allowed to disap-

<sup>49</sup> "Slavonic seems to present a development more recent than Lithuanian and therefore its testimony regarding intonations is hardly to be accepted as an independent one". KURYLOWICZ on the Development of the Greek Intonation, *Language*, 8, 1932, p. 200. Cf. KURYLOWICZ, Le problème des intonations balto-slaves, *Rocznik Slavistyczny*, 10, p. 1-80.

<sup>50</sup> Goth. *broþar*.

<sup>51</sup> Goth. *fadar* and Old Saxon *modar*, O. E. *modar*. Cf. Hermann COLLITZ, A. century of Grimm's Law, *Language*, II, 1926, pp. 176-178.

<sup>52</sup> See my paper, on Theories of Ablaut, *JORM.*, XII, 1938, pp. 278-287 ; pp. 321-326 ; XIII, 1939, pp. 93-98 ; pp. 312-315.

<sup>53</sup> H. HIRT *Der Indogermanische Ablaut, vornehmlich in seinem Verhältnis zur Betonung*, 1900. Also his *Der Akzent*, p. 28 and his *Idg. Gramm.*, Teil 2, under Der idg. Vokalismus, pp. 18-31.

<sup>54</sup> H. HIRT, Fragen des Vokalismus und der Stammbildung im Indo-germanischen, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 32, pp. 209-318.

<sup>55</sup> *Indogermanische Grammatik*, I, IV, and V, pp. 348-55, section 134, *Der Akzent*, p. 28.

pear, the accent prevalent should have been expiratory in character.<sup>56</sup> If at a subsequent period, this did not happen then it is clear that in that phase of the primitive Indo-European, there should have dominated a musical accent, as in ancient Greek, and Vedic Sanskrit.

In short, "the primitive Indo-European accent seems to have been characterised by *stress* in the earliest times, and later characterised by higher musical pitch; it was the main factor in producing the ablaut grades or variations of vowels, such as that in the root of *leipō*, *léloipa*, *élipon*."<sup>57</sup>

The weakening of the Indo-European vowel, the so-called quantitative ablaut or gradation, is found only in the un-accented syllables<sup>58</sup>; where we find a syllable in the so-called zero or reduction-grade, the syllable might have been un-accented. If this cannot be proved independently through other means, it may not be a genuine case of quantitative ablaut; but it may be an analogical formation or the accent may have had a secondary shift. The *Dehnstufe* (H. HIRT, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen*, I. Teil, 1931, p. 51), or the lengthened-grade usually appears only in accented syllables. Sometimes this grade is met with even in un-accented syllables and strangely enough we miss it at times where we ought to have it according to the general rule. All these vagaries must again be explained only on the basis of shifting of accent and analogy. Further, generally the qualitative ablaut or the shading off from *e* to *o* is traced back to the influence of accent. It can be shown that thereby it gives rise to a Gegen-tone.

Through the study of the phenomenon of ablaut, it has also become quite clear that the greatest influence of accent is always felt in the syllable next to that which bears the chief-tone. It is there that the zero-grade appears. So to a large extent, this fact can be effectively used not only to determine the position of the original accent but also to verify how far the accent, determined by other means, is original or not.

Doubtless, the accent of Greek and Sanskrit was one of pitch and vowel-weakening cannot be connected with a pitch accent. But as other independent evidence confirms the view that Sanskrit preserves the Indo-European position of accent and probably also the character of the accent in the latest

<sup>56</sup> Vide C. R. SANKARAN, Accentuation in Sanskrit determinative compounds. *JOR.*, Madras, Vol. 8, Part II, pp. 136-48.

<sup>57</sup> Roland G. KENT firmly believes that variations of accent were the chief factor in producing the ablaut grades. (*Sounds of Latin*, Sections 64 and 69-75). Cf. also WRIGHT, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*, Sec. 82, p. 50; also H. HIRT, *Handbuch des Germanischen*, I. Teil, 1931, p. 53.

<sup>58</sup> "E. Benveniste (*Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-Européen*, Paris, 1935) accepts without question MEILLET's well-known dictum that accent was not the cause of quantitative ablaut" E. H. STURTEVANT, *American Journal of Philology* Vol. LIX, 1938, p. 95. Cf. "There was a third grade difference of accent in proto-ethnic Indo-European, namely, between the present system and the strong or root-aorist. A well known example in Greek is: present *leipein*, aorist *lîpeîn*, which has the base \**le/o.ique/o.*" George Kingsley ZIPF, Relative Frequency as a determinant of Phonetic Change, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XL, 1929, p. 13.

Indo-European period, it is not improbable to assume that at a remoter period of the parent speech this accent was one of greater stress.<sup>59</sup> It cannot be reasonably denied, however, that there is a very extensive evidence of an original relation between gradation and accent. It ought not to be supposed that this relation is observable in all categories of forms and is kept intact. It is highly probable that many subsequent shifts took place even in the parent speech, so that a weak-grade might come to be accented or conversely.

The qualitative change of *e* to *o* and *ē* to *ō* is of obscure origin. More will be spoken about it subsequently. In certain Greek types like *phrēn* pl. *phrēnes*, but *áphrōn*, *áphrones*; *patēr*, *patēres*, but *apátōr*, *apátōres*; *doimēn* but *daímōn*; *rhētēr* but *rhētōr*—there seems to be a relation (which does not generally hold) between accent and vowel quality. The accent in this case, which is pitch here, may be only one of a variety of factors.

In final syllables, especially in the nominative singular of consonant stems, we find mainly, though not exclusively, the lengthened-grades. It is surmised that the lengthening (of *e* to *ē*, whence also *ō*) probably started as some kind of compensatory lengthening, but the more precise conditions are altogether obscure. It is but natural that the conditions and causes of vowel-gradation which was already an accomplished fact in the parent speech are involved in obscurity.

But the relation of the weak to the strong forms, one phase of vowel gradation, is reasonably clear. At a period of the parent speech, when the accent had a considerable element of stress, the normal grade was weakened in the syllable preceding the accent. In Sanskrit which preserves best the position of the Indo-European accent, as has been already observed, the relation between accent and gradation is most apparent: cf. present 1st person singular *émi* but 1st pl. *imás* (Greek *eimi*, *imen* with secondary accent), infinitive *étum* but perfect passive participle *itás* (H. HIRT, *Idg. Gram.*, VII, ii, 1937, p. vii) present *bódhāmi* but *tudāmi* (cf. Greek *leipōn*, *phéugōn* but *lipōn*, *phugōn* the old accent being preserved in participle and the infinitive) perfect 1st singular *vèda* but 1st pl. *vidmá* (Greek *oída*, *oídmen* with secondary accent).<sup>60</sup>

It ought to be remembered in this connection that certain sounds or sound-groups appear only in zero-grade. They are *a*, *i*, *u*, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*. If after the accent, we meet greatest fall of the vowel, then it is a case of final

<sup>59</sup> There are two main theories of *expiratory accent*, on purely physiological grounds. One is FORCHHAMMER's theory of *glottal accent* (E. PROKOSCH, Forchhammers Akzent theorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung, *J. Eng. Ger. Phil.*, XI, 1912, p. 2; O. JESPERSEN, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, section; 7. 3.). For the other theory of ROUSSELOT, see LOTSPEICH, Accent mixture and sound changes, *J. Eng. Ger. Phil.*, XVII, 1918, pp. 159—160. For a reconciliation of these two theories in various ways, see GINNEKEN, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, p. 292; O. JESPERSEN, *op. cit.*, 7.32, pp. 116 ff.; LOTSPEICH, *ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago Illinois, 1933, pp. 110-111, Sec. 122.

accent which in turn has developed from the penultimate—for instance  
 \*\**pēds* < \**pēdos*; \**patēr* < \**pātéro*.

The following are the main observations one can definitely make about the primitive Indo-European accent.

I. It was entirely free,<sup>61</sup> that is, it might stand at any distance from either end of a word. Compounds had primary and secondary accents.

II. The primitive Indo-European accent was either acute or circumflex, the circumflex developing chiefly by contraction of two syllables into one, or by loss of a following syllable. "A distinction of simple and compound accent, or of acute and circumflex, to adopt the familiar terms applied to Greek accent, existed in the parent speech, at least in final syllables. Cf. Greek *timē*, *timēs* with Lithuanian nominative *mergà*, genitive *mergòs*, or Greek *halôn*, *kalois* with Lithuanian *geri*, *gerù*, *gerais*. The Indo-European circumflex appears to have arisen in connection with certain proto-Indo-European processes of contraction and compensative lengthening, much as the Greek circumflex in part is connected with contraction in Greek (*treis* from *trées*)."<sup>62</sup> But KURYLOWICZ denies any historical relation between the Greek and Lithuanian circumflex.<sup>63</sup>

BEZZENBERGER in 1893,<sup>64</sup> compared systematically the flexional endings of Greek with those of Lithuanian. To him the difference between Lithuanian *algà* and *algòs* is genetically the same as the Greek difference between *alphē* and \**alphēs*. For generations, Indo-European linguistics has been influenced by this fundamental error of BEZZENBERGER until KURYLOWICZ pointed out that the possibility of such a comparison between Greek and Lithuanian is swamped by the recent results of investigation into Slavonian linguistics.<sup>65</sup> KURYLOWICZ pertinently asks that if *algòs*, *tòs*, correspond to Greek \**alphēs*, \**tēs*, then Lithuanian *ālgà*, *ā* should correspond to Greek \**alphēn* \**iēn*, which is not the case. If Lithuanian *algà* corresponds to Greek *alphē* the ancient locative (now adverb) *anksti* should correspond to Greek locatives in \*-*oi* instead of -*oi*. Again the final combination of vowel plus nasal is susceptible of intonation in Lithuanian, but not in Greek etc.<sup>66</sup> While

<sup>61</sup> H. HIRT, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, Vol. V, Heidelberg, 1929; Roland G. KENT, *Sounds of Latin*, Sec. 64.

<sup>62</sup> Vide Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Sec. 217, p. 161.

<sup>63</sup> KURYLOWICZ, On the Development of the Greek Intonation, *Language*, Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 202-210, see also footnote 20, above.

<sup>64</sup> BEZZENBERGER, Grammatische Bemerkungen, *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, Vol. VII, pp. 66-78.

<sup>65</sup> Jerzy KURYLOWICZ, Le problème des intonations balto-slaves, *Rocznik Slawistyczny* Vol. X, pp. 1-80; *Language*, Vol. VIII, p. 201.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. KURYLOWICZ, *Language*, Vol. VIII, p. 202. Cf. also: "under den von HIRT in seiner griechischen Grammatik gegebenen Belegen von Gr. Akut= Lith. Schleifton dürfen also nur dies Nominativformen, *alphē*, *poimēn patēr* etc. als sicher Beispiele für Gr. Akut=ursprünglicher Intonation A (Intonation A=Lat. *Acutus*) stehen bleiben", Sigurd AGRELL, *Intonation und Auslaut in Slavischen*, Upsala, 1913, p. 17.

free in position the proto-I.-E. accent had a fixed place and was of a particular kind in certain grammatical categories which are still often seen in Greek ; thus nom. *skēnē* 'tent', but genitive *skēnēs*; nom. *núx* 'night', but genitive *nuktós*, nom. *Zeús* but voc. *Zeû*.

III. It produced enclisis, a condition in which a word had no accent of its own, but was pronounced without a break with preceding words. Such are many Indo-European words: (a) many pronouns such *mou*, *moi*, *me*; (b) many particles such as Greek *te* Latin *que*, Sanskrit *ca*; (c) nouns after a preceding limiting genitive, adjective, or adverb, as Latin *decém-virī*, *hó-die* and the similar Greek compounds *Diós-kouroi*, *hupérmoron* 'beyond fate', *sún-thetos* 'compounded'; (d) vocatives unless initial in the sentence; (e) Finite verbs, unless initial in the sentence.

## SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

*By*

N. D. NAGARVALA

In the course of my studies on the Later Mughals, I came across many times the expression "survival of the fittest", which I know as a general saying from the very beginning, yet I did not realise, its proper implication in the light of history. Especially, whenever the question of accession to the throne arose and some one occupied the throne after a struggle, the historians justified his accession to the throne by saying, "the fittest survives to ascend the throne".

When I requested my professor, Dr. A. Chaghatai of our Institute, to throw some light on the fact, particularly from the Muslim view of succession, he was kind enough to lead me to the basic idea, which I think every student of history should remember. Keeping this particular point of view in mind, I summarise the main points below for general information, although a long monograph might be written about it.

This practice of struggle and bloodshed over the question of obtaining the throne, and the "survival of the fittest" as a consequence, was usually the rule even among the ancients. It will be sufficient to illustrate it by citing only one instance of that most renowned Iranian monarch Beherām Gor, who is well-known for his hunting the wild ass (*gor*), as narrated by poets. The historians have recorded that upon the death of Yezdigird I, the nobles wanted neither Beherām nor Shāhpūr, sons of Yezdigird, to occupy the throne. The nobles thought that Khusrav another scion of the royal house was the proper person to ascend the throne. In order to settle the question of accession it was decided to place the crown and the throne between two raging lions, and the claimants were required to go past these lions and take up the crown. He who succeeded was to be proclaimed the king. Khusrav, who was the choice of the nobles, declined to make the attempt, but Beherām, with the courage which was so conspicuous throughout his life, marched fearlessly upto the throne, took possession of it and became king in 420 A.D. This trial proved Beherām to be "the fittest" in all the respects.

Islām lays down that all the male issues take equal shares in whatever they inherit from their father. This means the first-born son gets no better title to the estate than the rest who are born after him. On the other hand this principle of the "survival of the fittest" helps to remove the weak and the incapable, for, if they fail to take care of the power inherited by them, and allow their own rights to pass into the hands of outsiders, they succumb to their own weakness.

This principle of "survival of the fittest" became more definite with



the Musalmāns, and was made a regular practice in course of time. They have based this particular expression of this practice on the Arabic saying : الملك عقيم which to some extent is based on the principle of the law of inheritance among Muslims. Translated literally it means *The Dominion has no heir*.<sup>1</sup> Edward William Lane, one of the greatest lexicographers, keeping in view the political significance of this saying, has rightly explained it, on the authority of various lexicons. He says, "Dominion is a condition in which, or in the seeking of which, relationship profits not, nor friendship ; for a man will slay his son and his father for dominion, if he fears him, or in seeking it father will be slain, and the son and the brother and the paternal uncle, or because in it the ties of relationship are severed by slaughter and by undutiful conduct."<sup>2</sup>

We are glad to find that several historians have already applied this same expression in its real spirit when describing many such incidents. We may quote here just one from Mullā 'Abdu'l Qādir Badā'ūni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*.<sup>3</sup> He has, on the same principle, quoted this Arabic proverb in reference to Islām Shāh, son of Shēr Shāh Sūr who captured the throne after his father. He says, "In the end fortune did not favour him, and the first thing that Islām Shāh did after ascending the royal throne was, that out of all the heirs to the kingdom he erased the name of that unfortunate boy from the page of existence in accordance with the saying 'Kingdom is barren' and whatever treatment he meted out to them, vindictive time treated his descendants in the same way.

'If thou hast done evil, thou shalt not remain secure from calamity, For nature pays thee back in thine own coin.'

Further we find in the *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīr*,<sup>4</sup> a long testament addressed by the Emperor 'Ālamgīr to his eldest son in the form of a letter. The contents of this testament are based on personal experiences and the hardships of his own life. Moreover, 'Ālamgīr had proved himself the fittest Emperor of India, for the Mughal empire reached its zenith under him.

In the course of that testament, he expressly quotes the same Arabic saying الملك عقيم, with the same meaning as expressed above, that the dominion has no heir and that the fittest person should succeed to the throne after his departure from the world. 'Ālamgīr intended that the particular son addressed should make himself the fittest in order to survive and to succeed.

<sup>1</sup> Literally "the dominion is barren".

<sup>2</sup> The works, quoted by E. W. Lane in his *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Book I, Pt. V, 2117) to support his explanation under word *aqm*, are : *Asās* of az-Zama-khshari, *Tahdhīb Tāj-ul-'Urūs*, *Qāmūs*, *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *Tha'lab's Faṣīḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> I am also indebted to my friend Mr. M. A. Shirazi for kindly supplying me with the correct rendering of al-Badā'ūni into English, because the translation of *Parking* is not very clear on this point. Text, Vol. I, pp. 367-8, and Translation, Vol. I, p. 477.

<sup>4</sup> *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīr* (edited by Sir J. N. Sarkar, 2nd Edition, Calcutta, 1926, p. 16.)

The original words of the 11th item of the testament run thus :

بازدهم آنکه - بر پسران هرگز اعتماد نکند و طور مصاحبت در زندگی ننماید -  
که اگر اعلیٰ حضرت با دارا شکوه سلوک نمیکردند کار باینجا نمی رسید و کلمه الملك عقیم  
مد نظر باید داشت

“Eleventh—Trust not your sons and treat them not in a very intimate and friendly manner ; for if His Majesty had not treated Dārā Shukōh in this way, things would never have come to such a pass. The saying ‘*the dominion has no heir,*’ must always be kept before your eyes.”

We think that Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has been entirely mistaken in his translation. He translates the same passage from the testament of Ālamgīr thus :

“Never trust your sons, nor treat them during your lifetime in an intimate manner, because, if the emperor Shāh Jehān had not treated Dārā Shukoh in this manner his affairs would not have come to such a sorry pass. Ever keep in view the saying, ‘The word of a King is barren.’”

In his translation of *Ahkām-i-‘Ālamgīrī*,<sup>5</sup> Sir Jadu Nath translates the above lines not only wrong, but his translation conveys absolutely the reverse of what is actually meant. He translates, “The words of a king are barren.” He translates کلمه as “words” and connects it with the phrase الملك عقیم. But کلمه here does *not* mean “words”; it means a “proverb” or a “saying” which is quoted immediately in the original Arabic الملك عقیم the translation of which should have been put into inverted commas.

الملك عقیم is an Arabic proverb, the Persian rendering of which is ملک نازلند. است i.e. “dominion (or power) is barren.” Very often a man kills his brothers or sons for the sake of attaining a kingdom, hence it is said that dominion is barren or it yields no sons.

If we carefully weigh the gist of the great ‘Ālamgīr’s advice, we come to the conclusion that the main idea behind his testament was to preserve the Mughal supremacy in India and to ensure that the person who occupied the throne after his own death should be best suited to be the emperor. Therefore he named none to be his successor, but merely quoted the proverb “*dominion has no heir,*” implying that the one who was the fittest should survive and become the emperor.

<sup>5</sup> *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, (Calcutta 1912), p. 55.

## MISCELLANEA

### A 17TH CENTURY BOMB-PROOF SHELTER IN INDIA

By

ERIN N. NAGARVALA

In the course of my research work on "the Origin of French Rule in India" at the Deccan College Research Institute I have come across some interesting problems. Recently, on the front page of *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, of the 18th August, 1940, I saw a full page picture of St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George, Madras, with the following note from the editor :

"St. Mary's Church<sup>1</sup> in Fort St. George (perhaps the oldest Protestant Church in India) has bomb-proof roof—at least it is 17th century bomb-proof, if not 1940. In 1746, when the French were besieging the Fort, this roof gave protection to the families of British defenders. During the short period of the French occupation of the Fort, and during the wars with Tipu,<sup>2</sup> it covered military stores, the Church being temporarily converted to that use."

This note attracted my attention and interest and I propose to discuss it briefly here.

In the beginning of 1746 it was already known at Madras that a French squadron under M. La Bourdonnais was preparing at Mauritius, with designs against the English settlements in India.<sup>3</sup> In June the squadron appeared off Madras and met the English squadron under the command of Capt. Edward Peyton.

Though the English were inferior in number of ships and men, they were the better sailors and more heavily armed. But Peyton thought his opponents too strong and after an indecisive action on the 5th of June, he sailed off to Trincomali.

La Bourdonnais proceeded to Pondicherry and unfolded to Dupleix, the French Governor, his plan for capturing Fort St. George. To clear the way for this La Bourdonnais set out again in search of Peyton, and found him off Nagapatam. For three days La Bourdonnais tried to drag Peyton into action, but in vain. Peyton passed Madras without offering opposition and sailed away to Bengal, leaving the English in Madras in a state of consternation bordering on despair.

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<sup>1</sup> The need for a Protestant Church in Madras was felt as early as 1662. Before the end of Thomas Chambers's term of office as Governor of Madras, which he held from January 1659 to 1662, the Company invited one of their servants, to set forth any complaints or inconveniences of administration he had come across at Fort St. George. In his report this man pointed out the inconvenience caused by the absence of a Protestant Church with a regular cemetery, while the Catholics already had one in the heart of the town.

The subscription for a church were raised in 1677, during the governorship of Streynsham Master, as the tiny chapel in the inner fort proved inadequate for the steadily increasing Protestant population.

The foundation of the church was laid on the 1st of April, 1678, and it was decided to call it St. Mary's, as the work was begun on Lady Day. It was furnished with a vaulted bomb-proof roof. The church was completed and opened for service two years and a half later. There is no older masonry structure in Fort St. George than St. Mary's; and the fabric is as sound to-day as when it was built. (*Vestiges of Old Madras*, Indian Records Series, Vol. I, p. 424.)

<sup>2</sup> As to the second bombardment during the wars with Tipu, I leave it out at present, but hope to deal with it later.

<sup>3</sup> Wheeler, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 385.

La Bourdonnais resolved to make a swift descent on Madras and to capture it before the return of the English squadron. He left Pondicherry on the 12th September, 1746, with his squadron and reached Madras on the 15th of September.<sup>4</sup> The first three days were spent in disembarkation and landing of stores, armament and men. After making a reconnaissance and suitable sites having been decided upon, batteries of several mortars were constructed in the west and the south.

On the 18th,<sup>5</sup> early in the morning, the French commenced the bombardment of the White Town, from their land batteries erected to the westward. At dusk, the *Achille*, *Phœnix*, and *Bourbon* the three vessels of La Bourdonnais' squadron, possessing the strongest armament took up their positions opposite the Fort and cannonaded it from the sea.

The firing continued throughout the 19th without intermission. It was concentrated on the Fort Square, into which shells were dropped with great precision and the fires thus started had a very demoralizing effect, not only on the civil population, but on the undisciplined garrison as well.<sup>6</sup>

The firing continued from the west and the south for two days and a night, and in the evening of the 19th a letter was received from Mrs. Barneval—a daughter of Mme. Duplex, who had married an Englishman in Madras—offering, on behalf of Governor Morse, to treat. On La Bourdonnais' consent to such a course, the firing ceased on the morning of the 20th, to allow the English deputies to present themselves, with their proposals of peace. On their departure for further instructions, the bombardment recommenced, with an agreement to cease fire between three and eight o'clock. But as no one had arrived during that time from the English side, La Bourdonnais re-opened fire at eight o'clock. It was maintained throughout that night both from land and sea.

The bombardment finally ceased on the 21st morning, when the English deputies came accredited with full powers to arrange the terms of capitulation, and Madras capitulated on the terms dictated by the French.

It was during the days of this bombardment that the English women and children had taken refuge and protection under the bomb-proof roof of St. Mary's Church. And the French during their occupation of Madras, expecting a siege and a bombardment from the English in return, used the church for storing ammunition and made reservoirs in it, for keeping fresh drinking water.

The bomb-proof roof had proved so effective a protection that "during the whole time of the Siege, the English with their wives, children and servants had no other Azilum than our Church, which is vaulted. There they ate, drank and lay and every one acted in the same manner as if they had been at home; for the French bombs that fell thereon had not broke through."<sup>7</sup>

We do not know if the roof of St. Mary's is as effectively bomb-proof to-day as it was in 1746, but we earnestly hope that no occasion arises to test it.

<sup>4</sup> Ananda Ranga PILLAI, *Private Diary*, Vol. II, p. 299. There is a disagreement about the date of La Bourdonnais' arrival and the capitulation of Madras in the works of different authors. David Leighton in his *Vicissitudes of Fort St. George*, p. 60; *Indian Record Series*, Vol. II, p. 354; *Histoire des Guerres des Indes*, p. 128; and Talboys Wheeler in his *History of Madras*, p. 386 give the date of La Bourdonnais' arrival as the 3rd of September, 1746, and the 10th of September, 1746, as the date of the capitulation of Madras. I am, however, inclined to accept the 15th September as the date of arrival and the 21st as the date of capitulation as given by Malleison in his *History of the French in India*, pp. 145, 147. This is supported by the *Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, (quoted above) and also by the *Memoires de La Bourdonnais*, pp. 69, 75; *La puissance militaire des Anglais dans les Indes*, p. 76 and Henry Weber, *La Campagne Française des Indes*, p. 357.

<sup>5</sup> Malleison, *History of the French in India*, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> Coles' account in *Indian Records Series*, Vol. II, p. 357.

<sup>7</sup> An extract from a letter of Fathers Severini and Bernard to the Company. *Indian Records Series*, Vol. II, p. 425.

## SOME ETHNO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES IN DRAVIDIAN

By

C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI.

In a recent paper, UHLENBECK<sup>1</sup> discusses certain special agreements between the Wiyot and the Yurok. He says that these features are purely of an ethno-psychological kind, whose parallels might eventually be traced in wholly unconnected families of languages spoken in other parts of the world. By the term "Ethno-psychological features" are meant certain phonological, morphological and syntactical parallelisms between entirely unrelated families of human languages. These features have an ethnological and psychological significance.<sup>1a</sup> An exhaustive study of these features may perhaps ultimately lead to a correct understanding of some of the fundamental psychological laws governing human speech. Here, in this paper, we propose merely to indicate some of these ethno-psychological features with special reference to two Dravidian languages—viz., Tamil and Kannaḍa. It is hoped that we will be able to discuss this problem more fully and at greater length, sometime in the future, with reference to all the Dravidian languages.

A study of ethno-psychological features of human languages might perhaps affect radically the fundamental assumptions, like the old concepts of 'borrowing' and 'primeval relationship' of the neo-grammarians. Under the powerful influence of Hugo SCHUCHARDT and Franz BOAS, scholars like UHLENBECK<sup>2</sup> have already come to the conclusion that 'primeval relationship' and 'borrowing' are not entirely two different concepts. In the present state of our knowledge, our belief about the study of the ethno-psychological features, to which we give expression here, can be only stated in the form of a prediction.

The following are some ethno-psychological features with special reference to Kannaḍa and Tamil :—

- (i) Compositional stringing of verbal modifications standing grammatically in one line<sup>2a</sup> :—

*vaṇḍu eydi* (Tam.), 'coming attaining' (literally)<sup>3</sup>.

Kan. *Baralā nṛpālakam sōdararverasi muni |*  
*varana pādakeṭagidoḍe maṇidetti bōlasi |*  
*parasi mantrākṣaṭiyanittu satkāramam koṇḍu*  
*kuḷḷirḍa baḷika* (Jaimini, 2, 14).

'When he (i.e. Vyāsa) came, the king having informed his brothers and bowed down at the feet of the sage, (the latter) *taking* the (king's) forehead up, *placing* his hands gently over it, *blessing*, *throwing* the coloured rice, *being welcomed*, *sitting down* afterwards'.<sup>3a</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. C. UHLENBECK, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, Deel 2, No. 3, p. 48.

<sup>1a</sup> Indeed these features require a deeper explanation than any which would confine itself to merely grammatical relations. Cf. MALINOWSKI, Supplement I to OGDEN and RICHARDS, *Meaning of Meaning*, p. 302, London, Kegan Paul, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. UHLENBECK, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, 1937, p. 390. Vide also C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 391.

<sup>2a</sup> We hope to publish shortly a paper on a study of this phenomenon alone with reference to all the Dravidian languages.

<sup>3</sup> *Tiruvācagam*, I, 21.

<sup>3a</sup> The English translations given here of the Kannaḍa speech-forms illustrating the phenomenon of compositional stringing of verbal modifications standing grammatically in one line, are too literal. They are given so only to give a fairly correct idea of the phenomenon in question in Kannaḍa. As this phenomenon is quite alien to English tongue, a compromise between a too 'literal' and a 'free' trans-

Bāda-  
rāyaṇam gahagahisi nagute nuḍi nuḍi matte nuḍiyemuttintendānu  
(Jaimini, 2, 21.)

"Bādarāyaṇa said saying "speak, speak and speak".

ava |  
lākuśaṅgaḷagaṇindangiyam tandalavaḍisi parasi biḷkoḷḷaḷu ||  
(Jaimini, 20, 22.)

"She (i.e. Sita) sent him having brought the dress from inside and having dressed him and blessed him".

koy koyyendu koydam, "he cut having said 'cut, cut'"; bā bāyenulta bandam, "he came, saying 'come, come'"; unḍunḍu pōdam, "he went, having eaten and eaten"; noḍi noḍi nakkam, "he laughed having seen and seen."<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Compounding with the finite verb of the elements denoting the limbs of the body and other nominal ideas :—

Nimma prasāḍakkallade bāy-dereyenayya, which means "I do not pray (literally 'I do not open my mouth') for anything except for your grace."<sup>5</sup>

Colloquial phrases like, tale-koḍu, kai-tōrisu etc., mean "to share the responsibility" (literally 'head-give') and "to give a good fight" (literally 'hand-show').

Cf. also Tam. kai-tūkkū, (literally 'hand-raise'), "to lift up a person from distress, to save from ruin" etc.; similarly kaṇ-kāṭṭu means (literally 'eye-show') "to guide with supreme love."<sup>6a</sup>

(iii) Jingle Formation :—

S. M. KATRE<sup>6</sup> has pointed out that in Prakṛts we find jingle words where only one part of the reduplicative has any significance and the other a rhyming, echoing or jingle element. The same thing we find also in Kannaḍa and Tamil.

Kan. Nārāyaṇanembavāna kāṇe, Girāyaṇanembavāna kāṇe which means "I do not see that one called Nārāyaṇa; I do not see that one called Girāyaṇa."<sup>7</sup> In colloquial language we find a large number of these, such as mani-gini 'house', hola-gila 'field', tali-gili 'head', ūḷa-giḷa 'meals', ūrige-girige 'to the city' etc. In Tam. we have puli-kili 'tiger' etc.

(iv) Functional syncretism :—

NĀGAVARMA<sup>8</sup> and KĒSIRĀJA<sup>9</sup> give many instances under the sūtras in which they have discussed this phenomenon of case-variation.

Gen. for Nom. niṣyankeyim nṛpaṇa pēḷe, (for nṛpam pēḷe) 'the king told without doubt'; bandanā bhūpaṇa (for bandanā bhūpam), 'The king came'.

Gen. for Acc. yelavo, ninenna konday (for ennam konday), "Oh, you killed me (lit. 'of me')".

lation seems to be a very difficult task. This itself may present as an interesting problem in "The translation-theory in Linguistics."

<sup>4</sup> *Kaṇṇāṭaka-Sabdamaṇṣāsana*, ed. by R. NARASIMHACHAR, p. 335. Cf. also Pāṇini 3. 4. 2. Prof. KATRE draws our attention that the Kannaḍa example we give is a literal translation of the one given in illustration of the Pāṇinian aphorism by the commentators. This is not surprising as Kannaḍa grammarians mostly base their works on the Sanskrit Grammar. We believe that even though the particular Kannaḍa example given here is copied from Sanskrit, the assumption that an independent parallelism existed in Dravidian in this matter is quite warranted, specially in view of the Tamil instance we have given above.

<sup>5</sup> *Basavesvarana Vacanagalu*, ed. by P. G. HALKATTI, p. 1.

<sup>6a</sup> *Tiruvāṇṇam*, I, 21.

*Kaṇ-kāṭṭu*, 'to wink by way of hinting' (*Tam. Lex.* II, i. p. 683).

<sup>6</sup> S. M. KATRE, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> *Basavesvarana Vacanagalu*, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Kaṇṇāṭaka-Bhāṣabhūṣaṇa*.

<sup>9</sup> *Sabdamaṇḍarpana*.

Acc. for Nom. *nunpullam* for *nunpulla* 'smooth'.

Acc. for Inst. *dēvaram pūvan arcisiadm* (for *pūvīnd arcisiadm*), "He worshipped the God with flowers (lit. 'worshipped the God flowers')." "

Acc. for Dat. *ponnam baḍḍiyam koṭṭanu* (for *ponnam baḍḍige koṭṭanu*), "he gave gold at interest (lit. 'he gave gold interest')." "

Acc. for Abl. *mānavakanam kāryamam besagonḍanu* (for *mānavakanattaniṁ kāryamam (besagonḍanu)*), "he took the work from the jeweller (lit. 'took the work jeweller')." "

Loc. for Inst. *koḍaliyoḷ kaḍidanu* (for *koḍaliyīm kaḍidanu*), "he cut by the axe (lit. 'cut in the axe')"; *kiviyoḷ keḷḍanu* (for *kiviym keḷḍanu*) "He heard with the ears (lit. 'heard in the ears')." "

Inst. for Abl. *kereyīm bandanu* (for *kereyattaniṁ bandanu*), "he came from the tank (lit. 'came by the tank')"; *maneyīm poramaṭṭam* (for *maneyattaniṁ poramaṭṭam*), "he started from the house (lit. 'started by the house')." "

Dat. for Gen. *naḷkodeyam* (for *naḍodeyam*), "Lord of the land (lit. 'Lord to the land')." "

Dat. for Acc. *śiṣyange kalisiḍam* (for *śiṣyanam kalisiḍam*), "he taught the student (lit. 'taught to the student')"; *ākege tiṭipidam* (for *ākeyam tiṭipidam*), "he explained her (lit. 'explained to her')." "

Nom. for Loc. *ondu divasam bandam* (for *ondu divasadoḷ bandam*), "he came one day (lit. 'came one day')." "

Gen. for Loc. *rasikara cakravartī* (for *rasikaroḷ cakravartī*), "Lord of the romantic people (lit. 'among the romantic people')." "

Dat. for Loc. *tāvarege puṭṭidam* (for *tavareyoḷ puṭṭidam*), "born to the lotus (lit. 'in the lotus')." "

Nom. for Acc. *ondu varṣam irdam* (for *ondu varṣaman irdam*), "he lived one year" "

(v) Prothesis :—

*ār* > *yāru* 'who'; *ēke* > \**y-ēke* > *yāke* 'why'; *ētarke* > \**y-ētarke* > *yātakke* 'why'; *bēḍa* > \**b-(y)-eḍa* > *byāḍa* 'hunter'; *bēsara* > \**b-(y)-ēsara* > *byāsara* 'laziness'; *bēḷe* > \**b-(y)-ēḷe* > *byāḷe* 'hunting'; *tōṭa* > \**t-(v)-ōṭa* > *tvāṭa* 'garden'.<sup>9a</sup>

(vi) Dative of Kinship :—

Kan. *tandeyadaḡida baḷika nīne tande tāyenage avanijāṭeyu*. Here Bharata speaks to Rama :—"You alone are my father and Sita my mother after the death of our father".<sup>9b</sup>

(vii) Inclusive and Exclusive pronoun :—

This distinction is met with in the Nuba languages as well as the Algonkian languages. They are, of course, met with in the Austro-Asiatic family and Austro-nesian group of languages also. This problem of the Inclusive and Exclusive First Person Plural with special reference to Kannaḍa we have already discussed at some length elsewhere.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9a</sup> Cf. Proto-Dravidian \**ēn* > \**yān* > Tamil *Yān*. See C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

<sup>9b</sup> For Tamil examples vide, C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull., D.C.R.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 417-419. For the Sanskrit examples see E. D. KULKARNI, *op. cit.*, p. 325. See also S. M. KATRE, *ABORI.*, XX, 1940, p. 283.

<sup>10</sup> Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 100 and fn. 1. Cf. also R. NARASIMHACHAR, *A History of Kannaḍa Language*, University of Mysore, 1934, p. 19. Vide also G. S. Gai, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 411-412. Also see Sten KONOW, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, 1903, p. 458. Cf. also "La forme dite inclusive qui s'ajoute souvent aux six formes ordinaires (à savoir aux trois du singulier et aux trois du pluriel) ne pourra être, selon les règles de la morphologie générale, ni une première personne ni un pluriel. Car la sousdivision en inclusive et exclusive supposée

## (viii) Middle Demonstrative :—

*U* is the middle demonstrative element in Kannaḍa as well as in Tamil. We have traced it to the pro-ethnic Dravidian comparing a number of interesting vocabularies in cognate languages in a paper submitted to the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference held recently at Tirupati.<sup>11</sup>

In that paper we point out that this feature was present in the language of the *R̥gveda* also through the accent functioning as a morphological tag.

We also show that in Santali this feature is met with.

## (ix) The distinction of Nouns as "living" and "dead" words :—

Language has at its disposal a wealth of means of which it makes full use to express "self". This is by no means restricted to the pronoun but the noun also functions as an effective medium in this respect. It is for this reason we have in Chinese the distinction of nouns as "living" and "dead" words.<sup>12</sup>

In Tamil we have this distinction of nouns as "living" and "dead" words are called the *Uyar-tiṇai* and *A. °. ṛiṇai* respectively.

## (x) Recognition of kinds and degrees of personality according to the function of the individual :—

We are told that in Bantu language a person acting for himself is ranged in one class, one acting on behalf of another in a different class.<sup>13</sup>

In Sanskrit also we meet with this feature in the distinction that must have been originally made between the *Parasmaipada* and the *Ātmanepada*.

We believe that the tentative list of some ethno-psychological features with special reference to Kannaḍa and Tamil we have attempted to give above indicates that this fascinating problem has to be worked out in greater detail with reference to all families of human languages so that at a later stage it may be possible to formulate certain fundamental *psychological* laws governing all human speech.

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à la première personne, exigerait une sousdivision correspondante à la deuxième (qui y est exactement opposée) ; et de même pour pluriel et le singulier". V. Bröndal—Le concept de "personne" en grammaire et la nature du pronom—*Journal de Psychologie*, Avril-Juin, 1939, Nos. 3-4, p. 177.

<sup>11</sup> This will be shortly published in the *Indian Linguistics*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. G. V. D. GABELENTZ, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 1881. Also cf. CASSIRER, *Die Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* and Frank HAWLEY, Verbal forms and functions, *Psyches*, VIII, No. 3, 1928, II, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Vide Frank HAWLEY, *op. cit.*



## REVIEWS

*Reconstruction of Āndhra Chronology* : "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal," Letters, Vol. V, 1939, No. 1, pp. 1-131. By GIRINDRASHEKHAR BOSE.

In this small monograph Mr. Bose has attempted the reconstruction of the Āndhra Chronology which, as he says, is "part of a bigger scheme". His views may be summed up thus :

- (I) The "modern version" of Āndhra Chronology needs drastic revision since the foundation on which it is constructed is insecure. The two pillars (i.e. the inscriptions of Khāravēla and Rudradāman) are not firm enough to support the structure. This is so because
  - (i) doctors do not agree regarding the age of the Nānāghāt script and the date of Khāravēla's inscription,
  - (ii) there is no fixed law for change of script,
  - (iii) inscriptional evidence is, after all, interpretation,
  - (iv) old forms persist for a longer time.
- (II) The task of correlating the Purāṇic and the inscriptional data is really very difficult and Mr. Bose proceeds to inculcate some broad principles on which, in his opinion, this can be done. He strongly detests any attempt to amend Purāṇic statements to steer clear through any ambiguity offered by inscriptional evidence. Mere identity of names and incidents is a false guide, while concord of uncorrected dates may be safely relied on. He takes a hypothetical instance of a supposed English Purāṇa to illustrate how scholars with their high estimation of inscriptional data would find themselves facing absurd conclusions.
- (III) He is severe against historical scholars in their attitude of belief or disbelief against the Purāṇas and attempts to show that we should be really thankful towards the Purāṇakāras for having preserved the works for so long a time.
- (IV) The author then dwells upon the different eras found in the Purāṇas and tries to show how they are consistent regarding the age of the end of the Āndhra dynasty, i.e., about 435 A.D. He proceeds to show that there did exist a Nanda era which the Purāṇakāras later transformed into the Kali-yuga extending it backwards and forwards to a fabulous length.
- (V) With all this apparatus Mr. Bose attacks the problem of the "Reconstruction of Āndhra Chronology" :
  - (i) Simuka : 21 B.C.
  - (ii) Gautamīputra of the inscriptions is the sixth Āndhra king of the Purāṇas. He started the Śaka era, styling himself Śakāditya, Śakendra etc. He came to the throne in about 74 A.D.
  - (iii) Vāśiṣṭhiputra of the inscriptions is Lambodara of the Purāṇas.
  - (iv) The end of the dynasty in 435 A.D.
- (VI) Besides these theories Mr. Bose maintains that Nāganikā of the Nānāghāt inscription was the queen of the last Āndhra king, Yajñaśrī, who flourished in the beginning of the 5th century A.D., and that the famous Vikramāditya of the legends was contemporary of the first Āndhra king who subjugated him.

The Purāṇas have notoriously suffered from unsympathetic criticism and their contents are largely responsible for this. We know little of the history of their

compilation and expansion. Mr. Bose gives three classes of historical chroniclers—the Māgadhas, the Sūtas and the Purāṇakāras—the last ones being responsible for the present texts. But the differences in their professions as given by the author seem to be conjectural and based on slender evidence. To make the problem simple Mr. Bose guides his research only on the three Purāṇas (*Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* and *Matsya*), for he thinks it needless to hunt after the mss. of the extant Purāṇas which will give only variations without affecting the validity of the main conclusions drawn from these sources. Here again there is room for controversy for we are not told as to why the choice should fall on these three alone. We have not the dates and history of the compilations of the different Purāṇas to be assured of this choice. It may be profitable in the reconstruction of Āndhra chronology but not necessarily so in the other cases.

The debt we owe to archæological evidence (especially the inscriptional evidence) for the unfolding of the ancient history of India is well-known. Mr. Bose's attitude towards the epigraphical evidence is markedly hostile. The demerits of literary tradition, professing to be historically true, have baffled historians everywhere. The Homeric question is still a battle-ground for theorists. Literary tradition is often shy of telling the truth plainly and though Mr. Bose's arguments in defence of Purāṇic evidence plead for faith in the exactitude of their statements we cannot completely agree with him. The different eras found in the Purāṇas are already explained by the author in his *Purāṇa-Praveśa*. Their consistency with regard to the age of the end of Āndhra dynasty plead for their historicity. But our views in this case will depend upon our estimation of the Purāṇic evidence since other corroborative evidence is still lacking.

It seems Mr. Bose thinks of archæological evidence just as archæologists think of literary evidence. This may lead to undesirable controversy. The Nānāghāt inscription is pulled down to the 5th century A.D.; and since there is "no fixed law of change of script", Mr. Bose refuses to pay heed to the speculations of epigraphists. Mr. Bose had better avoided this inscription as he did in the case of the Hāthigumphā inscription.

The author, however, thinks differently of the Purāṇas. According to him the discrepancies in the Purāṇas can be explained away on the authority of the Purāṇas themselves and we need not look to "the errors of the scribes" for explanation. But the difficulty will arise when their evidence clashes with the evidence of the inscriptions. We have abundant inscriptional data for the history of the Gupta dynasty and we will wait for another monograph from Mr. Bose on "the Reconstruction of the Gupta Chronology" to see how the Purāṇic evidence can face the objective evidence of the inscriptions. The author has already thrown out a suggestion to that effect.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Bose takes the famous Vikramāditya of the legends as an historical personage who started the Vikrama Samvat. This era, which was started in 58 B.C., is still a subject for scholastic theories. Its association with the name Vikrama, if one is to respect the evidence of the inscriptions, is very late.<sup>2</sup> Even in or about Ujjain it was called as Kṛta or Mālava era. Mr. Bose has to explain this before he relies on the evidence of literary tradition.

We<sup>3</sup> may now point out a few of the contradictions in Mr. Bose's thesis :

According to one of his conceptions, "a provincial ruler might come into conflict with a neighbouring governor under the same paramount power just as different *kṣatrapas* might fight among themselves and it is further conceivable that the

<sup>1</sup> BOSE, *Āndhra Chronology*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> ALTEKAR, *EI.*, XXIII, p. 49 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. H. D. SANKALIA was kind enough to add the following paragraphs.

paramount power would remain neutral in such fights so long as it received its revenues from one party or another."<sup>4</sup> Having laid down these conceptions, he proceeds to explain that both Rudradāman I (c. 150 A.D.) and Śātakarṇi (whom he identifies with Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi) were tributaries of the same sovereign power, viz., Gautamīputra.

This unwarrantable assumption implies that even though a king may conquer some fifteen provinces,<sup>5</sup> almost the whole of Western India, he may still be a tributary, and this, in spite of boasting that he conquered 'the lord of the South'; further that an overlord would take no notice of these extensive changes going on in his empire.

This is really unnatural. It is only when one assumes independence, that one would proudly declare that he conquered so many provinces, and that he defeated the 'lord of the South'. But his (Śātakarṇi's) defeat does not necessarily call for his dethronement; neither Alexander, nor Samudragupta, nor Harṣa did so; nor is it always done even in modern wars. Harṣa, on the contrary, allowed his son-in-law to rule over Mālwa.

One also wonders what would remain of the empire if such extensive territory is seized by a tributary. But this can be explained, says Mr. Bose,<sup>6</sup> "on the supposition that in most cases it was a change in provincial governorship only and did not affect the central power in any way". Would tributaries wage wars for such illusory titles and would emperors look on unconcerned?

Again epigraphical evidence is not so very contradictory as Mr. Bose would have his readers believe. The script of the early epigraphs in the Deccan is broadly distributed over three groups of inscriptions :—

- (1) The Sopāra Edicts.
- (2) The epigraphs at Nānāghāt.
- (3) The inscriptions in the caves at Karli, Bhājā, Beḍsa, Junnar, Nasik, Kanheri and others in the Deccan.

The first is the Western or Southern Aśokan Brāhmī. In the third group occur names of Nahapāna, Gautamīputra and others mentioned in their inscriptions whose script is decidedly different from the Aśokan Brāhmī, apart from the fact whether it is later or not.

Now the Nānāghāt script approximates more to the Aśokan Brāhmī than to the admittedly later epigraphs from the Deccan; hence it is placed between the Aśokan and later epigraphs from the Deccan. Epigraphists disagree only about its exact date: whether it should be 1st cent. B.C. or 2nd cent. B.C. Another fact that may be noted is that "letter-forms may persist" as Mr. Bose says. But in the Deccan will it not be surprising to find the early Brāhmī suddenly appearing at Nānāghāt in the 5th cent. A.D., according to Mr. Bose's calculations, whereas everywhere else, Junnar, (which is only 20 miles from Nānāghāt), Karli, Nasik, we have inscriptions in admittedly later Brāhmī? It would be but natural if the Nānāghāt inscription is placed between the Aśokan and the later inscriptions from the Deccan.

Mr. Bose has certainly produced a stimulating thesis drawing the historians' attention towards the Purāṇas—which unfortunately have not still proved attractive to them—but we have to say with regret that it is full of 'conceptions' and 'assumptions', which cut across our natural presumptions.

D. R. PATIL,

<sup>4</sup> BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. The Junāgarh Ins. of Rudradāman, *EI.*, VIII, p. 43, ll. 10-12.

<sup>6</sup> BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

The *Sloka-vārtikavākyā* (*Tātparyāṭikā*) of Bhaṭṭarṇveka edited by S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI (No. 13 in the Madras University Sanskrit Series; general Editor Dr. C. Kunhan RAJA), 1940.

We welcome this beautiful edition of the hitherto unpublished commentary of Ṭrṇveka on the *Sloka-vārtika* based as it is on a single palm-leaf manuscript in Malayalam characters in the Adyar Library. The task was difficult not only because, as the general Editor tells us, "the manuscript is extremely faulty" but also because a portion of the commentary by Ṭrṇveka was found missing and the general Editor had to step into the breach with the corresponding portion from the *Kāśikā* of Sucaritaśiśra. The author Ṭrṇveka as a commentator was introduced to Sanskritists as early as 1922 when Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganath JHA published his commentary on the *Bhāvanā-ṛveka* of Maṇḍana-śiśra. After a long interval, therefore, the author is making a second appearance, thanks to the joint labours of Pandit S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI and Dr. KUNHAN RAJA.

In his introduction (of nearly 49 pages), the general editor has discussed various questions such as the relation of Ṭrṇveka and Maṇḍana to Kumāṛila, the relation of Ṭrṇveka to Bhavabhūti, the date of Kumāṛila, the relation of Kumāṛila to Prabhākara, the relation of Prabhākara to Śālikanātha and such other interesting questions. It is true he has not arrived at any definite conclusions regarding the various authors, but a scholar true to the best traditions of research can follow only this course if he conscientiously feels his duty is far more careful and laborious sifting of evidence for and against the various theories in the field than the presentations of any dogmatic assertions as conclusions. An index of half-verses in the *Sloka-vārtika* enhances the usefulness of the work.

There is only one criticism we have to offer. If "the portion on which Ṭrṇveka has commented, ends in the last line or the first page of folio 142 of the manuscript, and in continuation, the commentary of Jayamiśra is written", why was that commentary also not printed in addition to the *Kāśikā* of Sucaritaśiśra? If that would have added too much to the bulk of the work, then, at least, relevant extracts on important points might have been added as foot-notes. If there were good reasons for not printing it, as probably there were, these reasons should have been stated. On the whole we congratulate the Editors on this very valuable addition to the existing editions of Sanskrit works.

V. M. APTE

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*Relation between Indian and Indonesian Culture*—A paper by O. C. GANGOLI.

The writer begins by citing literary and archæological evidence, both old and new, to suggest that the Indianization of Burma, Malaya, Siam, Cambodia, Campā, Java, Sumatra and Borneo must have begun previous to the 1st century A.D. and then goes on to establish his main proposition that "on the basis of the new evidences set forth above, it may be justly claimed that the theory of a group of scholars of the so-called 'Indian Influences' in Greater India demands a serious modification. It is not a question of 'Influences', it is a question of a wholesale transportation of the characteristic features and phases of Indian Culture, bag and baggage, in all its characteristic features, elements and textures, with all its social and religious polities, its trade-guilds and industrial systems, its canons of architecture and sculpture" (pp. 68-69). The "new evidences" set forth are not only historical, inscriptional and literary, but are also drawn from the spheres of architecture, sculpture, and applied arts and crafts. A very fine piece of research work has been done by the author in the identification of place-names occurring in the literary extracts from some Purāṇas and other works. We are in whole-hearted

*agreement with the main proposition. Only, in our opinion, the distinction between "Indian Influences" and "the wholesale transportations of the characteristic features of Indian Cultures" though properly drawn, is a little overstressed. Altogether it is a brilliant paper.*

V. M. APTE

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## MONUMENTS OF THE YĀDAVA PERIOD IN THE POONA DISTRICT

By

H. D. SANKALIA

Monuments of the Yādava period, principally temples, known usually as *Hemādṛpanti*, have been noticed by COUSENS<sup>1</sup> from all districts of the British Deccan but none from the Poona District. Likewise a reference to the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* showed that hardly any monument in the Poona District other than caves had been actually surveyed by the Archæological Department, (though a number of monuments have been mentioned in connection with certain places in the district). Hence, before an exploration on behalf of the Deccan College Research Institute was undertaken, it was decided to go back to the *Bombay Gazetteer* for getting some clues as to the ancient sites in the district. From it, as well as from the *Revised List* mentioned above, the following places : Junnar, Pur, Mankeśvar, Dhāmankhed, Ale and Belhe, which are in Junnar Taluka, were selected for this year's (1939-1940) work.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*<sup>2</sup> mentioned that a number of loose sculptures lay about the Junnar town. In order to examine them with a view to acquiring them for our Museum of purely Deccan Antiquities we<sup>3</sup> searched at these places, but nowhere did we get a trace of these. The Court-compound contains only one broken female figure ; all the rest seem to have disappeared. A few sculptures are still to be found in the temple of Padmāvatī,<sup>4</sup> but they are not more than 300 years old.

At Dhāmankhed, 3 miles south of Junnar, remains<sup>5</sup> in the temple of Khaṇḍobā and near it are not very old.<sup>6</sup> So too the temple of Jñāneśvara at Ale,<sup>7</sup> 16 miles east of Junnar, where on account of the known antiquity of Jñāneśvara we expected to find some traces of old remains, but there were none. The *śikhara* of the present temple is of the Maratha type,<sup>8</sup> while inside, the walls etc. contain paintings, which may be useful for studying the social and religious life of that period.

Definite evidence, however, of ancient monuments we found at Pur, Mankeśvar and Belhe.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, ASI., IS., Vol. XLVIII, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XIII, Part iii, p. 148, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The party consisted of the writer and his two pupils, Mr. A. V. NAIK and Mr. D. R. PATIL.

<sup>4</sup> To the west of Junnar town, at a little distance from the road to Śivaneri fort, near a rivulet ; cf. also *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> See Fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> See Fig. 2.

Pur is a small village, a hamlet,<sup>9</sup> about 12 miles west of Junnar, nestling in the heart of hills which terminate later at the Nānā pass. It is a delightful, yet awe-inspiring, place, for the cool wooded upland seems at the very end of all civilization.<sup>10</sup> Here is the source of the river Kukaḍī, which flowing by Rājūr and other small villages, reaches Junnar. The place where it oozes out in sufficient quantity has been built up into a tank (*kunḍ*), the water falling in it through a gargoyle. Behind, to the west of this tank, stands the temple of Kukuḍeśvara, named evidently after the river.

The temple is in a sadly ruinous condition, though as it is still in use, and a place of pilgrimage on Mahāśivarātri festival, it is protected by a tin roof<sup>11</sup> erected presumably by the pilgrims.<sup>12</sup> The temple stands on a modern platform (32 ft. east to west by 30 ft. north to south), which, since it is covered by a roof, gives the appearance of a verandah (6 ft. wide) all round. The temple measures about 40 ft. long by 18 ft. broad. It faces the west and consists of a *garbhagṛha*, a *gūḍhamandapa*, and an *antarāla* between the first two. Neither its exterior nor the interior is profusely decorated with figure or design sculpture.

To take the exterior of the temple first. There are four basement mouldings but all of them are comparatively simple, decorated respectively with a scroll work, a string course of *hamsas*,<sup>13</sup> human figures, and *kīrtimukhas*.

The part above this, constituting the *jañghā*, or the wall-face proper, is rather sparingly ornamented. The principal decoration being figures of deities—Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, but the dancing and amorous couples are not so much in evidence. What the exact number and proportion of these deities was originally cannot be ascertained now, because of the ruinous condition of the temple. But we could count thirteen of them on the temple itself. Of these twelve figures belong to the Śaiva pantheon and one to the Vaiṣṇava.

Among the Śaiva deities we have one image of Gaṇapati, five images of Śiva and five of Śiva's consort, four as Pārvatī and one as Cāmuṇḍī or Kālī.

The image of Gaṇapati is carved in a niche, to the left of the shrine door, on the western wall of the temple. The figure is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, but since it is besmeared with red lead its other features are not distinct.

Of the five images of Śiva, one image is in his *Tāṇḍava* manifestation, shown in high relief in the back niche (facing east) of the shrine chamber.

Another image, in the south-east corner of the temple, is in his *Bhairava* form. Of the remaining three figures one is found on the north face of the *śikhara* and the rest in ordinary form—Śiva seated with four arms—are found on the southern and western faces of the temple walls.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed description of the place see *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 425.

<sup>10</sup> *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, pp. 424-29.

<sup>11</sup> When Bhagvanlal INDRAJI visited it in 1882, there was a tiled roof (*Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 424), owing to this it was not possible to take photograph of the general view of the temple.

<sup>12</sup> This is, however, hardly a protection against heavy rain and consequent vegetation growth to which the temple is exposed.

<sup>13</sup> See Fig. 6, a, b, c.

Out of the five figures of Śiva's consort, one is in the form of Cāmuṇḍī, looking fierce and ugly with an emaciated body, pendant breasts and dancing on a prostrate human figure, carved in the north niche of the shrine. The other four figures are as usual, showing her seated by the side of the four-armed Śiva, surrounded by female attendants. Of these three are on the south face of the temple and one on the *śikhara*.

The Vaiṣṇava figure is of Viṣṇu in his Varāha incarnation. It is sculptured on the south face of the temple.

The *garbhagrha* or the shrine chamber has three faces, one to the east (or the back), the other to the north, and the third to the south. Each face is about 4 ft. broad and contained a sculpture. In the northern niche we still find a figure of Cāmuṇḍī, in the eastern Śiva in the *Tāṇḍava* form, but the southern is covered up with rafters.

Inside, the shrine chamber is square, and a little sunken, on a lower level than the *maṇḍapa*, as in the temple at Ambarnāth, for instance. It contains a *linga* on a *yoni* *pīṭha*, besides brass *lingas* with four faces.

The shrine door-way is well decorated. Including the sculptured panels on its either side it is 6 ft. broad, and 7 ft. 9 in. high with the overhanging eave and the carvings over it. "Over the shrine door are three bands of carved figures, each about a foot broad, separated by narrow belts of mouldings. The highest band of figures is carved in the eight sided belt of stone which supports the dome. They are standing *yoginīs*, forty in all, five in each of the eight faces<sup>14</sup>." Below, over the door, are nine *navagrahas* and *vidyā-dharas*. In the third row are five Devīs.

Between the *garbhagrha* and the *maṇḍapa* is an *antarāla*,<sup>15</sup> an intermediary hall, 6 ft. long by 7 ft. 1 in. broad, supported on two pillars and two pilasters, decorated with a figure in a niche (3 ft. broad by 6 ft. 2 in. high) on either side, (the niche on the left hand has Gaṇeśa, and that on the right a *devī*), and a ceiling, "rising in three rounded bands, to the central stone which is carved in the hanging lotus pattern."

The *maṇḍapa*, which is 12 ft. 5 in. long by 13 ft. 4 in. broad, is of the *gūḍha* (closed) variety, having no porches or windows. It contains four free standing pillars, "standing 5 ft. 7 in. apart from each other," four pilasters, two in the walls on either side, a ceiling and sculptures of deities in niches and corners.

The pillars of the *maṇḍapa*, (as well as the pilaster of the *antarāla*) are of a uniform type, having a square base, the shaft on which is partly square, partly octagonal and partly round. It is surmounted with pillow-like

<sup>14</sup> The measurements are as given by Bhagwanlal INDRAJI (*Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 427), from where I have also taken this description. I could not, however, check it for it was so dark in the interior that without good light it is impossible to see anything inside.

<sup>15</sup> Bhagwanlal INDRAJI calls it a 'passage', *Ibid.*, p. 426. Its Sanskrit equivalent would be *antarāla*; but this *anatrāla*, be it noted, is different from the one noticed in Haihaya temples. See BANERJI, *MASI.*, No. 23, pls. x and xvi.



capitals, decorated with drop projection. On this is a square plate, supporting a bracket of dwarfs<sup>16</sup>.

The ceiling (5 ft. 7 in. square and 10 ft. 2 in. high over the top of bracket capitals), in the hall as well as that in the *antarāla* and the shrine-chamber is not minutely carved, though its design—that of a lotus—is cut out in high relief.

The sculptures in the niches and corners of the hall I am unable to describe in detail for the reasons given before.<sup>16a</sup> According to Bhagwanlal INDRAJI in the south niche is Śiva-Pārvatī, in the north Kālī and in the north-east corner are three figures—of Śiva, of Pārvatī and one of Viṣṇu.<sup>17</sup>

The doorway of the *maṇḍapa*, if not too profusely decorated, is nevertheless decorated well. Among the ornaments we notice an *ardhacandra* with a *kīrtimukha* on either side, pilasters with pots and foliage and lozenge designs and male and female figures.<sup>18</sup>

The *śikhara* of the temple is broken. A part of it is, however, preserved under the tin roof. From this we can gather that it was of the Ambarnāth—Sinnar type, the *śikhara* rising in “a single tower, with fretted vertical bands running up each of its four faces.” At its base, on each side, was a *caitya* window, inset with a *kalāśa*, and not with figures of deities. Three of these very *caitya* windows, perhaps, are now to be found on the north side of the temple, inserted here at a later date when the temple was put into working order and saved from further destruction.

A number of loose sculptures are lying on all sides of the temple. A few of those near the tank, though broken at places, would decorate any museum, while more interesting and unusual figures are to be found in a small shrine in the north-west corner of the temple. The shrine itself, which faces the south, is in utter ruins. On either side of its doorway are found two standing skeleton-like figures facing each other. The one which is here reproduced and discussed is about 4 ft. high<sup>19</sup>. It faces sideways and is standing with knees bending slightly. By deeply cutting the outlines the sculptor has given a vivid idea of a skeleton: protruding eye-balls and sunken sockets, bones of the arms and legs and ribs of the chest. Highly expressive, however, is the profile face, with its slightly opened mouth, with streaks of a beard on the chin, and the inquiring eyes. Equally so are the gestures of the arms, the right slightly bent, holding a dagger in the in-curved palm of the hand, and the left held straight and supporting a *kapāla* (bowl). In mediaeval sculpture, when conventionalism was rampant, it would be difficult to get a piece of sculpture exhibiting any *rasa*, so vividly, let alone *Bhayānaka* or *Raudra*.

What can this figure be? Hindu sculpture knows of three such skeleton-like figures. The one is the well known figure of Cāmūṇḍī or Kālī; the

<sup>16</sup> For detailed measurements of each part see *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVIII, iii, p. 426, n. 1.

<sup>16a</sup> See foot-note 14, above.

<sup>18</sup> See Fig. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426.

<sup>19</sup> See Fig. 4.

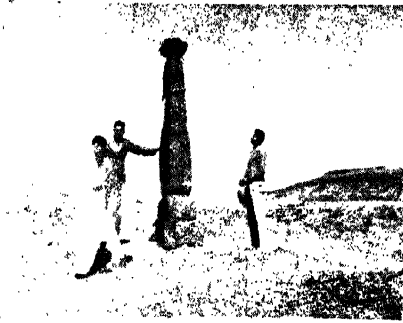


Fig. 1. A Pillar at DHĀMANKHED.



Fig. 2. —Temple of JĀNĀNĀ (JĀNĀNĒSVARA)  
at ALE.



Fig. 3.  
MĀṆḌAPĀ DOORWAY, KUKUḌĒSVARA TEMPLE, PUR.



Fig. 4.  
A PIŚĀCA, ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE BHAIRAVA SHRINE IN THE NORTH-WEST OF THE  
KUKUḌEŚVARA TEMPLE, PUR.



Fig. 5.  
CAITYA-WINDOW WITH AN INSET KALAŚA. KUKUḌEŚVARA TEMPLE, PUR.

second, perhaps of Bhairava, and the third of sages, (Mārkaṇḍeya, for instance).

On comparing this figure with other published figures of Bhairavas,<sup>20</sup> it appears that these skeleton-like figures, are not those of Bhairavas, as mentioned by Bhagwanlal INDRAJI,<sup>21</sup> but of Piśācas.<sup>22</sup> This is indicated first by the position of the figures,—they stand on either side of the shrine-door, as attendants would, and face not the full front, as deities do, but sideways. Secondly, they have two hands only, whereas a Bhairava in any of his 64 (or his 8 main) forms has at least four arms.<sup>23</sup> Hence it is probable that this temple was dedicated to the Bhairava form of Śiva, but that these figures are not his.

It remains to be proved that this small, sparsely sculptured shrine of Kukuḍeśvara at Pur belongs to the Yādava period in the Deccan. This I propose to do first by reviewing the style of the mediaeval temples in the Deccan, and secondly by examining, in the absence of epigraphic or other evidence, the architectural style and decorative motifs used in the temple at Pur.

There is only one dated temple of this period, *viz.*, the one at Ambar-nāth, built during the reign of Mummuni (or Māmvānī), a feudatory of the Cālukya Someśvara I, in A.D. 1060.<sup>24</sup> Similar in architectural style, particularly in the shape of the *śikhara*, though differing in plan and very often less ornate, are : (1) the temple of Goṇḍeśvara and others<sup>25</sup> at Sinnar,<sup>26</sup> (which was under the Yādava feudatories of the Cālukyas from about the 10th century); the temple at Jhodgā<sup>27</sup>, and the temple No. 8 at Añjaneri<sup>28</sup> in the Nasik district. (2) The temple at Vaghli, (possibly of the time of Mahāmaṇḍalanātha Seūna)<sup>29</sup>, at Pātṇā (where certain ruins of temples etc. bear inscriptions of the Yādava feudatories Soḍeva and Hemādideva<sup>30</sup>), and the temple No. 1 at Balsāne<sup>31</sup> in the Khandesh district. (3) The temple at Velāpur and Malsiras (of the time of Yādava Rāmacandra)<sup>32</sup> in the Sholapur district. (4) Temple No. 2 at Sātgaon<sup>33</sup> and Sākegaon<sup>34</sup> in the Buldana district of Berar. (5) The temples at Tahakāri<sup>35</sup> (c. 1130 A.D.?), Ratanvādi,<sup>36</sup> Pedgaon,<sup>37</sup> Kokamthān, <sup>38</sup> in the Ahmadnagar district.

<sup>20</sup> Gopinath RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, i, pls. xli-xliii.

<sup>21</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. RAO, *op. cit.*, p. 179, (identifying similar figures in pl. xlii, fig. 3). Emaciated Pretas with daggers in their left hands are found by the side of some Yoginīs in the sixty-four Yoginī Temple at Bherghat. See BANERJI, *MASI*, No. 23. pp. 80, 81, 83, 85, 89, 90. Unfortunately none of them is illustrated.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. RAO, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-82. <sup>24</sup> COUSENS, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Some of which are earlier and positively Cālukyan in style.

<sup>26</sup> COUSENS, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

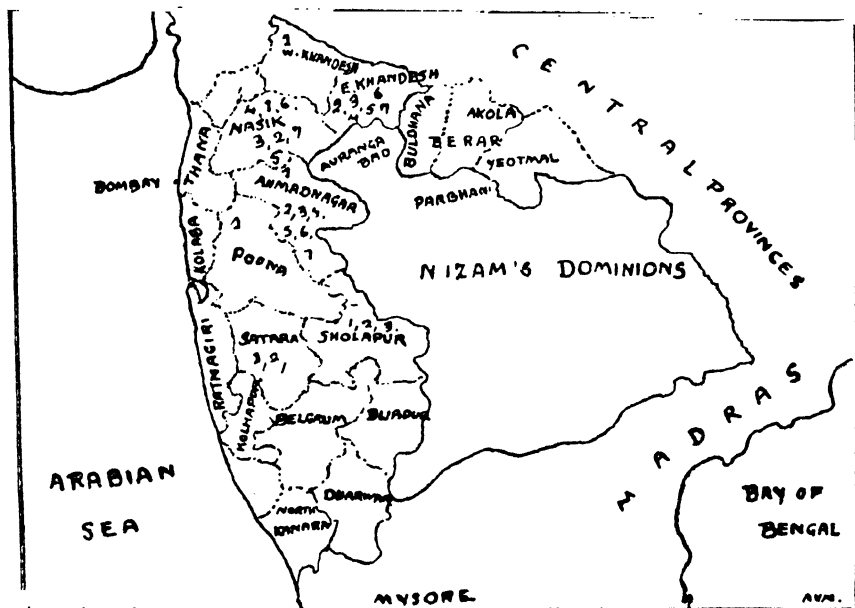
<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

Since these temples and other monuments are distributed over those districts of the Deccan, where Yādavas first ruled as feudatories of the Western Cālukyās, and then as sovereigns, and since a particular *śikhara* style runs through this entire period, c. 1000 A.D.-1300 A.D., in most of the temples the monuments of the period and region may be called 'Monuments of the Yādava period in the Deccan'.



### TEMPLES OF THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD IN THE DECCAN

#### THANA DISTRICT.

1. AMBARNATH.

#### POONA DISTRICT.

1. PUR.
2. BELHE.

#### W. KHANDESH DISTRICT.

1. BALSANE.

#### E. KHANDESH DISTRICT.

2. ERANDOL.
3. SANGAMESHWAR.
4. GHARKHED.
5. CHANGADEVA.
6. VAGHLI.
7. PĀṬNĀ.

#### NASIK DISTRICT.

1. JHODGA.
2. DEVALANA.
3. CHANDOR.
4. ANJANERI.
5. SINNAR.
6. TRINGALWADI.

#### AHMADNAGAR DISTRICT.

1. KOKAMTHAN.
2. AKOLA.
3. TAHAKRI.
4. PEDGAON.
5. KARJAT.
6. SHRIGUNDA.
7. MANDUGAON.
8. RATNAWADI.

#### SATARA DISTRICT.

1. SINGHANPUR.
2. KHATAV.

#### SHOLAPUR DISTRICT.

1. MALSIRAS.
2. VELAPUR.
3. PANDHARPUR.

#### BERAR.

1. BARS TAKLI.
2. SATGAON.
3. SAKEGAON.
4. MEHKAR.
5. SIRPOR.
6. LONAR.
7. DHOTRA.

#### NIZAM'S TERRITORY.

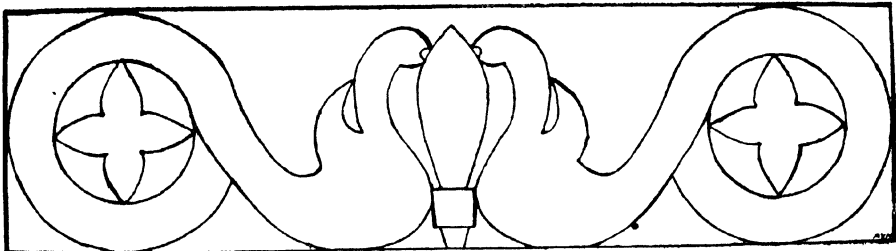
1. AUNDHA.

In the architectural style of the Pur temple two things attract our notice. The first is the *śikhara*. It has been mentioned above that it was of the type we first found in the temple at Ambarnāth,<sup>39</sup> then at Sinnar,<sup>40</sup> Balsāne,<sup>41</sup> Jhodgā,<sup>42</sup> Kokamthān,<sup>43</sup> Sātgaon.<sup>44</sup> Moreover in these temples of the Deccan there is a *caitya*-window at the base of the *śikhara*. The second point in the architectural style is the nature of the shrine chamber. As in the Ambarnāth temple it is sunken.<sup>45</sup>

If architecturally the temple resembles many of the important temples of the Yādava period in the Deccan, a consideration of the decorative motifs enables us to fix the age and regional style of the temple more precisely.

As has been said before the temple is not profusely decorated with figure sculptures like the temple of Ambarnāth, and other early mediaeval temples in the Deccan. But this is the characteristic of the later temples, for instance, Sātgaon,<sup>46</sup> Kokamthān<sup>47</sup>, Jhodgā<sup>48</sup> where figure-sculpture is limited to the *jañghā*, wall-face of the *maṇḍapa* and the shrine-chamber; where the ceilings contain no figure sculpture at all, but a single floral carving; and the pillars consist of different mouldings but sparsely decorated with the pot-and-foilage or other ornament.

Fig. 6 a.



HAMSAS INTERSPERSED IN SCROLL DESIGN,  
KURUDESVAR TEMPLE, PUR.

Another strong link still narrows down our field of inquiry. All the earlier temples and some of the later temples also have a figure of a deity in the inset *caitya*-window on the *śikhara*. Only the Jhodgā,<sup>49</sup> Sātgaon,<sup>50</sup> and Sākegaon<sup>51</sup> temples have instead a *kalaśa* set in these *caitya*-windows. Now, an identical motif of the *caitya*-window ornament is found in the Pur temple,<sup>52</sup> which though of the same class as other mediaeval temples of the Deccan, seems to be coeval in time with the temples at Jhodgā in the Nasik District and Sātgaon and Sākegaon in Berar.

<sup>39</sup> COUSENS, *op. cit.*, pl. iii.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvi.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. liii.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. lxvii-lviii.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. cvi.

<sup>45</sup> I regret I cannot cite other instances, for in many cases COUSENS, *Ibid.*, is not specific on this point.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. cviii.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. lxviii.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. liii.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. liv.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. cvi.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. cx.

<sup>52</sup> See Fig. 5.

Another characteristic of the Pur temple designs is the swan-motif. A conventionalized or stylized figure of a swan (*hamsa*) is found decorating the walls.<sup>53</sup> Now this motif is not very common, so far as I know ; in Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār only one temple has it.<sup>54</sup> And in the Deccan temples mentioned above, from the published evidence it seems to be figured only in the temples at Jhodgā,<sup>55</sup> Tahakari,<sup>56</sup> Pedgaon<sup>57</sup> and Sātgaon.<sup>58</sup>

A point to be noted about the Pur temple is that the cult image is served by a Koli and not a Brāhmaṇa. Whether it is so from the beginning, or only after the temple was destroyed (?) and given up cannot be ascertained. It may be that the practice is early, because the temple is situated in the jungle. And if further inquiry shows similar practice of having a non-Brāhmaṇa serving the image elsewhere in the Deccan also it would be an important fact ethnographically. But after being described at length by Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, the temple does not seem to have received adequate attention from the Archæological Survey because it has been relegated to the third class of monuments.<sup>58a</sup> Its archæological importance has been amply shown, and it may be suggested that either steps should be taken to conserve it properly, as is so ardently desired by the *pūjāri*, and other people of the place, or its sculptures etc. should be removed to a suitable place where they can be protected and exhibited, rather than allow them to rot in the mountain fastness at Pur.

Belhe is 21 miles south-east of Junnar. Here the "*Hemādpanṭi* well" is now to be found outside the village to its south-east, amid a fine cluster of mango trees.<sup>59</sup> It is about twenty yards square, and has two entrances, facing each other, or east and west respectively. Each entrance consists of 10 steps.<sup>60</sup>

Two things are to be noted in connexion with this well. First, as with the temples of the period in the Deccan and elsewhere, the well is decorated with niches on the inside of the well. In these were probably enshrined images, though now there are none. Further the niches are ornamented with small *śikhara*s and ringed-pilasters, simulating minature shrines.<sup>61</sup> There are eighteen such niches, four on the east, four on the west, five on the south and five on the north side. Each niche is about 7 ft. high, 2 ft. 6 in. broad and 1 ft. 6 in. deep.

The second noteworthy point is that in the construction of the well no mortar is used. The larger dressed and moulded slabs (each about 4 ft.

<sup>53</sup> See Figs. 6 a, b and c.

<sup>54</sup> BURGESS, *Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh*, ASWI., II, pl. xliii, figs. 7 & 15.

<sup>55</sup> COUSENS, *op. cit.*, pl. lvi.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxiii.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxxiii.

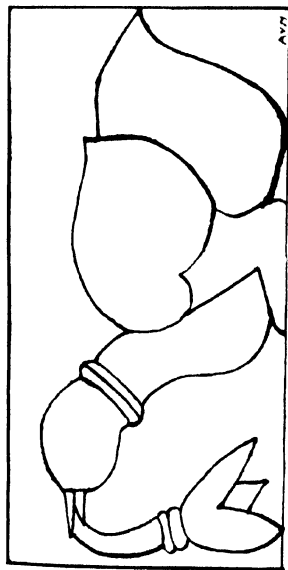
<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, cvii.

<sup>58a</sup> It seems that the policy of the Archæological Survey of India is to conserve and take note of only unique monuments in the Presidency. But by so doing we are likely to lose sight of the cultural importance of monuments which are not unique.

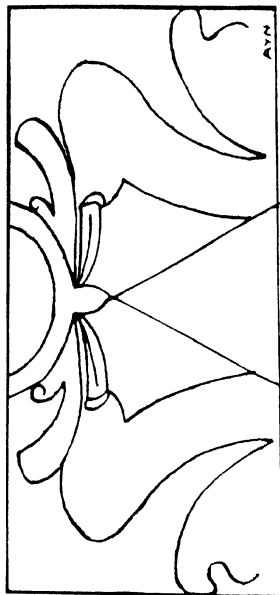
<sup>59</sup> See Fig. 7.

<sup>60</sup> See Fig. 8.

<sup>61</sup> See Fig. 9.



**HAMSA HOLDING INVERTED LOTUS.**  
Fig. 6 b.—Kukudeśvara Temple, Pur.



— **HAMSA DESIGN** —  
Fig. 6 c.—Kukudeśvara Temple, Pur.



Fig. 7.—General view of the Step-well at BELHE.



Fig. 8.—Inner side of north-west part of Step-well at BELHE.



Fig. 9.—Niches in the northern side of the Step-well at BELHE.





by 1 ft. 9 in. by 9 in.) remained in position without this cementing material as long as the foundation was intact. Wherever this has become weak the stones have fallen out.

Both the architectural decoration and masonry of the well point to a period when such architectural fashions were in vogue. The counterpart or proto-type of the niches can be found in the mediaeval temples of the Deccan and elsewhere. In the construction—i.e., the shape—of the well there is nothing very much peculiar. But, so far, no such well has been brought to light, though there are a few references to *Hemādpanti* wells in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, and many wells of the type might be existing elsewhere in the Deccan. It seems that they do, for some of my colleagues informed me that they had seen such wells, when they saw the photographs of this. But till now their archæological importance has not been recognized and hence they have remained in oblivion. As a matter of fact not only have we to search for similar wells in the Deccan, but for the type of step-wells which were common in Gujarāt and, if we find any, to inquire whether it is due to Gujarāti contact. For even this ordinary step-well with its simulated shrines was religious in nature and resembles similar but architecturally more advanced and highly ornate step-wells, for instance, at Pāṭaṇ and Ahmedabad in Northern Gujarāt<sup>62</sup> and at Wadhvān in Kāthiāwār.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> BURGESS, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarāt*, ASWI., IX, p. 37 pl. iii; for others see pls. civ-cv.

<sup>63</sup> COUSENS, *Somanātha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawar*, 1931, p. 55, pls. lvii-lix.

## RG-VEDIC STUDIES

By

V. M. APTE

### I.—*Apropos of MAHÁH in MAHÓ RĀYÉ and in other passages.*

The expression *mahó-rāyé* occurs seven times in all in the Rg-Veda (IV. 31.11<sup>c</sup>; V. 15.5<sup>d</sup>; 43.1<sup>c</sup>; VI. 1.2<sup>d</sup>; VIII. 23.16<sup>c</sup>; X. 61.22<sup>b</sup>; 76.2<sup>d</sup>). This naturally raises the presumptions that the two words should be construed together and that the traditional text is unobjectionable. Now *rāyé* is dative sing. of *rāi* masculine (and rarely feminine) meaning 'wealth' (compare the Latin *rē-i*); but what about *maháh*? Formally it may be (1) the genitive sing. or ablative sing. of *máh*, a monosyllabic radical stem in *-h* (as adjective = great, as substantive = greatness etc.) m. and n.; or (2) nominative sing. of the stem *mahá*, a form of transition to the *a*-declension from the weak case of *máh*<sup>1</sup> (a stem more frequent than the former, but defective); or (3) nominative or accusative sing. neuter = *mahás* (occurring 14 times) of the *as*-stem *mahás*.<sup>2</sup> So far we have noted formal possibilities in keeping with the regular accent. It may also be looked upon, however, as (4) Nom. pl. (3 times) or Acc. pl. (20 times) masculine of the stem *máh* with irregular accent. (5) Finally as will be seen below, the possibility of construing it as an adverbially used neuter noun is not excluded. Thus arises the difficulty of explaining it satisfactorily with the dative *rāyé*!

From out of the seven passages in which the phrase occurs, it is better to select first of all the passage VI. 1.2, which has been noticed or discussed at great length, by scholars like Geldner and Oldenberg.

RV. VI. 1.2 :—

अधा होता न्यसीदो यजीयानिळस्पद इषयन्नीब्यः सन् ।

तं त्वा नरः प्रथमं देवयंतो महो राये चितयंतो अनु गन् ॥ २ ॥

Geldner,<sup>3</sup> while discussing the meaning of *cit* causal, refers to *mahó rāyé citáyantah* in our passage, translating 'assessing (or evaluating) at high

<sup>1</sup> Lanman (Noun-Inflection in the Veda, p. 498) notes under transitions to the *a*-declension : 'I am inclined to regard *mahá-s*, *-á-sya*, *-é*, *-āni*, *ā* and *-ānām* as forms of transition from the weak cases of *máh*. They belong exclusively to the Veda and are used especially *MAHÁ-s* and *mahāni* to supplement the defective *máh*.

<sup>2</sup> Adjective—'great' according to Grassman (Wörterbuch). Lanman classifies these forms as those of the substantive alongside the other nom. and acc. sing. neuter form *māhas* (8 times) on p. 560 (*Ibid.*); he says (p. 552) "If *mahás* be considered as an established adjective stem (so with *árṇas*, i, 3.12 etc.), then the vexed *mahāś* may be explained as contracted from *mahás-am*" etc.

<sup>3</sup> Vedische Studien I, 268, footnote 3.

worth'. Now although we may not agree with this rendering of *citáyantaḥ*, his note on *maháḥ* merits consideration. The purport of it is as follows :— By the side of the substantive *máhas*, there is also the adjective *mahás* (compare *yásás* and *yaśás*). This latter word has a marked tendency to discard its case-ending so that it can do duty for various cases, as for example, *vacas* which is to be judged as = *vacasā*. Thus, *mahó rāyē* in VI. 1.2 and in other passages stands for *mahāse rāyē*; *mahó vājinau* (VIII. 25.24) for *mahāsā vā°*. The *mahás* put forth by Roth as an adverb, is therefore untenable as such and is in some places to be explained as above and in others as a case-form of *māhi* or *mahá*. Oldenberg has a long note<sup>4</sup> on the phrase in question which may be summarized thus :—With reference to the seven passages (enumerated above) in which *mahó rāyē* occurs, (he says that) construing *mahó* as Nom. sing. which would be admissible<sup>5</sup> in some passages would not suit others. If one is attracted to the hypothesis of a supplementary *maháḥ* as Nom. pl., then one can succeed in explaining it only after extreme straining. In point of fact *mahó* rather stands in the closest connection with *rāyē*. *Mahó rāyē divitmate* in IV. 31.11 must approximate in its general sense to the similar '*mahé*' ... *rāyē divitmatī* (referring to *Uśas*) in V. 79.1. In most of the passages where the word *maháḥ* occurs, it naturally belongs to the stem *māh-* and *mahá*, with the aid of which, our *mahó rāyē* cannot be explained. The postulation of the stem *mahás* should not be unacceptable. Geldner is of the same view. But Geldner's suggestion that this *mahás*, discarding its case endings, serves for various cases, has not much to recommend itself. It is not understood why we cannot regard it as an adverbially used neuter in most of the passages coming under our consideration. Böhtlingk-Roth and Grassman construe it as an adverb. Outside our phrase *mahó rāyē* (= mightily for riches i.e. for mighty riches,<sup>6</sup> this adverbial use of *mahás* is seen in I. 153.1; 155.1; VIII. 36.6 (also VI. 50.3). Scarcely otherwise explicable, in an unnatural manner, are the following passages<sup>7</sup> :—I. 22.11; Ī. 32.1; VIII. 16.3; 25.24 (in a line with these last two passages is IV. 22.3 = VI. 32.4, though easily explicable otherwise); VIII. 70.8; X. 150.4. Further perhaps in the same category fall the passages : I. 102.1; II. 33.8; 34.12; III. 57.3; X. 64.9 (in a line with this VI. 66.3?). In some places, *maháḥ* appears to be a pure adjective (neuter) although the adverbial construction is also worthy of consideration, e.g. I. 3.12 and VI. 44.8. Compare also X. 55.2 (X. 37.1? X. 93.3?). The ease with which the word fits into many constructions as an

<sup>4</sup> Über *mahó rāyē* in ZDMG. 55, 270 f.

<sup>5</sup> My own view which differs from the opinions on Oldenberg-Geldner and most other scholars is stated and explained below :

<sup>6</sup> Oldenberg in a footnote, p. 271, compares for this meaning, VII, 30.1<sup>ed</sup> :

महे नृम्णाय नृपते सुवज्र, महि क्षत्राय पौंस्याय शूर ॥

where *mahé nṛmnāya* and *māhi kṣatrāya pāuṁsyāya* meaning, "for mighty manliness" and "mightily for royalty and manly vigour" occur side by side.

<sup>7</sup> Most of these passages are quoted and discussed below.

adverb (*maháh*) as nom. sing. masculine (*maháh*) as gen. sing. or as acc. pl. (*maháh*), naturally keeps out frequently a definite decision. In all, it appears that Grassman rather than Böhlingk-Roth is to be followed in taking the word as an adverb in some passages.

The difficulties of the problem having been thus stated, I now mention my own solution. The interpretation of *maháh* in *mahó rāyé*, which I propose is, in my opinion, so simple and natural that it seems surprising that it should not have occurred to scholars like Geldner, Oldenberg and others. *Maháh* is the gen. sing. of the substantive *máh*, n. = (1) greatness, vastness ; (2) fulness, abundance, plenty ; (3) height, eminence ; (4) might, strength, force, power, potency, energy, etc. ; (5) grandeur, lordliness, glory, splendour, magnificence, illustriousness, lustre, brightness, brilliance, etc. (6) Owing to the very close association of the adjective *máh* (great etc.) as gen. sing. with *diváh* and the substitution for the latter of the substantive *maháh* (gen. sing.) in many passages and for *tvacáh* (IV. 17.14<sup>a</sup> = *tvacó budhné rájaso asyá yónau*) in the partial RV.-repetition (IV. 1.11<sup>b</sup> : *mahó budhné rájaso asyá yónau*) with *tvác* in the sense of 'skin', 'ceiling', 'sky', an extension of meaning (5) is seen in the RV., viz. heavens, heavenly splendour, the light (of the sky), light etc. A clue should also be furnished by the parallel Avestan word *maz*<sup>8</sup> = great (adj.) and = greatness (substantive) as complementary in sense to *ahura* in the expression *Ahura-mazdā* = the Lord of Life (*Ahura*) and the creator of matter (*maz*) i.e. material greatness. But quite apart from (and even ignoring) this Avestan parallel, I may say that there is nothing strange or unusual in the postulation of this substantive *máh*. Böhlingk-Roth have already put it forth as a substantive.<sup>9</sup> Only they have unnecessarily restricted its scope to the dative *mahé* used as Infinitive in a few passages and had not realized the full extent of its connotation. Grassman<sup>10</sup> who recognizes it only as an adjective had to resort to the expedient of assigning passages where case-forms of the word occur by themselves, to special categories such as for example : ' (7) in *mahás rāyé*, zum Besitze oder zur Gabe *grossen* (Gutes)' or category (4) 'elliptisch : der grosse d.h. der *grosse* Himmel'. In a number of these passages, as I propose to show below, a satisfactory interpretation is possible by treating the case-forms as those of the substantive *máh*.

As regards the various senses, I have assigned to this substantive, I have only to draw attention to the fact that they are very nearly the same as those assigned to the adjectives *máh*, *mahá*, *mahás* and the substantive *mahas* which are all (equally with *máh*) primary nominal derivatives from one and the same root *mah* (essentially the same as the root *manh*). Now one of the

<sup>8</sup> I have the authority of Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala—philologist and Avestan scholar for this remark. Compare also P. von Bradke : *Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazda und die Asuras*. Noteworthy is the word *majmán* derived from *mah*, as also the word *mahiśá* (from *mah*) = great as adjective and = the great (or shining?). gods as a substantive, just as *devá* is derived from *div*.

<sup>9</sup> St. Petersburg Lexicon.

<sup>10</sup> Wörterbuch, Zum Rg-Veda, 1012-1013.

senses assigned to this word by Grassman is, 'to be lordly, glorious, grand, magnificent, fortunate, prosperous, auspicious or to be gay, happy, etc.' The meanings of the substantive *máh* enumerated above are easily derived from this root-meaning. In fact to my mind, in the word, '*máh*' there is the same peculiar and mysterious blending of the senses of 'greatness', 'glory', 'luck' and 'splendour or brilliance', that is found in the word '*Śrī*', especially in later Sanskrit.

Another clue to this meaning of *máh* (as a noun) is to be found, in my opinion, in the word *maghá* (n.) = riches, plenty, gifts, etc. This word is derived from the root *magh* = *manh*, *mah*. The original meaning of the word, therefore, probably was 'greatness' 'brilliance' 'plenty' 'wealth' etc. Now in the epithet *maghāvan*, what kind of wealth is hinted at as possessed by Indra or any one of the other gods to whom the epithet is applied? I have cited later two passages (I. 130.7 and VII. 21.7<sup>c</sup>) where Indra is described as distributing (*dāyamāna* and *dayate* respectively) '*mahó*' *dhánāni* and *maghāni* (respectively), after killing *Śambara* and triumphing over the powers of darkness. It is clear, then, that the riches of heavenly light (*mahó dhánāni*) were the peculiar possession of Indra and were the wealth specially valued and often prayed for.

I now take up for discussion the seven passages in which *mahó rāyé* occurs and next, those in which *maháh* appears, to show how the application of this theory of *máh* as a substantive having the various meanings enumerated above (especially the meaning : heavenly light or splendour, the refulgence of the sky or the brightness of heaven) gives a natural and satisfactory interpretation of all the '*mahó rāyé*'<sup>11</sup> passages, and a better interpretation in a number of the rest, without forcing upon us the awkward hypothesis of irregular accent, text-corruption, or adverbial use etc. It must be said to the credit of Sāyaṇa that in proposing various meanings for *máh*, *mahá* and *mahás*, he does hit upon '*tejas*' (= light, brilliance or splendour) as one of the alternative meanings in a few passages, e.g. his comment on *mahāmaháh* in X. 119.12<sup>a</sup> is as follows :—

महतामपि महानस्मि । यद्वा महत् प्रभूतं महस्तेजो यस्य । प्रभूततेजस्कोऽस्मि ।

Similarly he explains *Vṛddhá-mahāh* in VI. 20.3 ; 37.5 as '*Vṛddhatejāh*' and '*pravṛddhatejaskah*' respectively.

Before taking up the discussion, I cite a passage which by its general trend and special significance should leave no doubt in the minds of scholars that there is such a substantive as *máh* used in the RV. in the sense of 'splendour', light or 'brilliance'.

In VI. 7.—a hymn to *Agni Vaiśvānara*, verse 2 reads :—

नाभिं यज्ञानां, सदेनं रयीणां, महाम् आहावम्, अभि संनवंत ।

वैश्वानरं, रथ्यम् अध्वराणां, यज्ञस्य केतुं, जनयन्त देवाः ॥ २ ॥

<sup>11</sup> 'For the wealth of heaven or heavenly light' is my interpretation of the phrase which I propose to substantiate here.

(I have inserted the commas and separated some of the words just to enable the reader to see at a glance the series of parallel phrases, five in number).

Trans. :—They (all) together hail *Vaiśvānara*, the navel of the sacrifices, the abode of riches, the cistern [or pail or trough (*āhāvām*)] of *máh*; the gods have produced *Vaiśvānara*, the guide of sacrifices, (and) the flame or banner of *yajña*.

In my opinion, the cumulative force of the parallel phrases, in the midst of which occurs '*mahām āhāvām*', makes it certain that the latter phrase like all the rest consists of two ingredients—one a descriptive epithet in the Acc. sing. and the other a substantive in the Gen. plural (sing. once) specifying the sphere of the epithet. *Mahām* must, therefore, be taken as Gen. pl. which it can only be, of the substantive *máh*. The meaning of the latter word also becomes clear from this passage as : light, lustre, splendour, etc. What else can Agni be described as a pail or cistern of? This disposes of the view in Grassman's Dictionary that it is the Acc. sing. of *mahát* (adjective) and is an explanation of what Lanman (see footnote 2) calls 'the vexed *mahām*'.

*Passages in which the expression MAHÓ RĀYÉ occurs.*

First of all, I translate<sup>12</sup> the passage VI. 1.2 already quoted. "Then, (as) Hotṛ hast thou sat thyself down, the best sacrificer seeking nourishment in the place of Iḍ (sacred food or nourishment from the cow or the ghee-offering) i.e. the spot on which the sacrificial fire is established] worthy as thou art of being magnified. Thee as such the pre-eminent one, men longing for the gods have gone after, enkindling (or enlightening) for the *wealth of light*.

How closely associated with the kindling of the fire was the appearance of the Dawn, the rising of the Sun and the consequent flooding of the universe with light, in the RgVeda is too well-known to be emphasized. The phrase might also be taken to mean 'for the wealth of greatness, glory, eminence or abundance' in general. What particular meaning we attach to the substantive *máh* is immaterial from my point of view. I only maintain that the RgVedic poet has not here at least, put the idea 'for prodigious riches' into the awkward expression 'prodigiously (adv.) for riches!' Nor is it necessary to get the same meaning by resorting to the unusual device, indispensable though in some cases, of looking upon *mahás* without any case-termination as doing duty for *maháse* as Geldner does!

When Oldenberg points out that IV. 31.11 (the second *mahó rāyé* passage) :—

अस्माँ इहा वृणीष्व सख्याय स्वस्तये । महो राये दिवित्मते ॥

(Trans.—Choose us here for friendship, for welfare, lustrous<sup>13</sup> *mahó rāyé*) is

<sup>12</sup> The translation of Rg-Verses given above is mine except when otherwise specified.

<sup>13</sup> *Divitmate*='lustrous' according to Geldner (Der RgVeda übersetzt und erläutert, Erster Teil 1923); 'going to heaven' according to Oldenberg (SBE XLVI),

in its general sense very similar to V. 79.1<sup>ab</sup> :—

महे नो अद्य बोधयोषो राये दिवित्मती ।

he is right ; but when he suggests that, therefore, *maháh* in the one is to be formally equated to *mahé* (adjective) in the other, he goes too far because the RgVeda-poets are such quick-change literary artists as not to hesitate to employ the same word in two different senses (or once as an adjective and at another time as a substantive) not only in two different passages but even in the same verse !<sup>14</sup> Besides, the latter passage may be translated either as : ‘Awaken us to-day, O Dawn, lustrous (as thou art), to great (or abundant or lustrous) wealth’ in which case *máh* will be an adjective or as “Awaken us . . . . . to light . . . . . to wealth” in which case *mahé* would be a substantive. In any case, the use of *máh* as an adjective even in closely similar passages where it qualifies *rāyé* can be no objection to our taking it as a substantive in the phrase ‘*mahó rāyé*’ because the two expressions would be but the polished and subtle literary variants of one and the same idea viz. ‘for the wealth of splendour’ and ‘for splendid wealth’. This disposes of Oldenberg’s statement that phrase *mahó rāyé* cannot be explained with the aid of either of the stems *máh* or *mahá*.

To take up now the third<sup>15</sup> *mahó rāyé* passage, viz. V. 15.5 :—

वाजो नु ते शर्वसप्तात्वंतमुहं दोषं धरणं देव रायः ।

पदं न तायुर्गुहा दधानो महो राये चितयन्नत्रिमस्यः ॥

Trans.<sup>16</sup> :—“May Agni protect now the boundaries of thy strength, the wide, firmly supporting milk-stream of wealth, O god ! Putting down thy foot in secret like a thief, thou hast enlightened and freed Atri for the sake of wealth mightily.”

There is no doubt that here the characteristic myth about Atri who is chiefly represented as the protégé of the Ásvins, namely his deliverance from darkness<sup>17</sup> is associated with Agni. Pāda (c) can only refer to the chasm of darkness which Agni secretly negotiated for the deliverance of Atri, who was rescued and lifted up to the wealth of light outside. The word *citayan* (enlightening) shows the same thing. What is more natural then, than that Atri, rescued from darkness, should be enlightened for the *wealth of light* (splendour or glory) an immediate blessing, *rather than for mighty*

<sup>14</sup> Compare, for example, the word *Vṛṣan* in V. 40.3 :—

वृषा त्वा वृषेण हुवे वज्रिन्नित्रामिरुतिभिः ।

वृषन्निन्द्र वृषमिर्वृत्रहंतम ॥

<sup>15</sup> The second passage IV. 31.11 has been discussed above.

<sup>16</sup> The translation is Oldenberg’s (in SBE. Vol. XLVI, p. 399) deliberately taken to represent his point of view of the phrase.

<sup>17</sup> Compare VII. 71.5<sup>c</sup> :—*Nirámhasastámasaḥ spartam átrim*=you (two i.e. the Ásvins) delivered Atri from evil, from darkness.



*wealth* which at best could be a remote blessing? This passage is almost convincing in my opinion.

The fourth passage is V. 43.1 :—

आ धेनवः पर्यसा तूर्ण्यथा अमर्धतीरुष नो यंतु मध्वा ।

महो राये बृहतीः सप्त विप्रो मयोभुवो जरिता जोह्वीति ॥

Trans. :—May the cows, speeding to their goal with milk, non-harming, come unto us with honey. For the wealth of light, does the praising sage invoke the seven Mighty Beneficent ones.

The cows are the rivers<sup>18</sup>. It is well-known that in the RgVeda the release of the waters or cows is connected—especially in the Indra hymns, with the winning of light, sun and dawn. Our interpretation of *máh*, then, as ‘light’ is more likely right.

The fifth passage is VIII 23.16 :—

व्यश्वस्त्वा वसुविदमुक्षयुरीषीणादृषिः ।

महो राये तमु त्वा समिधीमहि ॥

Trans. :—Vyaśva, the Rṣi serving the Bull<sup>19</sup> (lit. acting like the Bull. i.e. Agni) has propitiated thee, the finder of treasures. Thee as such do we enkindle for the *wealth of light*.

As in the first passage, here too, the enkindling of the fire and setting it in a blaze are naturally associated with the winning of the wealth of light.

The sixth passage is X. 61.22<sup>ab</sup> :—

अथ त्वमिद्र विध्यस्मिन्महो राये नृपते वज्रबाहुः ।

Trans. :—(Now) then, O Indra, do thou find us (out) for the wealth of light, O Lord of men, thunder-armed (as thou art).

Pāda(b) is in my opinion, exactly parallel to VI. 29.1<sup>c</sup> : *Mahó hi dātā vājrahasto ásti*<sup>20</sup> where I interpret *maháh* as ‘of the light’. The epithet ‘thunderbolt-armed one,’ referring to the lightning stroke makes a reference to ‘light’ very appropriate as a gift from Indra the *dātā* or giver. Grassman gives nearly the same interpretation in his dictionary when he classifies *maháh* here as Gen. sing. ‘ohne substantive’ and as meaning “*gross reichlich*, von gut oder gabe, auch elliptisch in verbindungen wie *dātā mahás*”. Instead of supplying a substantive like ‘gift, goods, possession, blessing

<sup>18</sup> Compare, “He releases the streams which are like imprisoned cows (I. 61<sup>10</sup>) ... The rivers caused to flow are often terrestrial, but it cannot be doubted that waters and rivers are in the RgVeda, very often conceived as aerial or celestial.” Macdonell : Vedic Mythology, p. 59.

<sup>19</sup> Oldenberg (Textkritische und exegetische Noten, RgVeda VII-X. p. 96) says that *Ukṣanyúh* here and *ukṣanyántah* in VIII 26.9 probably refer to the generous *ukṣanyāyana* in VIII. 25.22.

<sup>20</sup> My translation of this pāda is : ‘(Indra) is the bestower of *máh* (light, splendour etc.) the thunder-armed one’ which differs from the usually accepted version = ‘A great (*maháh* as Nom. sing. of *mahá*) giver is the thunder-armed one’.

(gut oder gabe)' we take *máh* itself as a substantive meaning nearly the same thing viz. the gift (of light or splendour) and parallel to '*rālm divó*' in VII. 38.5 = the gift of heaven-(ly splendour). That *diváh* and *maháh* are often interchangeable is shown below.

The seventh or last *mahó rāyé* passage is X. 76.2<sup>ed</sup> :—

तदु श्रेष्ठं सर्वनं सुनोतनात्यो न हस्तयतो अद्रिः सोतरि ।  
विदध्य १ यो अभिभूति पौंस्यं महो राये चित्तरते यदर्वतः ॥

Trans. :—That excellent libation—press (it), pray (*u*) ; like a hand-managed steed is the (pressing) stone in (the hands of) the (Soma-) presser.<sup>21</sup> May the Arya<sup>22</sup> attain to overpowering might, since he wins coursers for the wealth of light.<sup>23</sup>

In this connection, I may only point out that in the RgVeda, with the Vṛtra-fight, with the winning of the cows *and* of the Sun, is also connected the *gaining of Soma*. When Indra drives the *ahi* from the air, the fire, the Sun and Soma shine forth. Indra won Soma at the same time as the cows. Thus (as in our interpretation) a reference to the *winning of the wealth of light* becomes appropriate on the occasion of the pressing of the Soma.

I have so far attempted to show that *maháh* in all the *mahó rāyé* passages is capable of a very natural interpretation as the Gen. Sing. of the substantive *máh* (material) = greatness, light etc. I now proceed to show that even outside these passages, the expression *maháh*, if interpreted in the same way will obviate the necessity of postulating the theories of irregular accent, anomalous use of case-forms, etc. in a number of passages. For example, the problem of the 'vexed'<sup>24</sup> *mahām* is easily solved, if it is looked upon most naturally as the genitive plural of the same substantive *máh*. Again Lanman (l.c. pp. 561-562) under 'Instrumental singular Masculine, Feminine and Neuter' says, "In some instances, a form identical with the stem appears with the value of an instrumental. They may be taken as case-forms without ending or as text-corruptions arising from misconception of the irregular forms (cf. Bollensen Orient und Occ. ii. 481-2)." In a note to this paragraph Lanman adds, "Bollensen l.c. p. 484 would explain *mahá(s)* or *mahó*

<sup>21</sup> Oldenberg's suggestion (Ibid, RgVeda I-VI p. 142) that *Sotári* here may be a Nominative (as Neisser BB. 20, 40 proposes) must await more proof.

<sup>22</sup> *Aryáh* may be nom. sing. (as above) = Aryan or = Agni [or Soma? Compare Pischel Ved. Stud. I. 229 note 1] or gen. sing. of *arí* = the niggard (as Bergaigne Rel. Ved. 218 seq. proposes) in which case *pāda* (c) = 'may he attain to the might that overpowers the niggard's might.'

<sup>23</sup> I take (d) as a relative sentence ; for the unaccented verb of it, see ZDMG. 60. 737 f.

<sup>24</sup> Lanman (Ibid., p. 552) says : 'If *mahás* be considered as an established adjective-stem (so with *arṇas* i. 3. 12 etc.) then the 'vexed *mahām* may be explained as contracted from *mahás-am*' but cf. p. 532. On page 532 he points out 'The form *mahām* is explained by Brugmann, as standing for *mahán-M.*' etc. All this will be needless if my view is accepted.

for *mahā* i.e. *mahāsā* in I. 22.11 (*śārmaṇā*) : I. 121.11 (*vājreṇa*) : II. 34.12 (*jyōtiṣā*) : VII. 25.1 (*ūtī*) " etc. In most of these passages, a natural interpretation is possible (as I propose to show) if *mahāh* is taken as the Gen. Sing. of a *substantive* rather than as an adjectival form disagreeing with the substantive in the Instrumental case which it is supposed to qualify !

One of such passages : VI. 29.1<sup>c</sup> has been already discussed in connection with the sixth '*mahó rāyē*' passage. A very important passage is IV. 1.11 :—

स जोयत प्रथमः पत्स्यासु महो बुध्ने रजसो अस्य योनौ ।

अपादशीर्षा गुहमानो अंतायोर्युवानो वृषभस्य नीळे ॥

Oldenberg<sup>25</sup> translates :—He has been born in the dwellings as the first, at the bottom of the great (air), in the womb of this air, footless, headless, hiding both his ends, drawing towards himself (his limbs) in the nest of the bull. In note 1 to this verse, he points out<sup>26</sup> : '*Mahāh budhné* seems to mean *mahāh rājasah budhné* ; comp. *rājasah budhnām*, I. 52.6 ; *budhné rājasah* II. 2.3 ; *mahāh rājasah* I. 6.10 *rājasah mahāh* I. 168.6 ; *mahī rājasī* IX. 68.3.'

All this is hardly convincing. In the first place, the mere employment of the word *budhnā* with both *mahāh* and *rājasah* need not lead to the conclusion that one is an epithet of the other. Secondly Oldenberg has completely missed the force of the partial repetition of our passage in IV. 17.14, which he himself has pointed out in note 2 to the former verse :—

अयं चक्रमिषणत्सूर्यस्य न्येतशं रीरमत्ससृमाणं ।

आकृष्ण ई जुहुराणो जिघर्ति त्वचो बुध्ने रजसो अस्य योनौ ॥

Trans.<sup>27</sup> :—This (God) sent down the wheel of the Sun's (car) and brought to a stand-still *Etaśa*, who was still galloping on (with the damaged car). Turning backward (*juhurāṇō*) the Black one (i.e. *Etaśa*) now dashes forward towards him (i.e. the Sun) at the resting place of this region (*rājasah*) at the bottom of the skin (i.e. the sky) etc.

There can be no doubt that *tvacó budhné* here is exactly parallel to *mahó budhné* in the former verse. In fact the significance of this partial repetition for determining the sense of *mahāh* has been noted by Bloomfield.<sup>28</sup> Thus 'at the bottom of the sky (*tvacáh*)' is equivalent to 'at the bottom of *māh*.' So *māh* is the same thing as the sky or rather the *illuminated sky* or the light that overspreads, and is co-extensive with the sky. This view gains support from the fact that *mahāh* is so often used with *divāh* to qualify it (I. 100.1 ; 105.10 ; 121.8 ; II. 1.6 ; V. 41.1 ; 52.7 ; VII. 36.3 ; IX. 48.1 ; 72.7 ;

<sup>25</sup> SBE. Vol. XLVI. p. 308.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 312.

<sup>27</sup> The translation is the one given by Prof. H. D. Velankar in a Reprint from the Journal of the University of Bombay (Vol. VI, Part VI. 1938).

<sup>28</sup> "Or let the reader judge for himself in just what way the meaning of the words *mahas* and *tvacas* is cleared up by their interchange in the item 4.1.11<sup>b</sup>, *maho budhne rajaso asya yonāu* : 4.17.14, *tvaco budhne rajaso asya yonāu*", p. xviii, Preface to *RgVeda Repetitions* : Part I (HOS. Vol. 20) by Maurice Bloomfield.

86.8 ; 110.8) that when 'maháh' is used by itself *diváh* may almost be understood after it, the two words together meaning not merely 'the great heaven' but 'the shining heaven'. Compare also 'mahé' qualifying *divé* in I. 71.5 and III. 54.2.

The passages cited by Oldenberg in which *maháh* goes with *rájasah* (I. 6.10 ; 168.6) as also I. 19.3 tell a different tale regarding the meaning of *máh* as qualifying *rájas*. These passages are in my opinion parallel to '*rájāmsi divyāni* (IV. 53.3) or *divó rájah* (I. 62.5 ; 110.6)'. In other words, since the latter phrase is parallel to *mahó rájah*, we get the same result viz. that the region of heaven (*dív*) is the same as the region of *máh* (heavenly light). In other words *dív* is in the RgVeda = 'luminous space', which is exactly what (as I have tried to show) is signified by *máh* which plays the same role as the word *rocaná* which like *máh* is used by itself without *diváh*<sup>29</sup>. I now quote and discuss passages proving the interchangeability of *dív* and *máh* in the Rgveda.

*Parallel passages which show that the terms MAHÁH and DIVÁH are almost interchangeable.*

III. 31.3<sup>ab</sup> :—

अग्नि॑र्ज्ञे जु॒ह्वा रे॑ रेज॑मानो मह॒स्पुत्राँ अ॑रुष॒स्य प्र॑यक्षे॑ ।

Geldner<sup>30</sup> : 'Agni was born with his quivering tongue to the (agreeable) surprise (or glorification) of [or with a view to strive after] the sons of the red *máh*.'

The meaning of the red *máh* will be clear from the following passages, but it is well to note first that the Aṅgirasas are referred to. Compare X. 10.2<sup>cd</sup> :—

मह॒स्पुत्रासो अ॑रुष॒स्य वी॒रा दि॒वो ध॒र्तारं उ॒र्विया॑ परि॒व्यन् ॥

'The sons of *máh*, the heroes of the Asura, the upholders of heaven should observe far and wide.'

That the words *āsurasya vīrah* are to be taken together is clear from III. 56.8 ; X. 67.2 ; 77.2 and III. 53.7<sup>ab</sup> which latter reads :—

इ॒मे भोज॑ अ॒गिर॑सो वि॒रूपा दि॒वस्पु॑त्रासो अ॑रुष॒स्य वी॒राः ।

The fact that the Aṅgirasas are called here and in IV. 2.15 the sons of *dív* and in our passage as sons of *máh*, together with the exact parallelism of X. 10.2<sup>cd</sup> and III. 53.7<sup>ab</sup> leaves no doubt that *maháh* = *diváh*. Further for the expression 'red *máh*' in our rendering of III. 31.3<sup>b</sup> compare VI. 49.3 and I. 85.5 where by *aruśá* the heavens (*dív*) are referred to.

<sup>29</sup> Compare Macdonell, "Heaven or *dív* is also commonly termed *Vyoman*, sky or as pervaded with light, the 'luminous space' *rocana* (*with* or *without* *diváh*)" (italics mine). Vedic Mythology p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Translation p. 330. Hereafter I shall refer in this brief manner to Geldner's work in German described in Footnote 13. It follows of course, that I differ from Geldner only in the interpretation of the word *máh*.

The term *diváspuṭráśaḥ* is not exclusive and is applied to the Maruts in X. 77.2 and to *Sūrya* in X. 37.1 which latter passage I discuss now from another point of view.

नमो मित्रस्य वरुणस्य चक्षसे महो देवाय तदृतं संपर्यत ।

दूरेदृशे देवजाताय केतवे दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय शंसत ॥

‘Salutation to the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa ; offer that divine service (or sacrifice) to the god of light ; say praise to *Sūrya*, the son of heaven, the far-seeing, god-born ensign.’

In my opinion ‘*mahó devāya*’ here and *mahó devāḥ* in IV. 58.3<sup>a</sup> probably mean the god (or gods) of heaven (or heavenly light). I am, however, not certain about this though such a construction will avoid the artificial adverbial use of *maháḥ* and gives a new and better meaning to similar expressions, such as for example, ‘*mahó vājīnau árvantā*’ in VIII. 25.24<sup>c</sup> where the meaning ‘the strong steeds of (heavenly) ‘light’ is very appropriate in my opinion.

A very important and much-discussed passage is X. 108.2 :—

इन्द्रस्य दूतीरिषिता चरामि मह इच्छन्ती पणयो निधीन्वः ।

‘(As) Indra’s messenger directed (by him), I move, seeking O Paṇis, your treasures of (heavenly) light’. In my opinion, it is not proper to refer to the concealed treasures (*nidhīm*) as large (*maháḥ*). Besides the accent of *maháḥ* (as acc. pl. and as qualifying *nidhīm*) is not in order. That my construction is right is rendered almost certain by the expression *divó nidhīm* in I. 130.3 :—

अविदद्दिवो निहितं गुहां निधिं वेने गर्भं परिवीतमश्मेन्यनते

अंतरश्मेनि । वज्रं वज्री गवामिव सिषासन्नगिरस्तमः ।

अपावृणोदिष इन्द्रः परीवृता द्वार इषः परीवृताः ॥

‘He found the treasure of heaven(ly light) deposited in secret, like the nestling of a bird (in an egg), completely enclosed inside a rock—an unending rock’ etc. It is clear that *diváḥ* here exactly corresponds to *maháḥ*, the reference being to the identical hidden treasure of cows (or rays which is what we mean by ‘heavenly light or splendour’). It is surprising that this should have escaped the attention of scholars ! It is hardly relevant to my proposition in this study to unravel the very difficult *tát* in the second hemistich of X. 108.2. But I only suggest that *tát* may refer to *máh* and *pāda* (c) which runs :—

अतिष्कदो भियसा तन्न आवत् ...।

may be translated : ‘That (i.e. *máh*) protected me through fear of being passed over (*atiṣkádaḥ* used figuratively as well as literally).’ I claim that this is the most natural and satisfactory explanation of this passage given so

far ! Compare the comments of Oldenberg<sup>31</sup> and Geldner.<sup>32</sup> There is no violence done to the Instrumental *bhiyāsā* or to *tāt* (by being made to refer to *Saramā* or to the imaginary 'consciousness of being sent by Indra'). Nor is there the unnaturalness of supposing that *Rasā* was afraid of being leapt over ! Just as *Saramā* had good reason to fear, similarly the treasures of light (or cows) would be afraid of the failure of the rescue-mission undertaken by *Saramā*.

In the following passages *mahāh* in connection with *nṛ̥n* is parallel, in my opinion, to *divāh* with the same or similar words in I. 64.4 etc. meaning Maruts, Āngirasas or gods in general.

VI. 51.9<sup>cd</sup>. ताँ आ नमोभिरुचक्षसो नृन्विश्वान्व आ नमे महो यजत्राः ।

'To you all the far-seeing Men of (heavenly) light, O Worshipful ones, I bend myself down in salutations.'

This obviates the necessity of looking upon *mahāh* as accusative plural with irregular accent.

I. 169.6<sup>ab</sup> :— प्रति प्र याहीन्द्र मीळहुषो नृन्महः पार्थिवे सद्ने यतस्व ।

Geldner<sup>33</sup> translates :—"Komm, Indra, den gnädigen Herren entgegen, vergleich dich mit den Grossen am irdischen wohnsitz" etc.

*Mahāh* is taken here as acc. pl. with irregular accent, meaning 'the great'. Besides 'reconcile thyself to the great ones at the earthly abode' in (b) is unnecessary after 'advance to meet the benevolent heroes' etc. in (a).

Compare now VI. 2.11<sup>c</sup> :—

वीहि स्वस्ति सुक्षिति दिवो नृन्.....॥

'Bring welfare, fine dwellings and the Men of heaven.' The parallelism is obvious and so I would translate I. 169.6<sup>ab</sup> : 'Advance, O Indra ! to meet the gracious Men of heaven (or heavenly light). Exert thyself at the earthly abode.'

I now take up passages where *mahāh* occurs with various other words and is parallel in sense to *divāh* occurring with the same or similar corresponding words.

I. 3.12 :— महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना । धियो विश्वा विराजति ॥

I admit it is possible to translate : '(Her) great stream (or flood) Sarasvatī announces with her banner'.

I, however, prefer to translate 'Sarasvatī announces her stream with the banner of (heavenly) light' in the light of III. 2.14 where the epithet *ketūm divāh* (= the banner of heaven) is applied to Agni. Compare also

X. 64.9 :— सरस्वती सरयुः सिधुरुर्मिभिर्महो महीरवसा यंतु वक्षणीः ।

Here it is possible to construe *mahāh* either with *ūrmibhiḥ* (=with the waves of splendour corresponding to *mahāh ketūnā*) or with *avasā* (=

<sup>31</sup> Noten II. p. 331.

<sup>32</sup> Ved. Stud. I, 141, A. 2 and Komm.

<sup>33</sup> Translation (*loc. cit.*).

with the help of their splendour). It will be noted that there is hardly any other *smooth* way of construing *mahāh* in this half-verse.

Now the passage VIII. 26. 23 :—

वा॒यो या॒हि शि॒वा दि॒वो व॒ह॒स्वा सु॒ स्व॒र्ग्यं ।

व॒ह॒स्व महः॑ पृ॒थुप॑क्ष॒सा रथे॑ ॥

‘Come O Vāyu, Auspicious One, from heaven ; lead well your excellent team of horses ; bear on from *māh*, your broad-sided horses (Yoked) to your car.’

In my opinion, *mahāh* here corresponds to *divāh* in pāda (a).

I. 155. 1<sup>cd</sup> या सा॒नुनि॑ प॒र्वता॑नामदा॒भ्या मह॑स्त॒स्थतु॑रव॒तेव सा॒धुना॑ ॥

= ‘Who (two) the imperturbable Ones, stood upon the ridge of light of the mountains, just as (a rider rides) on a good war-horse’.

This translation takes ‘*pārvatānām mahāh sānuni*’ together in conformity with ‘*divāh sānu*’ (= the ridge of heaven in I. 54.4 ; 58.2 ; IV. 45.1 etc.). It yields an excellent meaning also. The heavenly ridge or the illumined peaks of the mountains (or clouds) is just the place where *Viṣṇu* and *Indra* may be expected to take their stand.

Oldenberg suggests that *mahāh* be taken adverbially as already noted above in a summary of his note in ZDMG. 55. Geldner seems to take the same construction when he translates ‘auf dem hohen Rücken der Berge’.

This, to say the least, is not natural.

VIII. 68.3 :— यस्य॑ ते म॒हिना॒ महः॑ परि॒ ज्मा॑यंतमीयतुः । ह॒स्ता वज्रं॑ हिर॒ण्यं ।

“Thou, whose hands owing to the greatness of *splendour* grasped (lit. went round) the golden thunder-bolt struggling towards the earth”. Though it is possible here to take *mahāh* with *yāsyā té*, I prefer to take it with *mahinā* in the light of the passage III. 6.2<sup>cd</sup> :—

दिव॑श्चि॒दग्ने॑ म॒हिना॒ पृथि॑व्या व॒च्यंता॑ ते व॒ह्नयः॑ सप्त॒जिह्वाः॑ ।

‘May, O Agni, thy seven-tongued horses move along, by the greatness of heaven and earth’<sup>34</sup>.

X. 56.2<sup>cd</sup> :— अ॒हुतो॑ म॒हो ध॑रुणाय दे॒वान्दि॒वीव॑ ज्योतिः स्वमा॑मिमीयाः ।

Oldenberg<sup>35</sup> proposes to solve the difficulties here by suggesting that the words *mahó devān* should go together (as often) being probably dependent on *dharūṇāya* ! His rendering would be ‘for the support of the great gods’. Now I propose the following rendering ‘Unswerving, for the stability of *māh*, pro-

<sup>34</sup> Oldenberg’s Translation, SBE XLVI, p. 244.

<sup>35</sup> Noten, VII-X, p. 258.

vide (or establish) the gods, (who are) as it were, thine own flame in heaven.' Compare in this connection I. 56.6<sup>ab</sup> :—

त्वं दि॒वो ध॒रु॒णं धि॒ष्ण ओज॑सा पृथि॒व्या इन्द्र॑ स॒दने॑षु मा॒हि॒नः ।

Here *divó dharúnam* is, in my opinion, parallel to our phrase '*mahó*' *dharúnam*=firmness or stability of heaven.

IV. 53.4<sup>d</sup> :— धृ॒तव्र॑तो म॒हो अ॒जम॑स्य रा॒जति॑ ॥

This should mean '(Savitr), who upholds the *vratas*, rules over the *path of light* (or heavenly splendour)'. Geldner<sup>36</sup> who renders *mahó ájmasya* as 'of the great pathway' refers to I. 163 10<sup>a</sup> where the horses (of the Sun) are described as having reached the heavenly race-course (*divyám ájnam*). This, to say the least, is inconsistent, because if *divyám ájnam* = (our) *mahó ájmasya*, it follows that the race-course, or pathway is the *pathway divine or of heavenly light*. Compare other passages such as VII. 66.6<sup>c</sup> = *mahó rájānah ísate*, where the Ādityas are described as rulers of *máh* or heavenly light. Further '*divásca ... rájasi*' in I. 25.20<sup>b</sup> and '*divásca ... rájathah*' in V. 38.3<sup>d</sup> make the interpretation above almost certain. Compare also VI. 51.4 where the Ādityas are referred to as *mahó rájānah* which expression can only mean 'the rulers of light' because *rájānah* is definitely Acc. pl. and *maháh* by reason of the accent should preferably be taken as Gen. sing. rather than as Acc. pl. with irregular accent as Grassman<sup>37</sup> does.

The four passages in which Bollensen (l. c.) would explain *maháh* as a form of *mahás* (adjective) without case-ending standing for *mahásā* and agreeing with the associated substantive in the Instrumental will be taken up now. I explain below all these passages by taking *maháh* as Gen. Sing. of the substantive *máh*. This does not involve us in the hypothesis of an anomalous case-form at all.

(1) I. 22. 11 :—अ॒भि नो॑ दे॒वीर॑वसा॒ महः॑ श॒र्मणा॑ वृ॒षत्नीः । अ॒च्छिन्न॑पत्राः स॒च॒न्तां ॥

"May the Goddesses, consorts of Heroes, with unbroken pinions stand by us with their favour (or help) and with the protection of their greatness for splendour".

Here *maháh* may be construed with *ávasā* also = with the favour of help of their greatness.

(2) I. 121.11<sup>cd</sup> :— त्वं वृ॒त्रमा॑श॒यानं॑ सि॒राषु॑ म॒हो वज्रे॑ण सि॒ष्वपो॑ व॒राहु॑ ॥

'Thou didst send to (the) sleep (of death) Vṛtra lying in the streams, the boar, with the thunderbolt of light'.

The association of Indra's lightning-bolt with light or heavenly brilliance is not only to be expected but is also realised in another passage VI. 29.1<sup>c</sup> : *mahó hí dāla vajrahasto ásti*, which has been already discussed. An alternative construction, though less probable in my opinion, is *mahó varāhum* = the boar of *máh* (heaven) corresponding to *divó varāham* in I. 114.5<sup>a</sup> referring



to *Rudra*. In either case, *maháh* is explained as Gen. Sing. of *máh* (substantive).

(3) II. 34.12<sup>cd</sup> : उषा न रामीररुणैरपोर्णुते महो ज्योतिषा शुचता गोअर्णसा ॥

‘As the Dawn, with (her) red (tints), uncovers the nights, (so uncover the *Daságvas*, the cow-caves) with the shining lustre of (heavenly) splendour, billowy with cow’s (milk).’

This avoids the awkward construction of Müller<sup>38</sup> : “Like the dawn, they uncover the dark nights with the red (rays), the strong ones, with their brilliant light, as with a sea of milk”. His note<sup>39</sup> runs : ‘There still remain two difficult words, *maháh* and *gó-arnasā*. The former (see Lanman p. 501) may be taken as an adjective referring to the *Daságvas* or *Maruts*, unless we take it as an adverb, quickly, like *maksu*. If we could change it into *mahá*, it would form an appropriate adjective to *jyotiṣā* as in IV. 50.4”. My construction is a natural solution of the difficulties discussed by Müller and Lanman in both the passages.

Compare the following two passages for the juxtaposition of the two words *maháh* and *jyótis*.

IV. 50.4<sup>ab</sup> :— बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परमे व्योमन् ।

Geldner<sup>40</sup> renders this as “Bṛhaspati as born in the highest region of the great light” etc. Now whether we take *maháh* (Gen. Sing.) here as qualifying *jyotiṣah* (Gen. Sing.) with Geldner or as Ablative Sing. with Grassman<sup>41</sup>, I draw attention to the fact that *light* or *heavenly light* is so closely associated with *máh*, that here we may translate differently as follows :— “Born in the highest sky from the splendour (*jyótiṣah* Abl. Sing.) of (heavenly) refulgence (*maháh*, Gen. Sing.)”. In the light of this very passage, I would translate II. 23.2<sup>cd</sup> :

. उक्षा इव सूर्यो ज्योतिषा महो विश्वेषामिज्जनिता ब्रह्मणामसि ॥

“Thou (Brahmaṇaspati) art the creator of all prayers with the splendour of heavenly refulgences, as Sūrya (is the creator) of the morning rays.” Above all, it may be pointed out that the expression *mahó jyótiḥ* implied in our construction of *mahó jyótiṣā* (or *jyótiṣah*) has a parallel in *divó na jyótiḥ* in I. 69.1<sup>b</sup> = ‘the Sun’, as is only to be expected from the parallel use in the R̥g-Veda of *diváh* and *maháh* already pointed out by me.

(4) VII. 25.1<sup>ab</sup> :— आ ते मह इन्द्रोत्युग्र समन्यवो यत्समरत सेनाः ।  
पताति दिगुन्नयस्य बाहोः ...॥

The straits to which the non-recognition of the abstract noun *máh* has reduced some scholars, may be seen from Oldenberg’s comment<sup>42</sup> on this verse :

<sup>38</sup> S. B. E. XXXII, p. 296.

<sup>40</sup> Translation.

<sup>42</sup> Noten, VII-X, p. 27.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>41</sup> Wörterbuch.

'*maháh* Pp. bestätigt durch Angabe des Pratiśa in Tb. Ms.' etc. I translate "Here (*ā*) with the protection or aid of thy (*te*) splendour (*maháh*), O Indra, when the armies join (issues) in (battle-)rage" etc.

A parallel phrase with *diváh* standing for *maháh* is *ūtī* . . . . . *bṛható diváh* in VI. 2.4<sup>c</sup> = with the protection (or aid) of lofty heaven (or heavenly splendour).

Compare also '*maháh* . . . . *ūtāye*' in

X. 61.27<sup>ab</sup> :— त ऊ पु णो महो यजत्रा भूत देवास ऊतये सजोषाः ।

'As such, O Worshipful Gods, accordant be ye instantly (*ū śū*)<sup>43</sup>, for (giving us) the protection of (i.e. associated with your) splendour (or might)'.

Thus we may not understand *maháh* as Nom. pl. and then overlook the irregular accent.

*Passages in which the phrase MAHÓ RĀYÁḤ occurs.*

I. 149.1<sup>a</sup> :— महः स राय एषते पतिर्दन्... ।

= To the wealth of light advances he, the lord of the house etc.

This passage may be considered along with the closely parallel X. 93.6<sup>cd</sup> which reads :—

महः स राय एषतेऽतिधन्वेव दुरिता ।

Geldner<sup>44</sup> is right in concluding that *rāyáḥ* in I. 149.1, is Acc. pl. in view of the latter passage; but why should *maháh* be taken as Acc. pl. (of the adj. *máh*) when the accent shows it to be Gen. Sing.? All this is due to the non-recognition of the sub-stantive *máh*. Besides, as we have seen, with Agni this wealth of heavenly splendour is frequently associated. Similarly in I. 127.11 (a verse to Agni) '*ā bhara* . . . *mahó rāyáḥ*' must mean 'bring the wealth of splendour'.

V. 68.3<sup>ab</sup> :— ता नः शक्ते पार्थिवस्य महो रायो दिव्यस्य ।

= 'As such, help us to the wealth of splendour—terrestrial and divine'.

Here it may be noted that the wealth of heavenly light is described as terrestrial when the light spreads over the earth.

VIII. 23.29 (a verse to Agni) is important as showing that the disclosure of cows and the acquisition of *mahó rāyáḥ* are simultaneous :—

...त्वं नो गोमेतीरिषः । महो रायः सातिमेमे अपा वृषि ॥

= 'Disclose to us, thou (Agni), food consisting in cows and the acquirement of the wealth of light'. What could be more natural than that the release of cows should be spoken of in the same breath with that of light (*máh*)?

Passages parallel to *mahó rāyé* (or *rāyáḥ*) in the sense that case-forms of a word like *dhāna*, *rādhas* etc. (synonymous with *rāi*) occur in syntactical relation with *maháh*, are now discussed.

<sup>43</sup> Macdonell, Vedic Grammar for students, p. 220.

<sup>44</sup> Translation p. 187.

X. 64.6<sup>d</sup> :— महो ये धनं समिधेषु जञ्जिरे ।

= 'Who (i.e. the *árvantaḥ* or the Coursers) have brought themselves the wealth of (heavenly) splendour in battles'.

*Passages of this type are so numerous that if the above natural interpretation is not accepted, then maháh has to be construed in diverse ways in different passages !*

X. 150.4<sup>c</sup> :— अग्निं महो धनसातावहं हुवे...

= 'Agni, I invoke for the wealth-winning of (heavenly) splendour'.

It is interesting to note that Oldenberg<sup>45</sup> remarks here "*mahó dhánasātau* wird mit *mahó rāyé* (H. O. ZDMG. 55. 270 f) zusammengehören". But from the reference to ZDMG. 55, it is clear he looks upon *maháh* as an adverb'.

I. 130.7<sup>defg</sup> is a very important passage as showing that there is no other natural interpretation possible of *maháh* :—

अतिथिग्वाय शंबरं गिररुप्रो अवाभरत् । महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा  
विश्वो धनान्योजसा ॥

= 'For Atithigva, the mighty one hurled down Śambara from the mountain, distributing the treasures of light with his power, (distributing) all treasures with his power'.

The reasons why *maháh* should not be taken to mean 'great' qualifying 'treasures' are (i) the hurling down of Śambara from the mountain immediately preceding the distribution shows the particular kind of treasures meant (ii), secondly, 'great treasures' does not fit in with the immediately following 'all treasures' so well as 'treasures of light' with '(nay) all treasures'. It may be noted that the parallel passage in VII. 21.7<sup>c</sup> reads :—

इन्द्रो मघानि दयते विषह्य..... ।

'Indra distributes the treasures after fighting (victoriously).' Here *maghāni* exactly corresponds to '*mahó*' *dhánāni*. Now *maghá* (n.) is from the root *magh* = *maṛh* (or), mah. Thus *maghá* must have meant originally the 'wealth of light' that peculiar greatness, gift or possession of Indra which he alone could unfold and distribute after defeating the forces of darkness.

Similarly the phrase '*rādhaso maháh*' occurring in IX. 46.5<sup>b</sup>; 81.3<sup>b</sup>; and X. 140.5<sup>b</sup> means, in my opinion, 'of the wealth of light (or heavenly splendour)'.

From among the very large number of passages where scholars take *maháh* as Acc. pl. of *máh* adjective with irregular accent (the proper accent should be *māhaḥ*), I have already shown with respect to some passages that *maháh* can be more naturally construed as Gen. Sing. (of *máh*, a substantive) with the regular accent. I do not deny that there are a few cases of the Acc. pl. of *máh* with irregular accent. But these are so few that we can understand

<sup>45</sup> Noten p. 358.

how the accent came to be wrongly placed. But it is not proper to accept this hypothesis of an irregular accent in a very large number of cases (nearly 20) as Lanman and Grassman do. I cite a few more ; IV. 2.20<sup>ed</sup> :—

उच्छोचस्व कृणुहि वस्यसो नो महो रायः पुनरार प्रयंथि ॥

Oldenberg<sup>46</sup> translates :—“Blaze up ; make us wealthier, bestow great wealth on us, O bountiful one.”

My objection is to the translation of *mahó rāyáh* as ‘great wealth’. It should be ‘bestow the wealth of heaven (or heavenly splendour)’, *maháh* being Gen. Sing. with the regular accent. Compare also IX. 61.26<sup>a</sup> :—

महो नो राय आ भेर..... ।

‘Bring unto us the wealth of light (O pavamāna !)’

*Passages in which MAHÁH occurs by itself.*

VI. 29.1<sup>ab</sup> :— ईद्रे वो नरः सख्याय सेपु मेहो यंतः सुमतये चक्रानाः ।

Trans :—‘Your men have served Indra for friendship, longing for (his) good grace and seeking (heavenly) splendour’. (b) is generally taken differently, *maháh* being connected with *sumatáye*<sup>47</sup> ; but then the two participles *yántah* and *cakāndāh* are awkwardly placed in such a construction. In my opinion, *mahó yántah* is exactly parallel to *rāyáh imāhe* in VI. 22.3<sup>a</sup> : “*tám imaha Indram asya rāyáh = we implore Indra for some of that wealth and iyate vāsūnām* in VII. 32.5, the Genitive (*maháh*) being used with verbs like *i*, *bhaj*, etc. in the sense of ‘implore for’ and ‘participate in’ respectively.

I. 120.7<sup>ab</sup> :— युवं ह्यास्तं महो रन्युवं वा यन्निरततंसंतं ।

Geldner<sup>48</sup> translates : “you helped to great joy when you beat out (something)”. In my opinion, as the *beating off* could only refer to darkness (cf. III 39.3 : *tamóhanā*) we should translate : “When you beat off (the darkness), you were (eligible) for the enjoyment (*rán* is loc. sing. of *rán* = joy, pleasure etc.) of light (*maháh*)<sup>49</sup>”. Thus *mahó rán* is similar to *mahām u ranvām* in VI. 29.1<sup>a</sup> and *mahām u ranváh* in II. 24.11<sup>b</sup> (= (Indra or Brahmanaspati respectively) rejoicing in the splendours (*mahām* being Gen. pl. of *máh*). I propose to show later that this view of *mahām* renders unnecessary the various hypotheses discussed by Oldenberg (Noten I-VI. pp. 208.9).

VI. 25.6 :— स पत्यते उभयो नृग्नमयो र्येदी वेधसः समिधे हवन्ते ।

वृत्रे वा महो नृवति क्षये वा व्यचस्वंता यदि वित्तसैते ॥

Trans. :—He commands the might of both these (forces), when worshippers call upon him in battle, when the expanding (hosts on either side) bestir

<sup>46</sup> S. B. E. Vol. XLVI. p. 318.

<sup>47</sup> Grassman : Wörterbuch.

<sup>48</sup> Der Rgveda übersetzt und erläutert, Erster Teil, 1923.

<sup>49</sup> Oldenberg (Noten I-VI. p. 117) does suggest ‘Vielleicht steht *mahó* daneben wie in *mahó rāyé* (so Pischel)’ but asks : ‘Wie ist dann zu Konstruieren?’

themselves (either) for the encompassing (foe) or (against him i.e.) for the peopled (*nr̥vāti*) abode (*kṣāye*) of light (*mahāh*).

The parties to the conflict, in this Indra hymn evidently represent the forces of darkness (*Vṛtra*) and light. It is quite clear here that if *Vṛtra* represents (as the word certainly does) one party, the antithesis demands that *light* (heavenly light) must be characteristic of the other side. Besides the 'peopled abode' of light contrasts well with the *untenanted* interior of Darkness (i.e. the encompassing enemy). Compare also VIII. 61.14<sup>ab</sup> :—

त्वं हि राधस्पते राधसो महः क्षयस्यासि विधतः ।

'Thou art the treasurer (lit. lord of treasures) of wealth, of the abode of light for the worshipper'. My construction is different from that of Grassman<sup>50</sup> who along with many other scholars connects *mahāh* as an adjective with the preceding *rādhasaḥ* or with the following *kṣāyasya* but invariably in the sense of 'the great' or 'ample'. As to what this 'abode' (so often prayed for as a gift) was like, can be seen from X. 47.8<sup>b</sup> : *bṛhāntam kṣāyam āsamam jānānam* = "a lofty abode unmatched among the people."

Finally I present two passages in which the expression '*mahó druhāh*' occurs. As I propose to show, the interpretation of it as 'from (*Śuṣṇa*) the hater or enemy of light' is far more natural and appropriate than the one as 'from the great hater or enemy'.

IV.28.2 :—

त्वा युजा निखिदत्सूर्यस्येदं द्व्यं कं सहसा सद्य इंदो ।

अधि ष्णुना बृहता वर्तमानं महो द्रुहो अप विश्वायुं धायि ॥

Prof. Velankar<sup>51</sup> translates : "O Indu, with you as his companion Indra forcibly pressed down in a moment the Sun's wheel, which was moving over the great peak (of the heaven). The supporter of all life (i.e. the Sun's wheel) was removed to safety, away from the great devil (namely *Śuṣṇa*)". I accept this translation except for the part *mahó druhāh*.

VI. 20.5<sup>ab</sup> :—

महो द्रुहो अप विश्वायुं धायि वज्रस्य यत्पतने पादि शुष्णः ।

In the light of the previous passage, we may translate 'the supporter of all life (the Sun's wheel) was removed (to safety) from the '*mahó druhāh*', when at the fall of the thunderbolt, fell '*Śuṣṇa*'.

In my opinion '*mahó druhāh*' in both the passages should mean from the hater (*druhāh* Ablative sing.) of light (*mahāh*, Gen. Sing. instead of Abl. Sing. as Grassman takes it). The context favours my view. What could be more natural than that *Śuṣṇa*, from fear of whom the wheel of the Sun had to be removed to safety and who had to be killed with the bolt to ensure safety to the Sun, should be described as a hater of heavenly splendour, being one of the forces of Darkness or Evil? I do not deny that the other construction is possible; only it is less probable, in my opinion.

<sup>50</sup> Wörterbuch.

<sup>51</sup> Reprint from the Journal of the University of Bombay—(Vol. VI, Pt. VI May 1938).

## APROPOS OF MAHAṢ IN 'MAHÓ RĀYÉ' AND IN OTHER PASSAGES

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# THE ṚGVEDA PADAPĀṬHA—A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ṚGVEDA PRĀTISĀKHYA

By

P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI

The Padapāṭha is the earliest attempt at interpreting the Ṛgveda<sup>1</sup>. The primary motive which inspired its composition was the preservation of the hymns intact. The difference in tone, pronunciation, readings etc., which existed among different sects of people who studied and recited the Ṛgveda brought into existence various *śākhās* (branches) of the Veda and it is probable that each branch had its own *padapāṭha* or word-text. But only the *padapāṭha* of the Śākalaśākhā originally drawn up by Śākalya is handed down to us. In this *Śākha* the author has not only ignored the *Khilas* but has also left out six verses<sup>2</sup> from the vulgate. It is likely that the necessity of such a word-analysis as this was felt owing to the changes gently creeping into the Vedic language of the hymns as handed down by word of mouth. This version of the Veda is presupposed by the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* and Yaska's *Nirukta* and hence can be "separated from the *Samhitā-pāṭha* only by a short interval" according to Macdonell.<sup>3</sup> Even though the Brāhmaṇas used to learn the *padapāṭha* by rote from very early times, it was never considered to be a sacred text. On the other hand it is *very often referred to as anārṣa* (*profane*) *in ancient works* like Pāṇini's grammar<sup>4</sup> and the *Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya*.<sup>5</sup>

## *The Original Veda, the Samhitāpāṭha, and the Padapāṭha.*

The compilers of the Samhitāpāṭha engaged themselves in making euphonic combinations in the original version of the Veda ; on the other hand in the Padapāṭha the Samhitā is analysed from a grammatical point of view. That is to say the device adopted by those who edited the Samhitāpāṭha was phonetic synthesis, while that adopted by Śākalya was grammatical analysis. This analysis, as it happens, "to a considerable extent

<sup>1</sup> Roth—"Was ist dann der Pada anders als eine Erklärung?" quoted by Dr. Lakshman Sarup in his introduction to the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, p. 45. Oldenberg and Weber are also of opinion that the Pada is the first running comment on the Samhitā. Cf. Sūryakāṇtha, *Introduction to Atharvaprātiśākhya*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The verses are :—VII. 59.12 ; X. 20.1 ; 121.10 ; 190.1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> Panini, I. 1. 16. संबुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनापै. i.e., the vocative 'o' ( ओत् I. 1. 15) remains unchanged ( प्रगृह्य I. 1. 11) when followed by 'iti' in the non-sacred text—the *padapāṭha*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya*, आमन्त्रितमितावनापै I. 81.



restores the *saṁhitā* to an older age.”<sup>6</sup> The phonetic difference between the original Veda,<sup>7</sup> the *saṁhitāpāṭha* and the *padapāṭha* can be illustrated thus :—

tu ām hí agne	—	Original Veda
tvām hyāgne <sup>8</sup>	—	Saṁhitāpāṭha
tvām hi agne	—	Padapāṭha

The *tu* and *am* and *hi* and *agne* could not have been combined in the original version as shown by the requirements of metre. But they have undergone assimilation in the *saṁhitāpāṭha* according to the rules of *sandhi*. The Padapāṭha split up the combination *hyagne* leaving *tvam* as it was, for there was no necessity of dissolving the word from a grammatical point of view.

#### *Devices employed to analyse the Saṁhitāpāṭha.*

A comparative study of the *saṁhitāpāṭha* and the *padapāṭha* is essential to evaluate the importance of the latter as an analytical commentary on the former. The *Ṛkprātiśākhya* is a great help in this direction, as it registers a great many of the differences between the two texts.<sup>9</sup> The *prātiśākhya*s of the other Vedas also are of great use. The devices which such a comparative study reveals are the following :—

- (1) Resolving the vowel and consonant *sandhis*.
- (2) Converting *ṣ* and *ṇ* into *s* and *n*, their natural forms.
- (3) Restoring the sounds elided.
- (4) Separating the various components of a word (the stem and the suffixes or prefixes) by inserting *avagraha* between them.
- (5) Splitting up of compound words by inserting of *avagraha* between the members.
- (6) Inserting<sup>\*</sup> *avagraha* between a word and *iva* which immediately follows the word.
- (7) Marking the hiatus with an appended *iti*.
- (8) Shortening the vowels lengthened by *pluti*.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> How exactly can we draw up a picture of the original verses of the *R̥gveda* which have been treated to rules of *sandhi* in the *saṁhitā*? In the present state of our knowledge it could only be that which is given to us in a recitation of the *RV*-verses in strict conformity to the rules of prosody; cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 282-3. “Thus for instance, we read in our *saṁhitā* ‘*tvām hyagne*’, but can prove (on the ground of metre), that the old singers said ‘*tuam hi agne*.’”

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *RV*. VI, I. 1. a.

<sup>9</sup> Max Müller in his introduction to the *R̥gvedaprātiśākhya* maintains that the *Prātiśākhya* “registers most accurately the seemingly very trivial variations of the one from the other.” That this registering is neither thorough nor complete will be shown in the course of this article, in so far as the *padapāṭha*, as it is given to us, is concerned.

- (9) Removing the nasal sound used for euphony.  
 (10) Marking the natural accent of the words (i.e. unaffected by the accentuation of the words preceding or following).  
 (11) Changing the order of words wherever found highly necessary.

### Splitting up of Vowel-Sandhi.

In the original version of the Veda itself the phenomenon of Vowel-sandhi existed,<sup>10</sup> even though the tendency of the composers was not to allow vowels to meet. Vowels left unconnected in the original version were combined in the *samhitāpāṭha* to a great extent. All such combinations are split up in the *padapāṭha*, the *pada* or word being taken as the unit. How far this mode of analysis helps one to a correct appreciation of the Veda can be easily seen. The combination *indrehi* is dissolved in the *padapāṭha* into *indra+ā+ihī*. But for this analysis the *ā* between *indra* and *ihī* might have escaped the eyes of a modern student, the result being an incorrect interpretation of the passage. A few representative instances affecting the various vowel sandhis are given below.

	Samhitāpāṭha	Padapāṭha
I. 1.7	émasi <sup>11</sup>	ā īmasi
I. 32.4	prótá	prá utá
I. 24.13	ávainam	áva enam
I. 11.4	ámitaujāḥ	ámīta ojāḥ
X. 90.7	práuḥṣan	prá aukṣan

The above combinations in the Samhitā come under the category of *Prasliṣṭa Sandhi*.<sup>11a</sup>

IV. 33.1	prār̥bhúbhyah	prá/r̥bhúbhyah
X. 68.4	mádhuna ṛtasya	mádhunā/ṛtasya.

These are typical examples of the *Udgrāhavat Sandhi*.<sup>11b</sup>

IX. 97.51	abhyār̥seyám	abhí/ār̥seyám
X. 30.4	apsvántár	apsú/antár

Such combinations where the fusion of two dissimilar vowels result in either 'y' or 'v' are called *Kṣaipra Sandhi*.<sup>12</sup>

I. 94.11	ráthebhyó gne	ráthebhyāḥ/agne
I. 94.14	dāsúṣé gne	dāsúṣé/agne

<sup>10</sup> This is clear from the fact that the rules of prosody demand that we should pronounce *ya* and *va* as resolved into *ia* and *ua* often, but *not in every case*.

<sup>11a</sup> "In the *RV*. *a + i* is once contracted to *ai* in *praiṣayur* (I. 120.5) *pra iṣayuh*, *Padapāṭha*. See Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 64.

<sup>11b</sup> Cf. *Rgvedaprātisākhya*, II. 6. 7. The edition of Max Müller is referred to in this article.

<sup>11b</sup> Cf. *Rgvedaprātisākhya*, II. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Rgvedaprātisākhya*, II. 8.

These two represent the two varieties of Sandhi known as *Abhinihita* (elided).<sup>13</sup>

VIII. 12.1	yá indra	yáh/indra
V. 46.2	ágna índra	ágne/indra

Such sandhis are called *Udgrāha* in the *R̥gveda-prāṭisākhya*. The *ud-graha*-combinations are called *Udgrāha-padavṛtti*, when the initial vowel of the second word is a long one. For example :—

I. 84.17	ká īṣate	káh/īṣate
I. 4.10	tásmā índrāya	tásmāi/indrāya
I. 116.16	tásmā akṣí	tásmāi/akṣí
I. 2.1	váyaváyāhi	váyo iti/ā/yāhi
I. 2.6	váyavíndra	váyo iti/indra
I. 2.2	váyavuktébhih	váyo iti/uktébhih
I. 22.1	asvínāvéhá	asvínau/ā/ihá
I. 13.8	sujihvá úpa	sujihváu/úpa
I. 23.5	ṛtavṛdhāvṛtásya <sup>14</sup>	ṛtavṛdhau/ṛtásya

#### *Splitting up of Consonant Sandhi.*

In the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* a word ending in a consonant coalesces with a following one beginning with a consonant and as a result very often the initial and final consonants of such words are subject to modification. In the *Padapāṭha* all such combinations are thoroughly dissolved and the words are restored to their original or natural form. By this process of analysis the *Padapāṭha* has considerably facilitated the study of the *R̥gveda*. *Sometimes the modifications wrought in the consonants are so strange and curious as to baffle a student* who is unaided by the *Padapāṭha*. As an example the combination “*vajriñchlithihi*” (I. 63. 5) may be cited. The *Padapāṭha* dissolves this into its elements “*vajrin*” and “*ślithihi*” giving the exact form of the constituents of the compound word. Some typical examples of consonant-conjunctions which are split up in the *Padapāṭha* will make this more clear.

I. 113.6	āraikpānthām	āraik pānthām
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Such consonant-conjunctions in which the final consonant is a ‘*sparśa*’ and the initial consonant a ‘*vyañjana*’ and in which the consonants combined undergo no change are called *Avaśaṅgama* in the *Prāṭisākhya*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *R̥gvedaprāṭisākhya*, II. 13. For further information on *Abhinihita* Sandhi in the *R̥gveda* refer Panini VI. 1. 15-16 and *R̥gvedaprāṭisākhya*, II. 14-15. The initial ‘a’ following the final diphthongs *e* or *o* is “dropped in about three-fourths of its occurrences in *RV*.” Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> This particular type of Sandhi is called *Bhugnam* in the *Prāṭisākhya*. cf. The *R̥gvedaprāṭisākhya*, II. 11.

<sup>15</sup> The *R̥gvedaprāṭisākhya*, IV. 1.

VIII. 100.10	vāgvádanti	vāk/vádanti
VII. 82.8	arvānnarā	arvāk/narā
X. 15.12	āvāḍḍhavyāni	āvāt/havyāni
III. 33.1	vīpātchutudrī	vīpāt/śutudrī
X. 71.2	bhādraiṣāllakṣmīḥ	bhadrāiṣām/lakṣmīḥ

These are but a few examples of *Vaśanigama* Sandhi (i.e. consonant combinations in which the consonants—initial vyañjana and final sparśa—are modified) which are dissolved in the Padapāṭha.

Probably for the purpose of euphony some augmentary sounds creep into the Saṁhitā text when certain consonants are juxtaposed. The Padapāṭha while disjoining the words eliminate such extra accretions which otherwise might puzzle a student of the Veda.

I. 37. 12	girīñracucyavītana	girīn/acucyavītana
I. 63. 4	vīdāsyūryónau	vī/dāsyūn/yónau

Such combinations are known by the name *Sparśarepha-Sandhi*.<sup>16</sup>

III. 55. 9	mahānscarati	mahān/carati.
VIII. 93. 6	sārvāstān	sārvān/tān.

These are *Sparśoṣmasandhis* in which the final 'n' behaves more or less like a visarjanīya.<sup>17</sup>

II.5. 2	yāsmintsaptā	yāsmīn/saptā
II. 6. 8	asmīntsatsi	asmīn/satsi.

There are also a few other consonant combinations such as *Paripanna*, *Antahpāta* etc. which are split up in the Padapāṭha.<sup>18</sup>

### Restoration of Visarga.

In the Saṁhitāpāṭha visarga as the result of conjunction changes into o, r, s etc. and in certain cases is elided. The Padapāṭha invariably restores the original visarga either modified or dropped in the Saṁhitāpāṭha. A few typical cases are given below.

I. 1. 5	devó devébhiḥ	devāḥ/devébhiḥ
VII. 41. 1	prātārīndram	pratāḥ/īndram
VIII. 41. 4	yāskakúbhaḥ	yāḥ/kakúbhaḥ
VI. 47. 30	niṣṭānihi <sup>19</sup>	nīḥ/stānihi.

The sandhis which each of these examples respectively represents are *Niyata*, *Prāṣṭita*, *Repha*, *Vyapannaūṣma*, *Akāma* and *Anvakṣaravaktra*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The *Rgvedaprātiśākhya*. IV. 30. <sup>17</sup> The *Rgvedaprātiśākhya*. IV. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. The fourth paṭala of the *Rgvedaprātiśākhya*.

<sup>19</sup> In a good many cases the Padapāṭha restores the elided visarga, especially that of 'sah.' For example :—Sāsi=Sah/asi ; sainam=sah/enam. The treatment of the visarga in the Saṁhitāpāṭha is not consistent.

<sup>20</sup> The *Rgvedaprātiśākhya* ; IV. 8. 9. 11. 12.

*Conversion of ś and ṇ into s and n.*

The Pada-text converts the artificial ś and ṇ into s and n. On account of certain sandhi rules in the Samhitā 's' gets changed into 'ś' and 'n' into 'ṇ'. This phonetic change is a common phenomenon in the Vedic language and is known as *nati* in the technical terminology of the ancient Hindu grammarians.<sup>21</sup>

VI. 2. 4	ūtī śá bṛható divó	ūtī/sáh/bṛhatáh/diváh
II. 17. 6	tuviśvāniḥ	tuvi/svāniḥ
VIII. 5. 4	purupriyā ṇa ūtāye	puru/priyā/naḥ/ūtāye
IX. 35. 3	kṣārā ṇo abhivāryam	kṣārā/naḥ/abhivāryam

*Restoration of sounds elided in the Samhitāpāṭha.*

Another important feature of the Padapāṭha is that it restores sounds which are dropped in the Samhitāpāṭha as the result of juxtaposition with certain words or due to certain linguistic principles adhered to in certain hymns only.<sup>22</sup> The final 'm' of 'īm' elides in the Samhitā when preceded by a few words such as 'garbham', 'gāvaḥ', 'vatsam' and 'mrjanti'. This is restored by the Padapāṭha.

IX. 102. 6	yám ī gárbham	yám/īm/gárbham
IX. 72. 6	sám ī gāvaḥ	sam/īm/gavaḥ
IX. 63. 17	tám ī mrjanti	tám/īm/mrjanti
IX. 104. 2	sám ī vatsám	sám/īm/vatsám

In the Medhātithi-sūktas the final long vowels of compounds ending with 'varuṇa' or 'vrata' appear short when followed either by a sparśa or anthaṣṭha. The author of the Padapāṭha had observed this and in his pada-rendering of the Veda such compounds were rehabilitated to their usual grammatical forms.

I. 17. 8	īndrāvaruṇa nū nū vām	īndrāvarunā/nū/nū/vām
I. 15. 6	mītrāvaruṇa dūlābham	mītrāvarunā/duḥ/dābham
I. 15. 6	dṛṭavratā mītrāvaruṇa	dṛṭavratā/mītrāvarunā

The aprkta 'u' is invariably rendered in the Padapāṭha as 'ūn', which probably is the normal form of this particle.

*The employment of avagraha for analysis.*

Separating the elements of words by inserting an avagraha<sup>23</sup> between them is of vital importance in the pada formation. This device is generally

<sup>21</sup> This problem is treated at large in the Natipāṭala (V) of the *R̥gveda-prātiśākhya*.

<sup>22</sup> The *R̥gvedapṛātiśākhya* IV. 36. and 39. It is an interesting fact to note that the rules of elision of sounds are not uniformly observed in the Samhitāpāṭha. The variations of treatment are sometimes due to difference of authorship. In other cases they are found in certain groups of hymns only.

<sup>23</sup> In this method of analysis the Padapāṭha of the Sāma Veda is more elaborate than those of the other Vedas. Cf. Burnell, *Introduction to the R̥kta-ravyākaraṇa*, pp. 16-20.

employed to separate some case-endings, suffixes and prefixes from the stem. Compound words are also separated in this way.

The case-endings beginning with 'bh' and preceded either by a short vowel or a consonant (i.e. when not preceded by a long vowel) is seen marked out by an avagraha in the Padapāṭha.

I. 35.3.	hāribhyām	hāri/bhyām
II. 18.4.	catūrbhiḥ	catūh/bhiḥ
I. 11.3	stotṛbhyo	stotṛ/bhyaḥ
X. 40.10.	pātibhyaḥ	pāti/bhyaḥ

But in words like *dvābhyām*, *aṣṭābhiḥ*, *angebhiḥ*, *devebhyaḥ* etc. where the case suffix follows a long vowel the avagraha is not employed.<sup>24</sup> An exception to this rule is found when the case suffix 'bhyam' in 'asmabhyam' and 'tubhyam' is not separated by avagraha even though it begins with 'bh' and is preceded by a short vowel.

The case termination 'su' of the locative plural is separated by avagraha from the stem, the condition being that it should neither be modified into 'ṣu' nor be preceded by a long vowel.<sup>25</sup>

e.g. I. 23.19.	apsú	ap/sú
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But 'su' in 'tāsu' is not separated like this for it is preceded by a long vowel.

Prepositions compounded with substantives, adverbial suffixes and various other particles of morphological signification are seen distinctly marked out by avagraha. For example :—

VI. 13.3.	praceta	pra/cetaḥ
IV. 16.18.	uruśámso	uru/śámsaḥ
I. 9.5.	vibhú	vi/bhú
IX. 88.3.	draviṇodāḥ	draviṇaḥ/dāḥ
I. 16.8.	vṛtrahá	vṛtra/há
V. 32.12.	ṛtuthá	ṛtu/thá <sup>26</sup>

The negative prefixes 'ana' and 'a' are not separated by avagraha in the Padapāṭha.

Even if there is more than one preposition in a word only one avagraha is used for such analysis. Generally avagraha is placed just after the first upasarga. Ex. su/pravacanam. But instances where it appears after the second preposition are also available. Ex. supra/ayanam. The arbitrariness of this will be commented on later. Even when a prefix and suffix occur in

<sup>24</sup> With regard to the case endings with an initial 'bh' the same principle is followed in the Padapāṭha of the White Yajur Veda. ह्रस्वव्यञ्जनाभ्यां भकारादौ विभाक्तिप्रत्यये. Cf. The *Suklayajurvedaprātisākhya*. V. 13.

<sup>25</sup> The same principle is adopted in the *White Yajurveda-Padapāṭha*. स्त्विति चानतौ Cf. *White Yajurvedaprātisākhya* V. 14.

<sup>26</sup> This mode of analysing words is not free from irregularity.

a word only one avagraha is employed and that invariably is for separating the suffix. For example :—

V. 44.12.	suprayāvabhiḥ	suprayāva/bhiḥ
II. 21.6.	subhagatvām	subhaga/tvām

When a word with a suffix or prefix is followed by an 'iva' neither the suffix nor the prefix is separated by avagraha. The only avagraha used in such cases is inserted between the word and the 'iva'.

X. 142.4.	pragardhīnī iva	pragardhīnīḥ iva
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The members of a compound word (samastapada) are as a rule separated by avagraha. Ex. nṛ/pātiḥ. In splitting up the compounds all the modifications of vowels and consonants brought about in the components in the process of combination are removed.

II. 1.5.	purūvāsuḥ	puru/vāsuḥ
II. 9.1.	hotṛśādane	hotṛ/śādane

Iterative (āmṛḍita) compounds in which an inflected form is repeated with loss of accent in the second word is also separated by avagraha mark.

X. 163.6.	āṅgādaṅgāt	āṅgāt/āṅgāt
X. 163.6.	lómno lomno	lómnaḥ/lomnaḥ

Exceptions to this rule are the following :—

Avagraha is not inserted between the members of a compound word in which 'dva' is the first member.

Ex. VII. 103. 9. dvādaśāsya

The component words of a dvanda compound are not separated by avagraha when it ends in a dual termination, the first member having a final vowel.

Ex. I. 35.9 dyāvāpṛthivī

If the first member is a monosyllabic word subject to vṛddhi due to the derivative (taddhita) suffix that too is not separated by avagraha.<sup>27</sup>

Ex. V. 29.6. Traiṣṭubhena ; X. 85.33. saúbhāgyam

No avagraha is inserted between the components of the compound word 'vanaspati'.

It is invariably seen in the Padapāṭha that an avagraha is placed between 'iva' and the word immediately preceding it, the natural inference being that it formed a compound<sup>28</sup> with the word it followed.

The Rkprātisākhya is silent about this device of analysis by employing avagraha. The only explanation can be that the avagraha in the Rgveda padapāṭha is due to later influence or in other words the RV-padapāṭha was retouched at a later date.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. The *Suklayajurveda Prātisākhya*, V. 26-20.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. with the nityasamāsa with 'iva' in later classical language.

*Itikaraṇa or appending 'iti' to unchangeable final vowels.*

The marking of hiatus by an appended 'iti' is another notable feature of the Padapāṭha-analysis. After those final vowels which are not subject to modifications in the Samhita, there will be hiatus and to mark this out the Padapāṭha attaches 'iti' to all words which end with an unchangeable vowel technically called *pragṛhya*. A word to which an 'iti' is tagged on is known as 'upasthitam' in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*.

The vowel 'ī' when it is either a dual (Nom. Acc.) or locative termination is *Pragṛhya*. Such duals and locatives irrespective of their being followed by a vowel or a consonant are followed by an 'iti' in the Padapāṭha.

*When 'ī' is a dual termination.*

I. 23.3.	pāti	pāti iti
I. 10.8.	ródasī	ródasī iti

*When 'ī' is a locative termination.*

VII. 103.2	sarasī	sarasī iti
II. 3.4.	védī	védī iti

The final 'ī' of 'Amī' (Nom. pl. of *asau*) is also treated as a *pragṛhya* in the Padapāṭha and is always written as 'amī iti'.

When it is either a dual (Nom. Acc.) or locative case-ending 'ū' is a *pragṛhya* and as usual to this also 'iti' is attached.

*When 'ū' is a dual case-ending.*

I. 14.3.	índravāyū	índravāyū iti
I. 6.2.	dhṛṣṇū	dhṛṣṇū iti

*When 'ū' is a locative case-ending.*

camū	camū iti
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Instead of short independent (*aprakta*) 'u' in the Samhitapāṭha we see long and nasalised form in the Padapāṭha i.e. *ūm*. To this an 'iti' is also appended in the Padapāṭha. It is written 'ūm iti' when the *aprakta* 'u' is at the end of a hemistich, otherwise it is written as 'ū iti'.

The diphthong 'e' is treated as a *pragṛhya* in the Padapāṭha when it is a dual termination either nominal or verbal.

*When 'e' is a nominal dual-ending.*

I. 29.3.	ábudhyamāne	ábudhyamāne iti.
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*When 'e' is a verbal dual-ending.*

I. 2.9.	dadhāte	dadhāte iti
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The termination 'e' in 'asme', 'yuṣme' and 'tve' is a *pragṛhya*<sup>29</sup> and these words are immediately followed by an *iti* in the Padapāṭha.

The diphthong 'o' is considered to be *pragṛhya* in the following cases.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Panini. I. 1. 13.



*When 'o' is a vocative termination.*<sup>30</sup>

IV. 18.11. viṣṇo

viṣṇo iti

*When 'o' is an independent word.*

VII. 40.1. ó

ó iti

The final 'o' in words like 'atho', 'uto', 'yaho', 'tatvo' 'mo' etc. is also treated as pragrhya in the Padapāṭha.

To those words with a final visarjanīya which represents an etymological 'r' iti is seen appended in the padapāṭha. But to this rule exceptions are many.

VI. 15.14. hota-r-iti

I. 15.3. néṣṭa-r-iti

Compound words which end in an unchangeable vowel is repeated after 'iti' in the Padapāṭha.

I. 3. 1. drávatpāṇī iti drávat/pāṇī

V. 74.6. vājīnīvasū iti vajīnī/vasū

Such words are technically called 'sthitopasthitam' in the Ṛkprātīśākhya.

Words ending in an unchangeable vowel and followed by 'iva' are also seen repeated after 'iti' which is placed after the 'iva'.<sup>31</sup>

I. 28.7. hārī iva iti hārī/iva

II. 38.2. dāmpatī iva iti dāmpatī/iva

Words like 'syuḥ' 'akāḥ' etc. are repeated after iti in the Padapāṭha but the practice is not pursued uniformly throughout.

*Pluti-lengthening removed.*

Vowels which are naturally short are sometimes lengthened in the Samhitāpāṭha. This lengthening is due to pluti. In such cases the Padapāṭha invariably shortens the vowels.<sup>32</sup>

V. 83.1. áccā vada

áccha vada

VI. 51.14. jahí nyātrīṇam

jahí ní atrīṇam

III. 31. 20 makṣū makṣū kṛṇuhi

makṣū/makṣu kṛṇuhi

*Removing the nasal sound used for euphony.*

The vowel 'a' is sometimes nasalised in the Samhitāpāṭha probably to bridge over the hiatus. In the Padapāṭha this nasal sound is removed.

I. 120. 10 śásadānañ eṣi

śásadāna/eṣi

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Panini I. 1. 16.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Atharvavedaprātīśākhya. I. 82. अर्ली इवादिबिवादितिः परः

<sup>32</sup> The Plutipāṭha in the Ṛkprātīśākhya will be helpful to study under what conditions the vowels take pluti.

*Changing the order of words.*

The Rkprātiśākhya points out three cases where the Padapāṭha has changed the order of words in the Samhitapāṭha.<sup>33</sup> These are technically called 'Anānapūrvyasamhitā' in the Prātiśākhya.

V. 2.7	śūnaścicchēpam	śūnahśēpam/cit
X. 64.3	nārā vā śāmsam	nārāśāmsam/va
IX. 86.42	nārā ca sāmsam	nārāśāmsam/ca

This change in the order of words is brought about in the pada text to make the meaning clearer. This shows a definite tendency towards interpreting the Veda.

The above study proves beyond doubt that the Padapāṭha has got a definite and considerable value as the first comment on the Rgveda. It is also valuable as the first recorded attempt to analyse Sanskrit speech. Moreover, it can also be seen by comparing the Samhitapāṭha and the Padapāṭha that the latter had laid the foundation for all the future grammatical studies in Sanskrit literature.

*The extant Padapāṭha not the work of a single author.*

The extant Padapāṭha betrays certain features which were unknown to the author of the Rkprātiśākhya. As has been already pointed out the employment of avagraha in the Padapāṭha is not dealt with in the Rkprātiśākhya. The meagre treatment of 'itikarāṇa' in the Rkprātiśākhya may indicate that the elaborate use of 'iti' that has been made in later days was not known to its author. There are also various inconsistencies in the practice of employing avagraha for analysing words and appending 'iti' to words ending in 'praghyā'. Some such inconsistencies which are already pointed out when avagraha and itikarāṇa are explained elsewhere may be reiterated here. In employing avagraha to mark out prefixes and suffixes the Padapāṭha shows some inconsistency. Between the word and the suffix, in certain cases, we see the avagraha inserted. For example, kṣu/mantam. But we meet with instances where the same suffix is not separated by avagraha. Ex. haviṣmantam. The suffix in 'deva.fyanta' is marked out but it is not marked out in 'citayanta'. When there are two prefixes the avagraha is placed after the first or the second without any consistency. Ex. supra/aynḥ; su/pracetasaḥ. In itikarāṇa also there are some inconsistencies. Only in certain cases words like savitaḥ, hotaḥ; etc. with a visarga which stands for an etymological 'r' at the end are followed by iti in the Padapāṭha. The practice of appending 'iti' to and repeating the words like syuḥ, akaḥ, etc. is similarly inconsistent. These facts tend to show that the Padapāṭha handed down to us is not exactly the original version nor the work of a single author.

<sup>33</sup> The Pada of the *Taittirīya Samhitā* also removes some irregularities from the Samhitā. Cf. Keith, Introduction to the translation of the Veda of Black Yajus School, pp. xxx-xxxi.

# THE "COSMIC HOUSE" IN THE R̥G-VEDA<sup>1</sup>

By

C. S. VENKATESWARAN

In many hymns of the R̥g-Veda, the idea of world-creation is conveyed more in a poetic than in a philosophic manner. Thus, now one god, now another, is declared as the 'builder' of the Universe. The origin of the world is ascribed to a process of mechanical production in which the artistic skill of the 'architect' is called into play. Thus Indra, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa or a like god is represented, in turn, as the artisan-god who fashioned out through his skill this wondrous piece of architecture—the world. The metaphor of building, in its diverse details, is here pressed into service. The verses dealing with this subject are replete with poetic beauty, the style being justly figurative. The rudiments of the science of Architecture—as of sciences like Geometry, Astronomy and Medicine—could be culled out of the R̥g-Vedic description of the "Cosmic Structure". It calls up before our minds the conception of a building with the varying processes involved in its construction; for reference is made in the verses to the measurement, laying the foundation, raising the props and fixing the superstructure. We shall now see, with reference to the relevant verses, how the R̥g-Veda-poet viewed the world as the work of an artisan-god.

The *act of measuring* is referred to in many a R̥g-Vedic hymn while dealing with the construction of the "Cosmic House". Any one of the well-known Vedic pantheon takes up the rôle of the measurer.<sup>2</sup> Thus is it declared that Soma measured out the six expanses;<sup>3</sup> Viṣṇu,<sup>4</sup> Varuṇa<sup>5</sup> and Savitr<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Based mainly on the material contained in § 8 entitled 'Cosmogony' in Ch. II of 'Vedic Mythology' by A. A. MACDONELL, p. 11. I am indebted to my Professor Dr. V. M. APTE for his valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Even here, the henotheistic tendency of the Vedic poet is markedly manifest. As in praising the gods, *in turn*, so in ascribing to them the work of world-creation.

<sup>3</sup> अयं षड्विंशतिमिमीत धीरो..... R. V. VI. 47.3.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the idea of measuring in general, that of measuring the three worlds in three strides expressed through √Kram is associated with Viṣṇu.

a. यो रजांसि विममे पार्थिवानि त्रिष्विद्विष्णु..... VI. 49.13a.

b. यः पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि । I. 115.4b.

c. विचक्रमे षुथिवीमेष एतां VII. 100.4a.

d. यः पार्थिवानि त्रिभिरिद्विगामभिरुक्रमिष्ट I. 155.4

In the above (d) Viṣṇu-Indrā is invoked. Possessing like characteristics, Indra and Viṣṇu exhibit a tendency to merge into the other.

<sup>5</sup> मानेनेव तस्थिवाँ अन्तरिक्षे वियो ममे षुथिवीं सूर्येण । V. 85.5b.

<sup>6</sup> यः पार्थिवानि विममे स एतशो रजांसि देवः सविता महित्वना । V. 81.3b.

the earthly regions ; Pitṛs,<sup>7</sup> the two worlds ; and Agni,<sup>8</sup> the aerial space and the bright realms of heaven. The verb √*mā* ordinarily denotes this action.

The *measuring apparatus* is the rod (*mātrā* or *māna*); but, sometimes the Sun takes its place. Thus, with measuring rods, the Pitṛs measured the two worlds and made them broad<sup>9</sup> ; Indra does the work with measures (*māna*).<sup>10</sup> But Varuṇa measures the earth with the Sun<sup>11</sup>—a process, which to us remains almost an enigma.

The *measurement begins*, normally, in front or the east. 'Indra measures, as it were a house, with measures from the front.'<sup>12</sup>

Closely allied to the idea of measuring is that of *spreading out the earth*<sup>13</sup> expressed mostly through the verb √*prath* and rarely through √*han* (to beat out flat) and √*tan*. The act is attributed to Indra,<sup>14</sup> Varuṇa,<sup>15</sup> Agni.<sup>16</sup> The spreading of the earth and heaven is sometimes likened to the spreading of a skin<sup>17</sup>—a fact which incidentally points to the R̥g-Vedic Aryan's habit of

<sup>7</sup> सं मात्राभिर्मिमेरे येसुर्वी..... III. 38.3b.

<sup>8</sup> वि यो रजांस्यमिमीत सुकृतुर्वैश्वानरो VI. 7.7a.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> सद्येव प्राचो विमिमाय मानैः II. 15.3a.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> The etymology of the word 'Pr̥thivī' accords well with this idea. It is referred to in R. V. II. 15.2 which says that Indra spread out the earth (paṇṇathat). The Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa expressly derive the word from √*prath* to extend, because the earth is extended. (Vide, Ved. Myth. p. 88, § 34).

.....तां विश्वकर्मा भूत्वा व्यमर्दसाऽप्रथत । सा पृथिव्यभवत्तपृथिव्यै पृथिवीत्वम् ।

T. S. 7-1-5.

.....स पृथिवीमथ ओच्छत् । तस्या उपहत्योदमज्जत् ।

तत्पृथक्पणंऽप्रथयत् । यदप्रथयत् । तत्पृथिव्यै पृथिवीत्वम् T. B. 1-1-3-6.

<sup>14</sup> Indra is specially associated with the act of spreading out the earth as Viṣṇu is with that of measuring the worlds in his three strides.

a. पप्राथ क्षां महि दंसो व्यु १ वीमुपयामृष्वो बृहदिन्द्र स्तभायः VI. 17-7.

b. इन्द्रो महा रोदसी पप्रथच्छव इन्द्रः सूर्यमरोचयत् । VIII. 3.6a.

c. स धारयत्पृथिवीं पप्रथञ्च II. 15.2b.

<sup>15</sup> वि यो जघान शमितेव चमोपस्तिरे पृथिवीं सूर्याय । V. 85-1.

<sup>16</sup> a. परि यो विश्वा भुवनानि पप्रथे..... VI. 7-7b.

b. व्रता ते अने महतो महानि तव कृत्वा रोदसी आततन्थ । III. 6-5a.

<sup>17</sup> a. *op. cit.*, 15.

b. ओजस्तदस्य तित्विष उभे यत्समवर्तयत् इन्द्रश्चर्मैव रोदसी VIII. 6.5.

c. आकृष्ण ई जुहुराणो जिघर्ति त्वचो बुध्ने रजसो अस्य योनौ । IV. 17-14b.

hunting wild animals for their skin, which he used to spread out for drying.

That *the material of construction* was conceived as wood is implied in a verse which purports to question the nature of the wood and the tree of which earth and heaven were fashioned.<sup>18</sup> The answer to this query, nowhere given in the Rg-Veda, is, in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,<sup>19</sup> broached in a philosophic vein ; but, it is quite doubtful whether it was the very answer which the inquiring poet expected.

Heaven and earth are often described as having been supported ( $\sqrt{dhar}$ ,  $\sqrt{stabh}$ ,  $\sqrt{skabh}$  and  $\sqrt{sthā}$  (causal) with posts (*skambha* and *skambhana*). Sometimes an abstract quality like craft (*māyā*), eternal law (*dharma*), greatness (*mahi*, *mahas*) or might (*sahas*) pertaining to the gods concerned, serves as an effective prop. Soma,<sup>20</sup> Indra,<sup>21</sup> Viṣṇu,<sup>22</sup> Varuṇa<sup>23</sup> or Bṛhas-

<sup>18</sup> किं स्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आस..... X. 81-4.

This passage shows implicitly that houses made of wood were familiar to the Rg-Veda poets.

<sup>19</sup> ब्रह्म वनं ब्रह्म स वृक्ष आसीत् ।

यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्ठतक्षुः । T. B. 2-8-9-6.

<sup>20</sup> a. अयं सोमो<sup>1</sup> दाधारोर्व<sup>2</sup> न्तरिक्षम् VI. 47-4b.

b. अयं महान्महता स्कम्भनेनो<sup>3</sup> द्यामस्तन्नाद्वृषभो मरुत्वान् । VI. 47-5.

<sup>21</sup> a. आद्वोदसी वितुरं विष्कभायत्संविष्यानः... V. 29-4.

b. ...उपयामृषो बृहदिन्द्रस्तभायः । VI. 17-7.

c. अवशोद्यामस्तभायद्वहन्तुमा रोदसी... II. 15-2.

d. आधारयत्पृथिवीं विश्वधाय समस्तभ्रान्मायया द्यामवस्रसः । VIII. 14.9b.

e. वियत्तिरो धरुणमच्युतं रजोऽतिष्ठिपो I. 56-5.

दिव आतासुवर्हणा ।

f. यो...विष्वक्स्तम्भं पृथिवीमुत द्याम् । X. 89-4b.

<sup>22</sup> a. यो अस्कभायदुत्तरं सुधस्थं... I. 115-4b.

b. व्यस्तन्ना रोदसी विष्णवेते दाधर्थ... VII. 99-3.

पृथिवी मुभितो मयूखैः...

c. उदस्तन्ना नाकमृष्वं बृहन्तं दाधर्थ... VII. 99-2.

प्राचीं क्रुमुं पृथिव्याः ।

<sup>23</sup> a. अस्तन्ना द्यामसुरो विश्ववेदा... VIII. 42-1a.

b. धीरा त्वस्य महिना जनूषि वियस्तस्तम्भ VII. 86-1a.

रोदसी चिदुर्वी ।

c. द्यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कमिते... VI. 70-1b.

स धामे पूर्व्यं ममे यः स्कम्भेन विरोदसी...

pati<sup>24</sup> is thus lauded as the mighty supporter. But Agni is poetically described as supporting the sky with his column-like smoke<sup>25</sup> or with his mantras<sup>26</sup> like a magician !

What strikes the poet with extreme wonder is the sight of the vast sky, which, *though rafterless*,<sup>27</sup> ever remains 'in situ'—a monument, no doubt, of unique engineering skill !

'*Ātā* is the *framework of a door*.' On such a frame of heaven has Indra fixed the air.<sup>28</sup>

The doors of the "Cosmic House" are described in many a 'Dawn-hymn' as the portals of the east through which the good goddess emerges to greet us with her morning light.<sup>29</sup>

The reference to the foundation and the fixing thereof through varied devices, is no rare phenomenon in the hymns. With bands, Savitr made the earth firm ; Viṣṇu fixed it with pegs ; and Brhaspati supports its ends.<sup>30</sup>

d. अजो न यामधारयत् । VIII. 41-10b.

e. त्री रोचना...मित्र धारयथो रजांसि । V. 69-1a.

f. या धर्तारा रजसो रोचनस्यो तादित्या... । V. 69-4a.

g. अधारयतं पृथिवीमुत यां मित्र- V. 62-3a.

राजाना वरुणा महोमिः ।

e, f and g here belong to Mitrā-Varuṇā.

<sup>24</sup> यस्तस्तम्भ सहसा विज्मो अन्तान् । IV. 50.1.

<sup>25</sup> ऊर्ध्वं .....धूमस्तभायदुपयाम् । IV. 6.2b.

<sup>26</sup> a. अजो न क्षां दाधार पृथिवीं तस्तम्भ

यां मन्त्रेमिः सत्यैः । I. 67-3a.

b. उदस्तम्भी त्समिधा नाकमृष्वो ३ मिः III. 5-10a.

<sup>27</sup> a. अवंशो यां... op. cit., 21c.

b. उर्वीगभीरे रजसी सुमेके अवंशो धीरः शच्या समैरत् । IV. 56.3b.

c. सविता यन्त्रैः पृथिवीर्मरणादस्कंभने

सविता यामदहत् । X. 149-1a.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit. 21e.

<sup>29</sup> अस्युरुचित्रा—व्यूव्रजस्य तमसो द्वारोच्छन्ती

रवञ्छुचयः पावकाः । IV. 51-2.

<sup>30</sup> सविता यन्त्रैः... op. cit., 27c.

.....दाघर्थ...मयूखैः op. cit., 22b.

यस्तस्तम्भ सहसा विज्मो अन्तान् op. cit. 24.

The idea of decoration seems to have been hinted at in the poet's description of the 'Cosmic House.' It was gracefully decked. The Pitrs give the finishing decorative touch to earth and heaven<sup>31</sup> as we do to a house with an attractive paint.

The agents in the construction of the "Cosmic Structure", are the gods, individual or collective. But where special professional skill is in demand, the master-artisan Tvaṣṭr and the deft-handed Rbhus lend their help.<sup>32</sup>

World-genesis as the outcome of a process of mechanical production is thus described poetically in the Rg-Veda. References to one aspect or other involved in the process of "world-building" are not absent in other pieces of kindred literature—Avestan, Hebraic, Babylonian, Egyptian and Moham-medan<sup>33</sup>; but we may not be presuming too much in maintaining that the earliest literary references to the science of architecture could be traced in these hymns of the Rg-Veda.

<sup>31</sup> निषीमिदत्त गुह्या दधाना उत क्षत्राय रोदसी समञ्ज III. 38-3a.

<sup>32</sup> Tvaṣṭr and the Rbhus who fashioned Indra's bolt of gold and steeds respectively are known for their skill at work. The epithet of *supāni* and *suhastāḥ* are rightly applied to them.

<sup>33</sup> In the Avesta, though the metaphor of building is not pressed so far as in the Rg-Veda, still the conception of a skilful artisan-god who sustains the unsupported space above from falling is not unfamiliar. In Yasna XLIV.4, the question is put to Ahura as to who, from beneath has sustained the earth and the space above that they do not fall. In XLIV. 5 the question relates to the skilful artisan who made the lights and the darkness.

"Ormazd has given movements to the heavens and he *upholds them without pillars*." Dhalla, *History of Zor. Civilisation*, p. 352.

The idea of the spreading of heaven and earth by a god is found in Hebrew literature. Thus, Jahweh spreads out a firmament above resting upon pillars provided with windows through which the waters above can be let down on the earth.

'Beneath, upon the void he spreads the earth, a dwelling place for living beings. Vide *Encyc. Rel. and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 153.

The Christian account, evidently based on the Hebraic, speaks of the heaven as having been meted out with the span by Jahweh. 'It was Jahweh, the god of Israel who had measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and meted out heaven with the span and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure ....' *E. R. E.*, Vol. IV, p. 141.

'An account of creation in the 'Cuneiform texts states that Madruk created the world by Kneading the earth and spreading it over a mat of rushes which he laid down on the face of waters ....' Vide *Babylonian Life and History*, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, p. 78.

In Egyptian cosmogony, 'Ptah' the chief god of Memphys whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus was the 'Master-artisan' who carved out the earth like a statue. At Elephantine, Khumu, 'the Shaper' was the demiurge who moulded his creation. Vide *E. R. E.*, Vol. IV, p. 145.

The Qur'ān describes the earth as having been spread out as a bed or as a carpet. The Vedic poet would substitute the bed or the carpet with the more natural 'skin of an animal' with which he was more familiar. *Qur'ān*, II. 20, LXXVIII. 6. Vide *E. R. E.* IV. p. 174.

# STUDIES IN NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌĀ SCULPTURES\*

By

A. V. NAIK

## Architecture

The bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakonḍā abound in the representations of palace-interiors which provide information only as regards the dwelling-places of kings and other royal personages. No doubt, there are a few instances which give us scope to view the dwellings of the commonalty also, but these are not at all representative of the houses and other buildings which belonged to the persons of low ranks, to the ordinary citizens and to the mass of population in general. For it is this large section of the total population that exhibits a great range of variety in every walk of life. These few instances may represent a fraction of this variety but our knowledge of the commonalty will never be complete or satisfactory if it is based only on them. The representations of palaces and other regal buildings have, however, their own value in so far as they present us the highest form of civil architecture in the country and the period of which they are the creations. For, it is generally these structures that are the recipients of the services of the best workmen and the most skilled artists of the state.

We have no representation of an external view of an entire palace or a palatial building in our sculptures. The excavations at Nāgārjunakonḍā have, however, laid bare a site which appears to represent the remains of a palace.<sup>231</sup> On this site five very handsome pillars were unearthed which appear to have supported the wooden roof of the royal hall.<sup>232</sup> It is possible that the royal palace consisted of many such halls of different dimensions as it would appear from the many palace-interiors shown in our sculptures. The panel illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka<sup>233</sup> shows in the fore-ground a domed roof which, if taken in the light of the story, represents the roof of a princess' house but it may well represent that of a square royal hall too (Fig. 1). Similarly many panels show the vaulted roof over some structures which owing to its frequent occurrence in the bas-reliefs both of Nāgārjunakonḍā and Amarāvati appears to have been the most favourite form of roofing in those days (Figs. 2, 3). Thus the palace was probably crowned with domical and vaulted roofs, the former over the smaller halls or rooms of the palace and the latter over the larger ones. This combination must have presented a very attractive appearance. The vaulted roof, moreover, had

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\* Continued from *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2.

<sup>231</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlvī (a).



probably eaves on all sides, as some of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā panels show, which arrangement offered protection to the walls of the whole construction from rain and added to the general grace of the palace.

The walls of the palace were probably built of large bricks, the bricks being laid in mud-mortar and the walls covered with plaster. The *stūpas*, monasteries and temples unearthed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bear testimony to this style of building. The walls on the street-face had probably balconied windows from which the inmates calmly watched the street-happenings, or in which sat the royal couples at sunset and whiled away their time in sweet conversations ! A roundel from Amarāvati depicting the story of Devadatta's attempt to kill Buddha by letting loose a mad elephant shows in the background such a window wherefrom some females watch calmly the elephant playing havoc in the street.

The palace-buildings probably stood in the middle of a vast area which was enclosed with walls on all sides with gates and entrances at intervals. In the palace-enclosure were kept beautiful gardens and parks with seats placed in them for respite. Many panels in our sculptures show this compound wall behind which can be seen well-cultivated trees.<sup>234</sup> The compound-wall was probably built of large bricks such as are found in the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The gates were both simple and elaborate structures. The instances found in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures represent simple ones while those found in Amarāvati reliefs represent the elaborate ones. The fine coping sculpture from Amarāvati representing the disposal of Buddha's relics<sup>235</sup> shows a beautiful gateway. There the gate-house is shown composed of brick below but the upper part is of wood, with rectangular lattice-windows surmounted at the gable-ends by horse-shoe-shaped (or *caitya*-) windows fitting the barrel-roofs that resulted from the use of flexible bamboo for making the framework. Beside the gate-house is to be seen a wall-turret which is surmounted by a square hut, also with curved supports to its thatched roof. The simple gateway is shown by a panel from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā which represents probably a king denouncing Brahmanism.<sup>236</sup> Here the gate consists of two wooden pillars surmounted by a solid superstructure with eaves on all sides. Though in this instance only two pillars are shown, it is obvious that there were other two pillars behind the represented ones. The rectangular solid structure surmounting the pillars perhaps represents a terrace with parapet walls on four sides (Fig. 4). Another instance from the same site offers a different form of the gateway. It is found in one of the panels illustrating the Māṇḍhātū Jātaka.<sup>237</sup> Here the whole gateway appears to represent a brick-built structure with high walls and a vaulted roof surmounting them. The vaulted-roof-projections are faced with the *caitya*-windows at the extremities (Fig. 3). A similar gateway appears in another

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xlvī (a), xlvīi (a), xxx (c) etc.

<sup>235</sup> BRUHL, *Indian Temples*, 21.

<sup>236</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx (c).

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

panel with the addition of double-eaves to the vaulted roof<sup>238</sup> (Fig. 5). Sometimes the face of the superstructure of these gateways was ornamented with *cāitya*-windows and lotus-flower designs as some panels show (Fig. 6).<sup>239</sup>

The interiors of these palaces were spacious and richly furnished with ornate pillars supporting the roofs. In the panel depicting 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana' the scene is laid in a palace-interior.<sup>240</sup> Here we see in the corner of the hall a pillar with a capital consisting of a square abacus of four plates diminishing in size and placed over a fluted *kalaśa* or pot (Fig. 7). Some of these interiors were quite spacious as some of the panels, representing court scenes, show innumerable human figures behind the king's throne. Scenes of singing, dancing and other entertainments as well as of royal courts also occur in the Amarāvātī sculptures which attest to the commodiousness of the halls of these royal palaces.

With regard to the dwelling places of ordinary citizens and low class peoples we have no clue in our bas-reliefs except two instances which only give a vague idea of these. The panel, representing the 'Gift of Earth'<sup>241</sup> contains the first instance which shows the house of a well-to-do citizen if it is taken in the context of the story. As this house is only slightly taller than the figures of men standing near by, it may be taken with Longhurst, as the house built by the children and representing that of a well-to-do householder. This house is rectangular and is surmounted with a vaulted roof with horse-shoe-frame on the gable-ends. The roof has double-eaves and the middle portion appears to be decorated. Some oval-shaped *kalaśas* surmount the horizontal apex-bar of the roof at intervals. The walls of the house are quite plain and without windows (Fig. 2). But as it is built by the children, presumably the windows were left out by them which probably presented difficulties in their construction. Undoubtedly the dwelling-places of ordinary citizens were furnished with windows for the purposes of ventilation as some of the Amarāvātī sculptures show. The other instance is provided by the panel illustrating an episode in the Mahāpaduma Jātaka.<sup>242</sup> The panel, which is mutilated, shows a hermitage. On the extreme left is a hermit's hut with a domical roof of the type familiar to us from the sculptures of Bārhut, Sāñchī, and Gandhāra. The hut is square with a simple doorway in the front-wall (Fig. 8). This probably represents the hut of a poor workman or of a person of extremely low rank who lived with a family of very few members or possibly with no family. The roof, though domical, was, as the sculpture clearly shows, built of bricks, laid presumably, in mud-mortar. This is all that can be gathered as regards the housing conditions of commonalty.

We have no representation of streets or roads except in those panels which show processions, where the existence of a street or a road is only

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (b).

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (b).

secondary. But these royal processions and the number of persons, horses and elephants which constituted them show that the streets were sufficiently broad so as to offer passage to them without inconveniencing other pedestrians who may be loitering through them.

### Furniture

As the representations of the houses of commonalty are scanty, the furniture that was used by them is very rarely shown. But we often get representations of the royal furniture, paraphernalia of the King's court—and that, too, of a stereotyped nature. However, some variety is exhibited even in this respect and we have elaborate representations of thrones, couches, chairs, stools etc. which bear testimony to a high state of civilization. Especially the chairs and stools present such a 'modern' aspect as would in no way appear strange to the eye of a twentieth-century-beholder.

### Thrones

There is a good variety of thrones. Some thrones are simple structures offering accommodation for one person only, while others are decorated and complex providing space for two or even three persons. Some are so low as to make the foot-stool unnecessary while some are high enough necessitating either a foot-stool or a flight of steps. Some thrones have four legs while some have solid lower-structure. Of the legged thrones some have pillar-shaped legs while others have animal-shaped supports. Smaller thrones are more like chairs while the larger ones are like sofas. Thus, the following main varieties are found in these sculptures :

- (1) Small thrones :—(providing space for one person only).
  - (a) Throne without arm-rests and having solid lower-structure.
  - (b) Throne with arm-rests and having solid lower-structure.
  - (c) Throne without arm-rests and having legs.
  - (d) Throne with arm-rests and having legs.

(2) Larger thrones :—(providing space for more than one person). All the varieties of the smaller thrones are found in this case also.

All the thrones—small and large—have backs, excepting a few instances which show stone-slabs carved and decorated in the manner of a throne.

#### (I) *Small thrones*

##### (a) *A throne without arm-rests and having solid lower-structure*

This variety is illustrated by the throne of *Yakṣa* Ālawaka<sup>243</sup> in the panel depicting his conversion. A square foot-stool is put in front of the throne on which the *Yakṣa* has placed his right foot. The seat-frame appears square in shape. Its sides are carved with rows of beads while the oblong middle portion of the square base is decorated by oblique lines. The bead-pattern occurs on the upper and lower cornices of the pedestal (Fig. 1).

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<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (b).

(b) *A throne with arm-rests and having solid lower-structure*

A panel depicting the 'First Sermon in the Deer Park' at Sāranātha<sup>244</sup> contains an instance which represents this variety. The throne on which the Buddha is seated has a plain, solid base and rounded arm-rests. The base is decorated with the beaded-pattern on the two lower cornices and on the middle oblong, in the centre and at the extremities, in vertical bands (Fig. 2). Similar thrones also occur in our sculptures as repositories for the relics of Buddha. In these, the relics are placed on the cushions put on the seat-frame.

(c) *A throne without arm-rests and having legs*(i) *Pillar-shaped legs :—*

The throne of Śuddhodana<sup>245</sup> illustrates this variety. It is just like a chair without the arm-rests, having four legs which are well carved in the shape of a pillar, the capital of which consists of a ribbed globe. The seat of the throne is high and so a foot-stool is placed in its front. The ends of the top-bar of the back project slightly out and have *makara-mukhas* as terminals which are supported by figures of rampart animals, perhaps lions. The back is carved with the Buddhist rail-pattern (Fig. 3). A similar chair-like throne occurs in the Amarāvati sculptures also,<sup>246</sup> with slight difference in details.

Another instance of this variety is supplied by Śuddhodana's throne in another panel which differs only in having the lotus-flower decoration on its back.<sup>247</sup>

(ii) *Animal figures as supports (Simhāsana) :—*

The panel<sup>248</sup> in which Buddha is shown preaching the four monks contains a throne which represents a *simhāsana*. The throne has no arm-rests but has four animal-shaped supports instead of pillar-shaped legs and appears very simple. The animal figures represent lions as their manes are distinct. The top-bar of the back has small balls, one on either end, which are supported by figures of rampart animals. The Buddha is shown seated over it (Fig. 4).

(d) *A throne with arm-rests and having legs*

This variety is illustrated by the throne of King Daśaratha.<sup>249</sup> The top-bar of the back and the arm-rests end with what seem to be *makara-mukhas*, the four-ends of the latter bending out and resting on animal-shaped supports (Fig. 5). Another instance of this variety is shown in the panel illustrating "the Exhortation of the Gods to the Bodhisattva".<sup>250</sup> In both these cases the legs are not distinct enough to ascertain their shape. Similar

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv (a).<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).<sup>246</sup> MITRA, *op. cit.*, I, p. 258, No. 101.<sup>247</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xxi (a).<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (b).<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix (c).

thrones are found in Amarāvati sculptures also. The other type of this variety i.e. animal-legged throne with arm-rests is also found in our sculptures<sup>251</sup> (Fig. 6) as well as in those of Amarāvati.

(2) Larger thrones— or more correctly benches or sofas—display also the same variety and are found in many instances.<sup>252</sup> These have nothing remarkably different from the smaller ones than that they provide space for two or three persons. They are found used when the king sits together with his queen or queens (Figs. 7 and 8). Long benches, with high backs of different designs, not unoften of the Buddhist rail-pattern, are very common in Amarāvati sculptures also.

### *Foot-stools or pādapiṭhas*

The foot-stool or the *pādapiṭha* was an important article of furniture in Indian households. Frequent references to it are made in ancient literature of India, and a great number of them, of various designs and patterns, is found in Indian sculptures. Our sculptures show a considerable variety of them.

Foot-stools are generally to be met with in the case of higher thrones, though some exceptions to these occur in our sculptures. In the case of smaller thrones, which provide space for only one person but which are high enough to necessitate foot-stools, only one foot-stool is found placed in front of each throne. Larger thrones, accommodating two or three persons, are found provided with two or three foot-stools according to the number of persons sitting on the throne. But this does not hold good in all cases, for we have instances of a single large foot-stool serving the purpose of two or three foot-stools. Foot-stools, as found in our bas-reliefs, are also decorated, with sometimes the rail-pattern or the beaded-pattern or sometimes with lotus-flower—and-line-designs. It is useless to analyse the instances of the foot-stools according to shape or design as a majority of them do not show clear outlines. Only a broad division is made and the instances are classed in small and large foot-stools.

#### (1) *Small foot-stools*

One instance of this variety is to be found placed in front of Śuddhodana's throne.<sup>253</sup> It seems to be a *cuboid* with cornices at the top and the bottom, ornamented with the beaded-pattern. It is narrow, providing space for a foot only. Another instance which shows a different type is seen in the panel depicting 'Asita's Visit'.<sup>254</sup> The 'dado' appears like a book in the

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 1 (b).

<sup>252</sup> See for four varieties i.e. (a) without arm-rests and having solid lower structure, pl. xxvi, (b) with arm-rests and solid base, pls. xlviii (a), xl (b) and xliii (a), (c) without arm-rests and having legs, pls. xxxviii (a) and xxxix (a); with arm-rests and legs, pl. xxvi (b) of *Ibid.*

<sup>253</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xx (a).

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxi (a).

front-view of this foot-stool. It is also decorated with the beaded-pattern (Fig. 9).

## (2) *Large foot-stools*

Of the larger foot-stools one is found in front of king Māndhātu's throne.<sup>255</sup> It occupies the whole length between the legs of the throne, and has an appearance of a carved stone-slab. It is decorated on the upper and lower sides with the usual beaded-pattern (Fig. 7). Another variety of a large foot-stool is found in another panel<sup>256</sup> where it is placed in front of king Māndhātu's couch. It is plain but has legs, and like the above, it occupies the whole space between the legs of the couch (Fig. 8).

## *Chairs, seats etc*

Besides the smaller thrones described above which resemble chairs, the Nāgarjunakoṇḍā sculptures contain other instances also which represent chairs of high workmanship. It is really a matter of delight and wonder to find things exactly like modern ones in the antiquities of the remote past. This furniture has so much modern appearance that were it seen in the showrooms of a present-day furniture-dealer, no article of it would attract any particular attention. The fact that these chairs, etc. are found belonging to the palace interiors depicted in the bas-reliefs of Nāgarjunakoṇḍā shows that they were costly.

### (1) *Chairs*

#### (a) *A three-legged, high-backed chair without arm-rests*

Two panels offer us three instances of this kind of chair. All the three instances are nearly alike and distinct. The first of these occurs in the panel depicting the story of 'The Lady Amarā and the Four Wise Men'.<sup>257</sup> This chair is placed on the right-hand side of the king's throne on which is seated a queen.

It has a circular seat-frame which is decorated with a row of large oval beads. A cushion is seen placed on the seat. The back of the chair is high and consists of two vertical bars, with tops rounded and curving out slightly, joined by a curved top-bar. All these bars are decorated with a row of large oval beads. It cannot be ascertained whether there is any intermediate support between these bars. The chair has only three legs, the shafts of which are shaped like the legs of a lion. The ends of the legs are also carved in the form of lion's paws (Fig. 10).

The other two instances are found in the panel which shows the prince Siddhārtha stringing the mighty bow.<sup>258</sup> Both the instances are exactly alike and differ from the one stated above in having the top-bar of the back differently shaped. The top-bar, though curved, has ends which again curve

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xliii (a).

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii (a).

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, (b).

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxii (a).

upwards. The legs of these chairs show the shape of a lion's legs very clearly. The decoration is the same as that of the former instance (Fig. 11).

(b) *A high-backed chair with arm-rests.*

An instance of this variety is found in the panel illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka.<sup>259</sup>

The chair in this panel has a high, rounded back with a full intermediate support which is decorated with bead-rows, lotus-flowers and the rail-pattern. The arm-rests are also decorated with the same designs on the intermediate support. The lower part of the panel is much mutilated and the legs of the chair have disappeared (Fig. 12).

(2) *Seats and Moras*

Instances of seats and cane-moras of different shapes are frequent. Some of them are shaped very much in the same way as now.

A square seat is found in one panel<sup>260</sup> which has an appearance of a pedestal. It is decorated with the usual bead-rows and is very elegant (Fig. 13). Another circular seat is found in another panel<sup>261</sup> which is decorated with lotus-flowers (Fig. 14). These seats were perhaps made of wood as their appearance would suggest.

Cane-moras were, it appears, used both as seats and tables as in one panel<sup>262</sup> they are found placed in front of the Guardian Deities who are seated on a large bench. Many instances of very elaborate cane-moras are found in our bas-reliefs which differ from each other both in shape and design (Figs. 15, 16 and 17).

The seats and cane-moras are invariably surmounted with cushions which present a very pleasing appearance. These seats and moras with the cushions must have afforded a very comfortable position to their occupants of those days.

The articles of furniture described so far seem to have formed the most common and invariable equipment of palace-interiors. Besides these some other furniture is also found in these sculptures but only one or two instances of each have been found which merely indicate the existence of them in those days. Of these the couch and the palanquin deserve our attention.

*The Couch*

One of the panels illustrating the Māndhātū Jātaka <sup>263</sup> shows an oblong couch profusely decorated. The panel is overcrowded with human figures and the representation is also very rough. Hence many of the essential details are lost to us. From its appearance the couch evinces a close similarity to modern Indian *palanigas*.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlvi (a).

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlviii (b).

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix (b).

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx (a).

*The Palanquin*

The panel<sup>264</sup> showing the 'Bodhisattva descending from Heaven in the form of a white Elephant' shows a palanquin borne on the shoulders of some pot-bellied dwarfs. The palanquin has probably a square base on the corners of which stand four pillars supporting the roof. The roof is vaulted and has eaves on all sides. The palanquin much resembles a porch with four pillars and vaulted roof represented in our bas-reliefs in many panels.

*Toys, Musical Instruments, Utensils etc.**Toys*

A most interesting panel in the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakonḍā shows a few children with their toys. This bas-relief appears to depict the story of the merit performed by the Emperor Aśoka, in a previous birth, resulting in his obtaining dominion over the earth.<sup>265</sup> In the light of this story the children appear to belong to wealthy house-holders of the city. If so, then the panel throws light on a pleasant aspect of childhood in those days.

The toys represented in this panel are extremely modern in appearance. They consist of (1) a cart, (2) a horse, (3) balls and (4) a rattle.

*The Toy-Cart*

The child to the right of Buddha is shown playing with the toy-cart. The cart is exquisitely carved and is roofed. It is practically identical in design with those seen in many Indian villages to-day.<sup>266</sup> The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have recovered a number of specimens of pottery-toy-cart which shows that it was even then a favourite toy. The full-sized cart, its presence in the ancient Indus Valley having been amply attested, has persisted in all parts of India through many centuries of years since remote antiquity, more or less in the same general form and even now, in spite of the opening of the railway and the introduction of mechanized vehicles, remains the only pet conveyance with the rural population. The toy-cart of our bas-reliefs has two wheels, one on either side, which appear to be semi-solid. The wheel, as is well known to scholars, was invented in the Old World and some scholars maintain that its actual place of origin should be sought in one of the seats of ancient civilization in Western Asia. Whatever it be, its derivation from the use of rollers in moving heavy weights seems to be the most favoured hypothesis. The Mohenjo-daro cart had, it seems, solid or block wheels which turned on and not with, the axle. Our toy-cart also shows this construction. The semi-solid wheels of this cart are the result of hollowing out the portion between the centre and the rim. However, the spokes are indicated by lines which radiate from the nave. Thus the wheels really represent a spoked-type of wheel. The nave of the wheel has, it appears, some tube or ring fitted inside in which the axle worked. This ring

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix (d).

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (6).

<sup>266</sup> A full discussion of the Indian bullock cart will appear in my article on 'Vehicles in Ancient India' which I have nearly completed.



projects a bit and thus serves the purpose of a rim to the nave. The axle of the cart is fitted below the body in the middle and its ends project through the naves of the wheels. The body of the cart is oblong in shape and consists of a frame of considerable thickness. On account of the roof it cannot be ascertained whether the cart had a *chhajja* on either side. The roof, probably, was made of *talli* as is the practice in present days (Fig. 1). A full-sized, roofed cart appears in another panel<sup>267</sup> which shows a very advanced type of spoked wheel. The tire, the rim, the spokes, the nave with its inside fitting and the projecting rim of the nave are all present here. Also the body shows the *chhajja* on the back side (Fig. 2). To this cart was harnessed a pair of bullocks as they are seen near it under the shade of a tree.

### *The Toy-Horse*

The child to the left of Buddha is holding a toy-horse on four wheels by a string which is tied to it. A similar toy-horse appears in another panel also, where it is shown held by a dwarf. The horse is fixed to a thick oblong piece, perhaps of wood (or a tablet of clay) and four wheels, closely similar to those of the toy-cart, are attached to it on the larger sides. The string which is tied to it indicates that the wheels were mobile and the toy was to be dragged with it (Figs. 3, 4).

### *The Balls*

Two balls are found held by the child standing in the left extremity of the panel. They are tied to the ends of a strip of cloth. What game these balls constituted is not possible to know.

### *The Rattle*

One of the servants standing behind the children holds a curious thing 'like a forked stick with a knob' which seems to be a rattle. It consists of three parts, a handle and two pieces of wood (or of some metal) one of which is thicker than the other (Fig. 5). The handle is probably a continuation of the thicker piece to which is attached one end of the thin piece by some contrivance which kept the piece loose. The rattling sound was thus produced by shaking the handle rapidly when the loose thin piece struck the thicker one in rapid successions.

The episode which this panel illustrates has also been depicted in two Gandhāra reliefs and as Longhurst<sup>268</sup> has pointed out, the treatment of the subject by the Āndhra artists evinces certain resemblances with that adopted by the Graeco-Buddhist sculptors. The toy-cart and the toy-horse, in the opinion of the same scholar, suggest Gandhāra influence.

### *Musical Instruments*

Musical instruments are represented in the sculptures of Sāñchī, Amarāvati and in Ajantā paintings. Our sculptures also contain a couple of in-

<sup>267</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlii (b)

<sup>268</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Fig. 4 represents Siddhārtha's horse which is given in order to give an idea of horse's equipment in those days.

stances of a stringed instrument. Both the instances represent probably two types of the same instrument—the *vinā* or Indian lute. It belongs to the *taṭa* (vibratory) class of the traditional classification of musical instruments and is of the guitar kind, traditionally supposed to have been invented by Nārada. Usually it has seven wires or strings raised upon nineteen frets or supports fixed on a long rounded board towards the ends of which are two large gourds. Mitra<sup>269</sup> refers to an Amarāwatī guitar which has a sounding board at the lower end and seven keys, but no bars. The two types of the *vinā* in our bas-reliefs are : (1) The Round Board *Vinā* and (2) The Straight Board *Vinā*. Representations of these types are rather rough.

### *The Round Board Vinā*

Two instances are found of this type. More elaborate of them is in the panel depicting the episode of 'Sāgata and the Nāga of the Mango-Ferry'.<sup>270</sup> It consists of three parts viz. (1) the neck or lute-stick (*vinā-danḍa*)—a long rounded board with hollow surface (2) the handle-like 'tail-piece' where the wires are fixed and (3) the strings. It is held on the lap by the female singer in a slanting position with the 'tail-piece' in her left hand and the board resting on the right thigh. The chords are shown as being struck with the woman's right hand. The other instance is found in the panel illustrating 'Indra's visit to Buddha with his minstrel Pañcaśikhā'.<sup>271</sup> In this case the instrument is held rather horizontally by Pañcaśikhā, its 'tail-piece' is shown in the right hand and the board rests on the left hip. The strings are shown as being struck with the fingers of the left hand (Figs. 6, 7).

### *The Straight Board Vinā*

A single instance of this type—and that too very rough—is found in the panel depicting 'The Nativity and Seven Steps'.<sup>272</sup> No details can be gleaned except its shape. The instrument is held by a woman whose left hand supports what perhaps is the board and rests on her left shoulder.

### *Utensils etc.*

Besides the 'finds' so far described many others, which illuminate other various corners of life in those days, are also present in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā to which only a passing reference is possible here. These consist of mirrors,<sup>273</sup> umbrellas<sup>274</sup> (Fig. 8), torches,<sup>275</sup> wicker-dishes,<sup>276</sup> a tray,<sup>277</sup> baskets,<sup>278</sup> boxes,<sup>279</sup> fans<sup>280</sup> and pots and vessels<sup>281</sup> of various shapes.

<sup>269</sup> *Indo-Aryans*, I, p. 284.

<sup>270</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlviii (a).

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlv (a).

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii (a).

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxii (a); xxii (a), (b); xxxii (a); xxxv (a).

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix (d).

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix (d); xxviii (c).

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv (b).

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (a).

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxix (b); xliii (a).

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxv (b); xxxvi (a).

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxv (b); xxxix (a).

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xx (a); xxxii (b); xxxiii (c); xxxvi (a); xxxix (a); xli (a);

xlv (a) etc.

A curious toilet-instrument,<sup>282</sup> however, deserves special reference. It is found in one panel depicting an unidentified scene. The instrument consists of two circular discs and a curved handle (Fig. 9). The smaller disc is placed on the right temple of a damsel by an elderly woman who holds it in her hands by the handle. This suggests that it probably represents some massaging instrument or a device of 'beauty-treatment' of those days! If this is correct then it accords well with the high æsthetic sense exhibited by the amorous couples.

### Weapons

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā artists, it seems, were not particular in depicting the weapons, a study of which forms one of the most important aspects of the cultural history of any country. Unfortunately all the instances suffer from rough representation except the club which receives in majority of instances a better treatment. Often the rough outline makes it very difficult to ascertain the shape of the weapon and the very indistinctiveness of instances sometimes hinders any endeavour to distinguish between the weapons. For example, there are some instances in which it is impossible to ascertain with any amount of certainty whether they represented swords or daggers or swords or mere sticks.

As pointed out by HARRISON<sup>283</sup> "many difficulties stand in the way of an absolutely logical classification of weapons." Added to this the condition of the material we have, our task becomes doubly difficult and a clear-cut classification seems impossible. However some attempt has been made in the following pages to present a classified knowledge of the weapons as noticed in our sculptures, the scheme followed being very much near to that set forth by HARRISON himself.

The chief purposes for which weapons are constructed being offence and defence—we divide all weapons into these two principal divisions. Let it be understood, moreover, as HARRISON<sup>284</sup> points out, that in most cases these two purposes cannot be served by the same weapon. Then the main sub-divisions are based upon the function of the weapon i.e. the purpose for which it was intended to be used, or the kind of wound it would have produced. The primary functions of weapons for offence are three, of *crushing or stunning, piercing and cutting*. Then again these three-sub-divisions are further divided according to the general structure of the weapon and the mode of use. But it is impossible to adhere strictly to these latter divisions and consequently some departure may be noted in the following narration at certain places from them.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs, offer us only swords, bows, clubs, mace, daggers or knives, spears, stone-balls and shields, all of which except the last

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli (a).

<sup>283</sup> *War and The chase*, London County Council Publication, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

are weapons for offence. Before proceeding to describe these weapons we propose to make some general observations, the previous knowledge of which is essential for a better understanding of the details of the subject which are to follow.

Weapons are found exclusively used by men and only in one exceptional instance we find females using them. This solitary instance probably only proves the rule that the use of weapons was forbidden to women. This particular panel<sup>285</sup> represents a palace-interior wherein are seated a prince and his consort surrounded by six female attendants two of whom are armed, one with a sword and the other with a dagger. Now, as already said elsewhere, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures exhibit certain foreign influences and in this case, as in the case of the Scythian soldier, it seems quite manifest. Though in most of the panels representing palace-interiors female attendants predominate, yet in none except this one, are shown women holding any weapon. A noteworthy thing is that similar female guards are depicted in some of the Gandhāra sculptures where they are usually depicted as holding spears instead of swords. It is no doubt difficult to say whether like Candragupta Maurya the native chiefs of the Kṛṣṇā Valley also followed the practice of employing female warriors or guards, who certainly were different from ordinary attendants, the use of weapon being the distinguishing mark between the two.

But as the latter are abundant in our sculptures and the former occur only once in the panel which in all probability represents a foreign tradition it seems almost certain from the data at our disposal that female warriors or guards as such were neither never employed in the region we are speaking of nor were possibly known, and if this is correct then we can state as a definite conclusion that women were forbidden the use of weapons.

The sword which is found used exclusively by the Kings, princes, ministers and generals was perhaps the special weapon of the nobility or chief persons connected with the administration of the state. It is possible that it was carried as a mark of distinction by some of these persons. To this, one exception occurs, however, in one panel<sup>286</sup> illustrating the story of the conversion of Ālavaka, the Yakṣa. Here Ālavaka is holding a spear or a lance and his henchman Gadrabha a sword. Now, as will be shown below, the spear, among other weapons, is peculiar to the attendants and soldiers. So here we see that the usual practice has been reversed.

Weapons of ordinary soldiers and attendants were the club, the lance or spear and the shield—which we do not find held by persons of high ranks. The spear and the shield were probably carried together as is indicated by some panels which show soldiers with shields in their hands and spears worn behind the shoulders. No swordsman or a person carrying the club is shown with a shield which fact strengthens our inference. Sometimes shields are found alone without the accompaniment of any other weapon.

<sup>285</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.* pl. xxx (a).

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlix (b)

Bow and the mace are very rarely represented, the former only thrice or so and the latter only once ! Prince Siddhārtha<sup>287</sup> and one of Māra's hosts<sup>288</sup> are the persons who are found using the bow, and the mace is used by an attendant.<sup>289</sup> These instances are quite scanty and do not admit of any conclusion. Unfortunately arrows are totally absent from our sculptures.

Like the club the dagger is also an exclusive possession of attendants and soldiers. However the instances in which it is represented are not many, but even these few instances, because of the uniformity and consistency, possess a force that tempts the above inference.

As to who could own weapons in those times sculptural evidence is by itself incompetent to say anything either positive or negative. In our bas-reliefs only the kings, ministers, military officers, soldiers and guards are shown with weapons but as regards the rest of the population we get no information. That the ordinary subjects not connected with the administration of the state were prohibited to use the weapons would be a hazardous conclusion in view of the fact that there were persons whose living depended on the use of weapons, especially the hunters whose very profession demands their use.

#### A. *Weapons of Offence* :—

##### (1) *Crushing Weapons*

(A) *Missile-stones thrown by hand* :—"A heavy stone" says HARRISON "seized on emergency may well have been amongst the earliest weapons adopted by man."<sup>290</sup> In our sculptures we have only one instance of stone being used as a weapon to be thrown on the enemy. It occurs in one panel which illustrates the conversion of Yakṣa Ālavaka.<sup>291</sup> Here the figure behind the Yakṣa, identified as that of Gadraḥa, is holding a stone obviously to attack Buddha. The shape of the stone is noteworthy. It is *spheroid* and gives much reason to suppose that it was an artificial one. If this is correct then it is quite possible that stones, in ancient times, were cut in this and similar shapes and stored for use in fight or similar occasions as weapons. This particular stone is held in both hands but it is possible that besides these big and heavy ones there were such smaller stones as could be carried in lots in bags and thrown by one hand. Such stones, big and small, probably served more as missiles than hand-weapons and hence we call them missile-stones. A small missile-stone is seen in Ālavaka's right hand who is about to throw it on Buddha.

(B) *Sticks or "rude clubs"* :—Sticks are mainly bruising weapons the heavy blow of which crushes and discolours the skin. Heavy sticks sometimes break the bone. In this capacity a stick may well have been the prototype of club. In our sculptures we have two instances<sup>292</sup> showing sticks held in hands. These sticks are not straight but have slight long bends indicating

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxii (a).

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii (a).

<sup>291</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlix (a).

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx (a).

<sup>290</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxi (a) and (c).

that they were slender branches. Such sticks used for striking the enemy may well deserve the term "rude clubs."

(c) *Clubs* :—Nāgārjunakonḍā clubs are well-finished weapons. They offer considerable variety in every respect notably in length and form. Some clubs are short and may have been used in the hand or thrown as missiles. Some instances show clubs each held in both hands which possibly indicates their weighty character. But one-handed clubs are in a considerable majority in our bas-reliefs. Finish and decoration also occur in many instances.

Two chief varieties are to be noted in the club of Nāgārjunakonḍā. One is the "short" club and the other is a "long" club. Clubs of these varieties are shown held in hands, but in the case of some of the short ones a conjecture—that they were sometimes thrown as missiles—is possible. As regards the material it is difficult to decide from the sculptures but looking to the ornamentation what seems most likely is that they represent wooden clubs. As to thickness, generally every club is shown as thick as the thickness of the arm of the person holding it. In most cases that portion of the grip between the staff and the "stop" or the "knob" is hidden, and hence this particular part as shown in the illustrations is only conjectural. All the clubs of Nāgārjunakonḍā have 'knobs' at the end of the grips to prevent their slipping out of the hand.

(1) *Short Clubs*. Short clubs present three types; (a) cylindrical (b) the tapering and (c) the curvilinear.

(a) *Cylindrical type*.

*The grip* :—In order to prevent the club slipping from the hand a "knob" or "stop" is furnished at its end. This contrivance probably indicates that the club was meant to be used as a hand-weapon.

*The shaft* :—In every instance of this type the shaft is cylindrical and well polished. The outline gives parallel sides and the cross-section would most probably show a perfect circle.

*The head* :—The head of the club is a continuation of the shaft and is round at the top.

The outline of the whole weapon gives a shape much near that of a cricket-bat.

The natural divisions of this type are (i) *plain clubs* and (ii) *decorated clubs* :—

(i) *Plain cylindrical short club* :—Two examples are shown in the illustrations of which No. 1 has two narrow bands carved on it, one at the root of the grip and the other at the beginning of the head or end of the shaft. This is carved in the shape of a half-blown lotus. No. 2 has only one such band carved on it in the middle of the shaft. Both are found in the same panel<sup>293</sup> and are held by Nāga foot-soldiers.

(ii) *Decorated cylindrical short club* :—No. 3 outlines this club. The shaft of the club is well decorated with the beaded-pattern in rows diagonally

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii (a)

across the length of the shaft. The shaft terminates at either end in a narrow band. Its head is massive, rounded and ribbed. It is found held by a Nāga warrior.<sup>294</sup>

As far as can be judged from the sculptures it seems that these were, as others also, solid wooden clubs carved out of one piece just in the manner of a monolithic pillar.

(b) *Tapering type* :—

*The grip* :—This type is devoid of a grip proper. At the bottom of the shaft is placed a 'knob' or 'stop' to prevent it from slipping as in the above instances. The club was held at the lower end of the shaft just above the 'knob'.

*The shaft* :—The shaft of this type of club tapers to the lower end where it is mounted by the knob. Thus the maximum and minimum thickness is found at the beginning of the head and at the lower end respectively.

*The head* :—Like the cylindrical type, the head of this club-type is also a continuation of the shaft. The top of the shaft is curvilinear. This portion constitutes the head of the club. It has a pointed apex which means that it was used to pierce as well. The cross-section would also give a perfect circle. Of this type only one variety is found in our sculptures viz. the (1) decorated, but it is possible that a plain variety also existed.

(i) *Decorated tapering short-club* :—No. 4 illustrates this variety. It has two narrow bands carved on the shaft where it was held in hand. This was possibly done to afford a firmer hold. At the point a little below the maximum thickness it is ornamented with a broad band of the beaded-pattern with rims on the upper and lower borders. The head is ribbed. It is a one-hand weapon.

This instance is found in the panel<sup>295</sup> depicting an unidentified battle scene and is held in the right hand by a foot-soldier.

(c) *Curvilinear type* :—

*The grip* :—The grip of this type has no 'knob' or 'stop' at the end. It is a very small projection—a conical piece separated from the shaft by a ring or rings. Perhaps this grip was roughened to afford a firmer hold.

*The shaft* :—The shaft has a curvilinear outline. It bulges out at the striking end. It is separated from the head by a broad band.

*The head* :—The head has a pointed apex. It is a conical member with a curvilinear outline being the continuation of the shaft.

The cross-section at any point of the weapon would give a perfect circle. The peculiar grip and the fact that it is held in both the hands show that it was a missile-weapon heavier than the preceding ones. The pointed apex shows that when it struck the enemy it produced a cut or a wound which made him bleed profusely. The form of the whole weapon is a narrow ovoid.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii (a).

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiii (b).

Only the decorated variety is represented in our sculptures but the plain variety might also have existed.

(i) *Decorated curvilinear short club* :—Only one instance of this is found in our sculptures which is illustrated by No. 5. Of all the Nāgārjunakonḍā clubs this is the most exquisite instance, richly decorated. The two rings, broad and large, separating the shaft and the grip, are carved with the usual beaded-pattern. The broad band between the head and the shaft has rims on both borders and the middle of it gives an impression of a twisted rope. The whole of the shaft is decorated with oblique cross-hatching which has produced rows of lozenge-shaped knobs or protuberances with holes in the middle. A vertical band formed of two incised lines runs from the middle of the broad band to the apex. It is found held by a dwarf.<sup>296</sup>

(2) *Long clubs* :—The other chief variety of Nāgārjunakonḍā club is the 'long clubs'. They are mostly enlargements of the short ones. Like the latter they also show two types. The first is the cylindrical and the second is the tapering. The 'curvilinear' of the short variety is absent here. Between the short and tapering clubs there is no remarkable difference except in the length.

(a) *Cylindrical type* :—The general description of the short cylindrical clubs applies to these clubs very well. These are but enlargements of the former in every respect. This cylindrical type shows the two usual varieties, viz. (i) the plain and (ii) the decorated.

(i) *Plain cylindrical long club* :—No. 6 illustrates this variety. The grip, which is comparatively slender, is separated from the shaft by a pair of narrow bands and similar decoration also occurs in the middle of the shaft and at the beginning of the head. Except this decoration the weapon is quite plain. It is found held in the left hand by Sagata, the Nāga.<sup>297</sup>

(ii) *Decorated cylindrical long club* :—No. 7 illustrates this variety. The grip of this club is separated from the shaft by a pair of rings. It has a big 'knob' or 'stop' at the end. The shaft is decorated in the middle and at the beginning of the head by the usual beaded-pattern, thus dividing the entire club, excluding the grip and including the head—which is but a continuation of the shaft—in three panels. These three panels are carved with what seem to be human figures, in low-relief. This club is found held by a dwarf in his right hand.<sup>298</sup>

(b) *Tapering types* :—The general description of this type occurring in the short clubs applies well here also. Two varieties in this type are noted which are (i) the plain and the (ii) decorated, as usual.

(i) *Plain tapering long club* :—No. 8 illustrates this variety. In this instance instead of the usual flat 'stop' or the 'knob' a pointed bulging contrivance is added to the lower end of the shaft. There is no separate grip. Probably the club was held just above this addition. The shaft swells

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli (b).

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlviii (a).

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii (b).



at the striking end where the top becomes rounded. It has no ornamentation whatsoever, but the shaft was probably well polished.

It is found placed in front, against a seat on which a person is sitting. On his right thigh rests the lower end or the grip of the club.<sup>299</sup>

(ii) *Decorated tapering long club* :—

Nos. 9, 10 and 11 illustrate this variety. The first two have no separate grip but have a flat 'knob' at the end. The last has a long, cylindrical but slender grip separated from the shaft. The three parts of the club in the first two instances, the grip, the shaft and the head are indicated by the decorated bands. No. 9 has a pair of plain bands at the lower part of the club which divides it in two parts, the shaft and the grip. That portion which is terminated on either side by these bands and the 'knob' constitutes the grip. The shaft is terminated on the upper part of the club by a broad rimmed band ornamented with the usual beaded-pattern from which upwards begins the head. The head is round and ribbed. No. 10 is not much different from No. 9 only except in this that the plain bands of the former are replaced by a broad double band of the usual beaded-pattern but with comparatively large beads. The head, like that of No. 9 is ribbed and rounded. Both are 'one-handed' clubs.<sup>300</sup>

The grip of the club illustrated by No. 11, is a slender cylindrical handle with a 'knob' at the end and is separated by a broad cornice from the shaft. Above this cornice is the usual band, broad and beaded, with a rim on the upper edge. From this begins the shaft proper which is carved with four broad and tapering ribs. The shaft broadens to the striking end or the head, which is surrounded by an unusually broad band. The ribs on the shaft are continued upon the head, the ends of which meet at the apex. The broad band overlaps these ribs. The top of the head is round.

This club is a 'one-handed' weapon and is held by a dwarf in his right hand.<sup>301</sup>

(D) *Mace* :—

Only one instance of this weapon is found in our sculptures. Maces were made of stone—and wood and metal, in ancient India. Stone-head maces are still used in New Guinea and New Britain. In these parts the stone is perforated for the wooden shaft and fashioned into various shapes. Our mace does not seem to be of this type. It, perhaps, represents the mace made entirely of metal. Harrison<sup>302</sup> says that "the maces of India, which persisted in use till a much later date than did those of Europe, were similar to those of Persia".

Our mace shows two parts, one the head and the other the shaft. No joint or necking is shown between the head and the shaft. The head is *ovoidal* in shape and is carved. The shaft is a long, slender and plain staff.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. x (a).

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlix (a).

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii (a).

<sup>302</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

It is held in both the hands by an attendant<sup>303</sup> and the heavy head rests on his left shoulder (Fig. 12).

## (2) *Piercing Weapons*

Piercing weapons are of a special interest because of their possessing a point for piercing the flesh and penetrating the vital parts of the body. To make the weapon more effective imagination has played, throughout the ages of its development, an unrestrained part producing a great variety of each of the piercing weapons.

Of such only the spear and the dagger are found in our sculptures. Actual instance of arrow is absent but the apparents of this missile-piercing-weapon viz., the bow is found in a few instances from which we can infer the existence of arrows, the particulars of which unfortunately remain hidden to us.

(a) *Spears* :—All the spears found in our bas-reliefs are composite. The following classification of them is based on the form of the outline of the head. As far as it is possible to judge from the sculptures, we discover three types of spear, (i) the concave, (ii) the convex, and (iii) the scalloped.

(i) *Concave headed spear* :—Fig. 13 illustrates this type.

*The head* :—The head of this spear consists of a pointed blade with perhaps sharp edges. The outline is concave near the point and becomes bulging at a little above base. The presence of a mid-rib between the wings becomes clear on a closer observation. The head is secured to the shaft by a hollow socket to which it is secured and hence the socket encloses the end of the shaft. The socket is richly ornamented having rims on either edge and its middle portion wrought in the usual beaded-pattern.

*The shaft* :—The shaft is decorated with spiral-ridge or thread running round the whole of its surface thus giving an appearance of a twisted stick. It has no separate grip for the hand. It gradually broadens towards the lower end where it attains its maximum breadth. The ornamentation of the socket and the whole appearance of the head point to its being the representation of a metallic spear-head.

This is found held by the Scythian soldier<sup>304</sup> which fact raises a doubt as to whether it was indigenous. In all probability it seems to have been foreign to the people of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, as the following two varieties—which are quite plain and vastly different from it—will show.

(ii) *The convex headed spear* :—(Fig. 14).

All the instances<sup>305</sup> of this type suffer from partial representation which does not allow us a clear view of the shaft as sometimes the shield—which is found invariably with the spear—hides the lower part of the spear leaving only the head uncovered, and sometimes because of their place on the body (which it might have been the custom in those days of carrying the spear behind the shoulders to which they were attached perhaps by a belt,

<sup>303</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlii (a)

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. x (c).

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxv (a) and xlvii (a).

when not in use). Thus, while speaking of this type, we are forced to confine our discussion only to the spear-head.

As the shaft of the third variety is a rough stick, (perhaps a representation of a bamboo stick), it is possible that this type also possessed a similar one.

*The head* :—Like the concave head this also has sharp edges and a point at the apex but unlike the former it has a convex or a bulging outline and a full base.

Nothing, unfortunately, can be gleaned as regards the method by which the blade was attached to the shaft. It cannot be known whether it had a tang or a socket. In the illustration the part below the blade is conjectured, the conjecture being based on the analogy of the following type.

(iii) *The scoloped headed spear :*

*The head* :—A pointed blade with sharp edges and a collar or binding by which it is secured to the shaft constitute the head of this spear. From the point at the apex the outline begins to bulge, but suddenly converges as it nears the middle of the blade and from a little below that again it bulges till it is terminated at the base by a collar or by binding. This divides the blade into two distinct parts. The outline on either side makes two bends, one outward and the other inward. The blade seems to be flat and without a rib. As regards scoloping, PETRIE's remark is worth noting. In connection with an Egyptian scoloped spear-head he says "this could not add to its attacking powers, it seems to have been a swaggering imitation of damages received in hand-fight".<sup>306</sup>

The collar is a plain simple device, and is applied to prevent the shaft from splitting. It consists of two rings fitted probably with nails or rivets to the shaft.

From the appearance of the collar or binding rings we may infer that unlike the concave head of the Scythian soldier's spear this head had a tang or spike which penetrated the shaft thus necessitating the collar to keep the end in tact.

*The shaft* :—The shaft of this spear is a rough stick or pole with no separate grip for the hand. The whole weapon is devoid of ornament.

This is found held in the left hand by Yakṣa Alavaka<sup>307</sup> who is about to pierce the Buddha with it (Fig. 15).

(b) *Daggers* :—Another piercing weapon is the dagger which has an edge or edges as well as a point. The dagger is used at close quarters on an enemy held or within reach while the sword is used to prevent an enemy coming to close quarters. Thus the primary function of a dagger is stabbing. Daggers are also missile-weapons but in this capacity they do not occur in our sculptures.

Three distinct types of this weapon are found in our bas-reliefs. They

<sup>306</sup> *Tools and Weapons*, p. 31.

<sup>307</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlix (b).

are (i) the horn-blade (ii) the wedge-shaped blade and (iii) the leaf-shaped blade.

(i) *Horn-blade* :—Figs. 16, 17 illustrate this type.

This dagger differs vastly from the following two types in having only the point. The blade is an exact imitation of horn—perhaps a buffalo-horn the daggers of which are sometimes used in India. Whether the blade was solid or not we cannot know ; but it might have been solid in the case of shorter daggers. Being imitation of a horn it must have been used only for piercing. The peculiarity of this weapon seems to lie with the rear portion of the blade which being round and gradually increasing in circumference enlarges the wound made by the point lacerating the skin as it enters the body till its action is stopped by the handle. The surface of the metallic horn-blade was probably polished so as to facilitate the action.

The handle seems to be a wooden piece in which penetrated the tang of the blade. The middle of the handle is whittled so as to provide for a firmer grip and as a consequence the outline of the handle offers slightly concave sides. At either end of the handle are to be seen rings the purpose of which is obviously to prevent it from splitting. The ring at the lower end of the handle is a bit larger than that near the blade and might have served the purpose of the pommel.

This is found used by foot-soldiers who are engaged in actual fight.<sup>308</sup>

(ii) *The wedge-shaped or straight-edged blade* :—

The sides of this blade taper towards the piercing end till they meet in a sharp point. The edges were perhaps sharp which rendered the weapon useful both for piercing and cutting. The blade is flat and has, instead of the handle, only a boss on that end (Fig. 18).

It is found held by a female guard on whose right shoulder it rests.<sup>309</sup>

(iii) *The leaf-shaped blade* :—

This is the most elaborate of the three types.

*The blade* :—Though rhomboidal in outline its length makes it similar in appearance to a long leaf. The two sides of the upper part are convex while those of the lower are concave. Thus the blade has four sides, which were probably sharp, and one point. The surface of the blade is dished on one face. On the convex surface is to be seen the mid-rib between the point and the collar or ferrule. This arrangement, with the point and the four sharp edges, must have made the weapon doubly effective. The first two edges, the convex ones, did the work of enlarging the wound made by the point during the forward motion while the latter two, the concave edges, did the same work when the blade was drawn back. The blade was probably turned when it fully penetrated the body and the hollow surface served the purpose of a dish taking out the flesh (Fig. 19).

The blade probably had a tang which penetrated the handle as we can

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiii (b).

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx (a).

infer from the appearance of what seems to be a ferrule or a collar at the upper end of the handle.

*The handle* :—The handle was probably a wooden piece, a long narrow ovoid in outline, with a pommel at the lower end and a ferrule at the upper to prevent the splitting of the wood.

The blade of this type is somewhat similar to the Cretan dagger.<sup>310</sup> But the latter has rounded sides while the former has angular ones. Also the base of the former is narrow while that of the latter is wide.

It is found held by an attendant<sup>311</sup> in his left hand and is supported by the left shoulder at the ferrule.

(c) *The arrow* :—The arrow being entirely absent in our sculptures we are left to infer its existence from the presence of the bow.

*The Bow* :—The most exalted weapon of India from very ancient times, the bow, is unfortunately represented in only three instances in our bas-reliefs. Moreover, the representations are such as do not furnish any detailed information except merely indicating the existence of this weapon in that region and at that time. The stave which only occurs, offers us two distinct types which may be called (i) the "plain" or "self" bow and (ii) the "compound" or "triple-bent" bow.

(i) *The "plain" or "self" bow* :—A simple, straight stave, perhaps of elastic bamboo, which when strung produces a big bend, is the plain bow of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures.<sup>312</sup> The natural elasticity of the stave in this case does not seem to have been reinforced by any foreign substance. As the representation shows a curved stave, we may take it to be a strung bow, though in the sculpture the string is missing, as, were it unstrung it would have assumed a straight form due to the elasticity. The stave is of a great length (Fig. 20). It is interesting to note in this connection that the Chenchus—a Telugu speaking jungle tribe, who are the present inhabitants of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and its environs—are found using the "plain" or "self" bow and barbed-type arrows. It is noted<sup>313</sup> that these people constantly carry in their hands bows and arrows and even the Lambadi children,<sup>314</sup> another tribe inhabiting the same region, are expected to be skilled archers which sometimes they are found to be.

The plain bow of our bas-reliefs closely resembles the one used by the present-day Chenchus.<sup>315</sup>

(ii) *The "compound" or "triple-bent" bow* :—The stave of this bow has an inward bulge in the middle, which constitutes the grip, so that its shape includes segments of three circles. But the ends of the stave are made thin and tapering and bend slightly outwards which in fact make the number of bends five (Fig. 21). The string was probably fastened to the ends

<sup>310</sup> PETRIE, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxvi, fig., 169.

<sup>311</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlii (a)      <sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii (c).

<sup>313</sup> THURSTON, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, II, pp. 27-28.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 207 ff.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, II, plate opposite p. 37; LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. iii (b).

by a hole made in these small bends at the extremities. There is no remarkable difference in the shape of the stave in the two states, strung and unstrung, except that when strung the bends of the stave become deeper than what they are when unstrung.

This type of the stave could not have been of one piece of wood or bamboo, but was probably built of more than one piece of the same material or of different ones, as the shape itself would indicate. Thus, this bow was probably either a "compound" one or a "composite" one, which exactly it was being difficult to know from the sculptures.

It is found with one of the Mara's hosts.<sup>316</sup>

### (3) *The Cutting Weapons*

*The sword* :—The sword, the only cutting weapon found in the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, is designed either for cutting or for piercing or for both. Our material presents a number of instances of this weapon but a majority of them are sheathed and some are mutilated. This is a sad obstacle in the way of a detailed and correctly classified exposition of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sword. Some instances show the sheathed blade only, while in one instance the blade has disappeared with the other mutilated part of the whole panel. However, five instances show a complete naked sword, and a few offer a complete sheathed sword, thus enabling us to detail the shape and structure of the weapon and to classify the instances according to the main function for which they seem to have been originally designed. The following narration is the result of the total study of those complete instances of naked and sheathed swords and the parts supplied by the other mutilated instances.

But sculptural evidence, as previously indicated, often remains silent on some points without the knowledge of which an elucidation of a particular phenomenon is never complete. So, it is difficult, almost impossible, to know from the sculptures—especially when they are in low-relief—whether the sword possessed more than one cutting edge. Also we cannot definitely say whether a particular instance represents a solid or a composite sword.

Swords found in our sculptures are divided into two classes (a) cutting swords and (b) thrusting swords. The sheath will be described separately at the end of this topic.

#### (a) *Cutting swords* :—

(i) *Tapering bladed swords* :—This type of the cutting sword is found held in the left hand by Yakṣa Ālavaka.<sup>317</sup>

It is characterised by a straight blade, tapering towards the hilt and widening near the point. The point is not the usual point at the centre of the breadth of the blade but is obtained by the unequal lengths of the sides, the joining line between the two making an acute angle with the side greater in length. Thus the sword has in fact three sides. Whether the point was deliberately made or was an accidental product is difficult to say. The blade

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx (a).

<sup>317</sup> LONGHURST, *op. cit.*, pl. xlix (a).

was probably sharp on the two smaller sides and thick on the greatest. Thus its main purpose would appear to have been of cutting.

There is no separate grip to the sword. Perhaps, the blade was blunt some distance near the quillons, and must have been very inconvenient to use.

It has two quillons in the place of the pommel which prevented it from slipping from the grasp. The quillons are straight, pointed projections in slightly upward direction. This was perhaps a solid sword (Fig. 22).

(ii) "*Round-headed*" sword :—

The blade—of whatever shape—of each sword in this group is rounded at the top instead of pointed, hence the term "round-headed".

Four instances of this type are found in our sculptures which are grouped into two divisions, based on the nature of the hilt (a) with a wrist-loop and (b) without a wrist-loop.

(a) "*Round-headed* blade with a *wrist-loop* to the grip."

Having no point, the blade seems to have been designed solely for cutting. The sword in this instance is sheathed, but its character can be guessed from the shape of the sheathe and the position of the wrist-loop. The blade seems to have a full base and slightly tapers towards the top or head where, instead of becoming pointed, it becomes rounded. It was, as is shown by the round head and the position of the loope, most probably sharp on one side—the edge on the loop-side. The blade seems to have been fastened to the hilt by means of a tang.

The outline of the grip is slightly concave. This shows that it was whittled at the middle. The end of the grip is furnished with a "knob" or a "stop" which seems to be very heavy. This probably served the double purpose of preventing the sword from slipping from the grasp and of a counterpoise. The wrist-loop is unusually large for the wrist and is attached to the extremities of the grip (Fig. 23).

This is found held by Dīghāvu<sup>318</sup> who has inserted his left wrist in the loop. It cannot be ascertained whether it is also fastened to the waist-band.

(b) "*Round-headed* blade without *wrist-loop* at the grip" :—

A naked, complete sword with a rounded head but unlike the previous one without the wrist-loop is found in the right hand of king Śibi.<sup>319</sup> Undoubtedly the sword was designed for cutting, as the panel shows the king cutting the flesh off his thighs.

The blade appears irregular in outline, scalloped on both edges near the hilt. The shape of the outline is thus concave in the first half between the hilt and the middle of the blade and convex in the latter part between this and the top. Very probably it was sharp on one edge only as the side confronting the spectator appears unusually thick (Fig. 24).

The hilt is a simple appendage, a round tapering rod with a pommel. It appears to be of the same piece as the blade. If this is correct then the sword was a solid one. But another possibility, that the grip was composed

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlvii (a).

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlii (a).

of two pieces obtained by cutting a round and tapering rod exactly along the diameter into two equal parts and attaching them either by rivets or nails to the flat tang one on each side, is also worth our attention. But in that case we must suppose the blade as possessing a tang—a flat tang. This method is possible both for a metallic and a wooden hilt, but if it were wooden then again another method is possible by which the blade was fastened to the hilt, namely by penetrating the tang into it. But this would require a collar to protect the wood from splitting and as the instance is quite ignorant of such a collar or ring we may take it for granted that at least this last method was out of question.

The other two instances which are grouped in this division because of their rounded bottom offer nearly no scope for a detailed description as regards the blade. They only indicate the presence of the sword. But one of them, with which is armed the "female-warrior"<sup>320</sup> is described by LONGHURST as "a short broad-sword of Semi-Roman pattern".<sup>321</sup> And the other, found held by Gadrabha,<sup>322</sup> Ālavaka's henchman, is a plain sword with parallel straight edges and without a point but with the head rounded.

(iii) *Broad sword with a mid-rib* :—

Solely meant for cutting, this broad and long blade is neither pointed nor rounded at the top. It is flat. The presence of the mid-rib is indicated by two lines running from the hilt to the top. The mid-rib suggests that it was sharp on both edges.

The hilt is closely similar to that of King Sibi's sword, (ii) (b) except that this has a double knob. The blade was perhaps fastened to the hilt by means of a tang which very probably was a continuation of the mid-rib (Fig. 25).

This is found borne by a person who probably represents a Śākya Prince.<sup>323</sup>

Other variations of this type are perhaps represented by those found with ministers in some panels, which are scabbarded swords.<sup>324</sup>

(iv) "*Tapering bladed swords*" :—

There seems to be no difference between this type and the preceding one except unlike the latter it has a tapering blade and no mid-rib, very probably. This instance of the type, which is sheathed, is found with a minister<sup>325</sup> (Fig. 26).

(b) *Thrusting swords* :—

Of thrusting swords or rapiers we have three instances in our bas-reliefs which probably represent three different types. Usually a rapier is sharp on both edges besides having a very sharp point. In shape the blade may vary according to individual type but these essentials must be there. The narrower the blade of the rapier the swifter and more effective is its action.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxx (a).

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlix (b).

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv (b).

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxi (a), xxv (a) etc.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii (b).



(i) The straight bladed rapier of our bas-reliefs (Fig. 27) is closely similar in shape to the Cypriote<sup>326</sup> rapier. The narrow blade had very probably a tang by which it was fastened to the hilt. The blade tapers to the top where the converging sides merge in a sharp point.

The hilt is composed of a slender grip with a pommel at the end. The pommel seems to be a heavy "knob" serving the purpose of a counterpoise also.

This unsheathed sword is found lying at the foot of a king's throne<sup>327</sup> and the sheath is seen in the king's hand.

(ii) The two other instances<sup>328</sup> are vague and may be representations of rapiers. One of them appears to be of a curious form. Its blade seems to be slightly convex on one side but the other side is made up of what appear to be concave curves—one long and one short. The other instance shows a straight blade, but tapering to the hilt, thus bringing its maximum width near the point (Figs. 28 and 29). This is all that can be gathered about these instances and even this information—we fear—may not be a correct interpretation of the representations. Figs. 28 and 29 show these instances but they are only conjectural restorations.

*The Sheath* :—Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs offer us three varieties of the sheath. There does not seem to be any relation between the shape of the sword and the shape of the sheath. For even the tapering swords are found kept in broad-based sheaths (Figs. 30, 31 and 32).

#### B. *Weapons of Defence* :—

Unfortunately defensive weapons, except the shield, are totally absent in our bas-reliefs. The shield also presents no variety as regards its shape and construction. All the panels containing the instances of the shield present to us the same type.

#### *The shield* :—

The shield in those days seems to have been made of leather as can be gathered from the appearance of its instances. Or perhaps, they were made of wooden planks made light by hollowing out one surface. The shields were, it seems, disproportionately narrow. They were long, flat pieces of wood with straight lines along the four sides.<sup>329</sup> (Fig. 33). As some of the instances show, they were held at some contrivance like the handle in the middle.<sup>330</sup>

<sup>326</sup> PETRIE., *op. cit.*, p. 27 and pl. xxxiv, Fig. 41

<sup>327</sup> LONGHURST., *op. cit.*, pl. xxxviii (a).

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxi (b) and x (a).

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xlv (b), xlvii (a), l (a) etc.

<sup>330</sup> As it was not possible to enlarge separately from Longhurst's plate, each object discussed in this article, I chose to give eye-copies of most of them. In drawing these illustrations I have picked out only the relevant details and have presented them in an enlarged outline. In doing this, however, I have tried my best to be faithful to the originals. However, I wish my illustrations should be regarded as complementary to Longhurst's plates and should be consulted together with them for a precise idea of the object under discussion.

C. ARCHITECTURE.



Fig. 1 (p. 263).

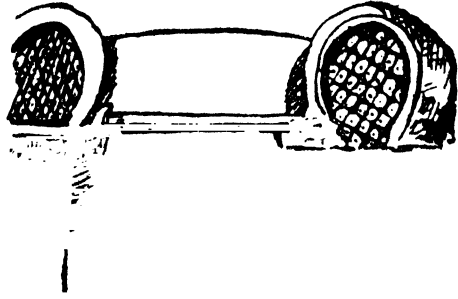


Fig. 3 (pp. 263 and 264).

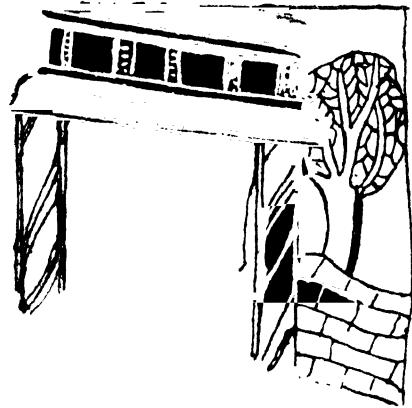


Fig. 4 (p. 264).

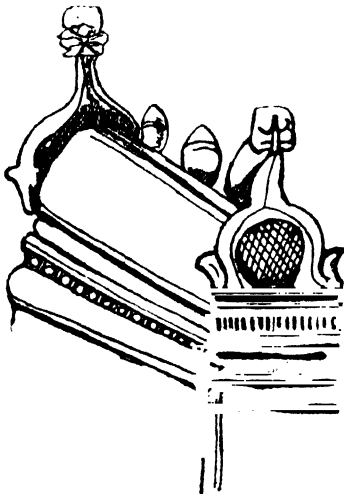


Fig. 2 (pp. 263 and 265).



Fig. 5 (p. 265).

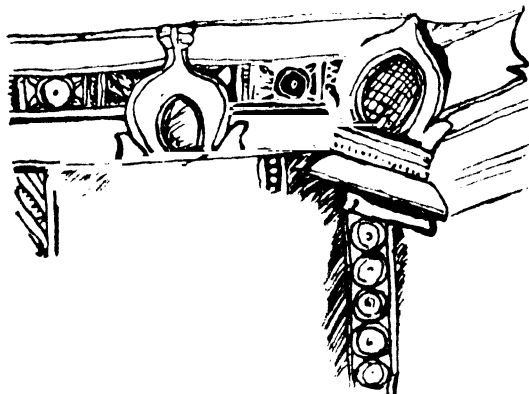


Fig. 6 (p. 265).

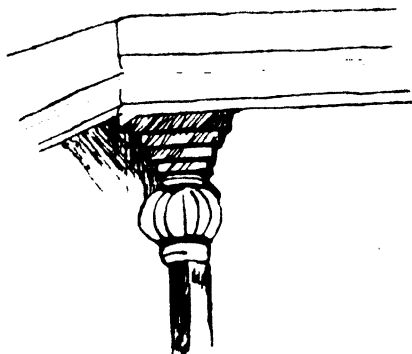


Fig. 7 (p. 265).

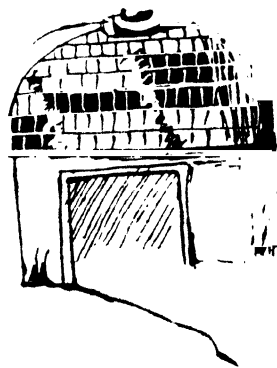


Fig. 8 (p. 265).

## D. FURNITURE.

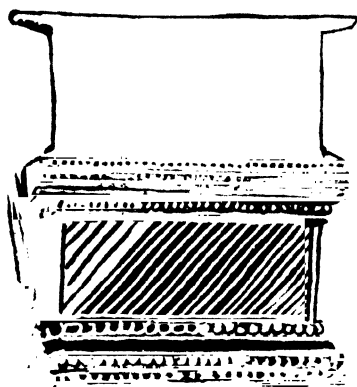


Fig. 1 (p. 266).

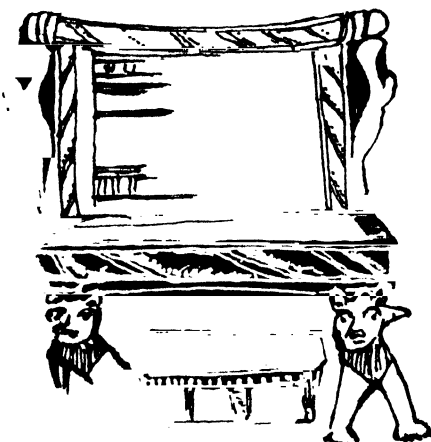


Fig. 4 (p. 267).

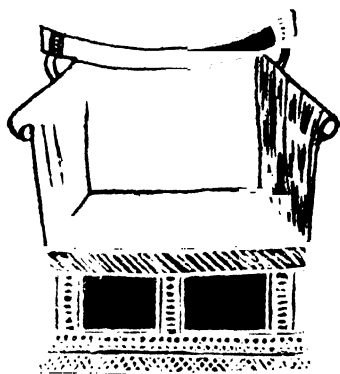


Fig. 2 (p. 267).

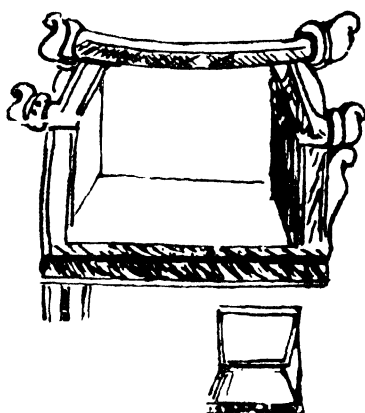


Fig. 5 (p. 267).

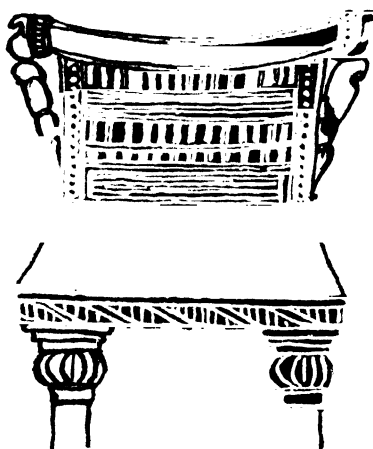


Fig. 3 (p. 267).

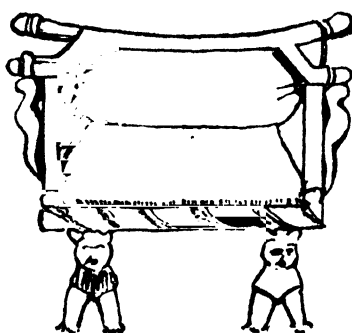


Fig. 6 (p. 268).

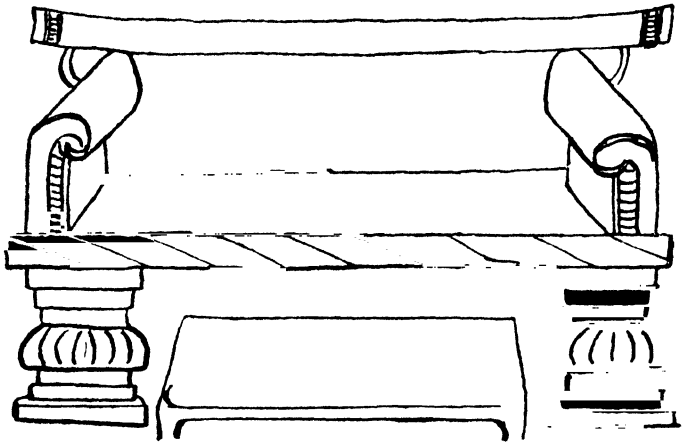


Fig. 7 (pp. 268 and 269).

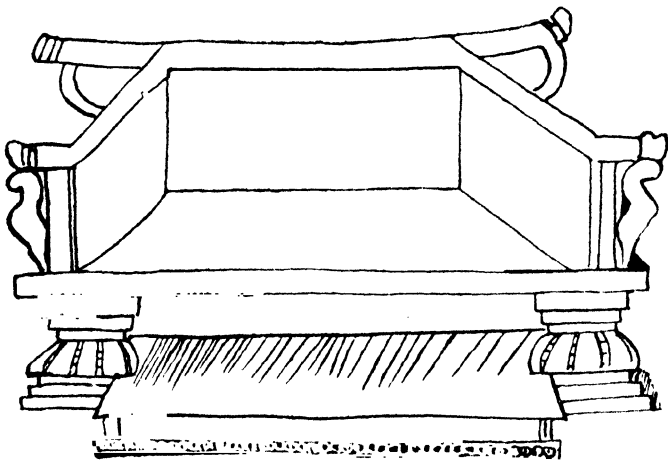


Fig. 8 (pp. 268 and 269).

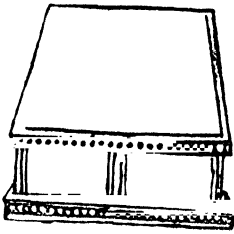


Fig. 9 (p. 269).

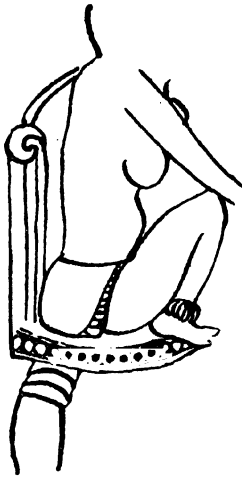


Fig. 10 (p. 269).

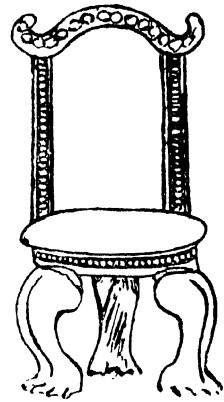


Fig. 11 (p. 270).

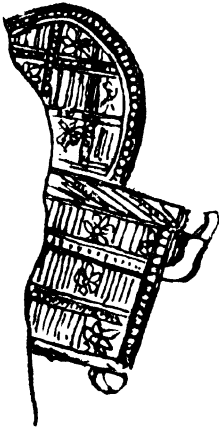


Fig. 12 (p. 270).

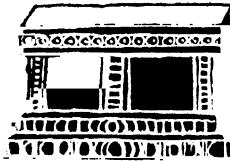


Fig. 13 (p. 270).

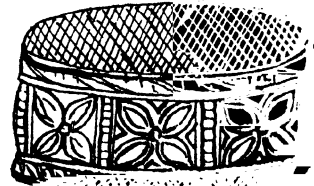


Fig. 14 (p. 270).



Fig. 15 (p. 270).



Fig. 16 (p. 270).



Fig. 17 (p. 270).

## E. TOYS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS ETC.

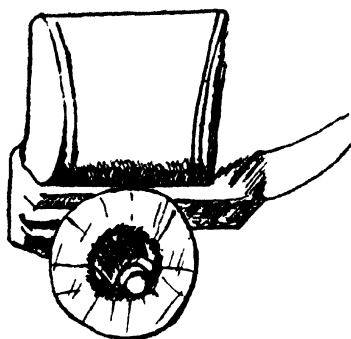


Fig. 1 (p. 272).

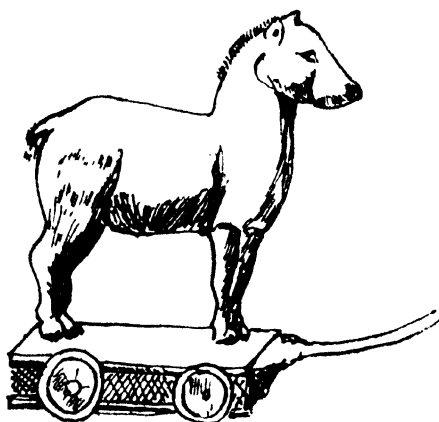


Fig. 3 (p. 272).

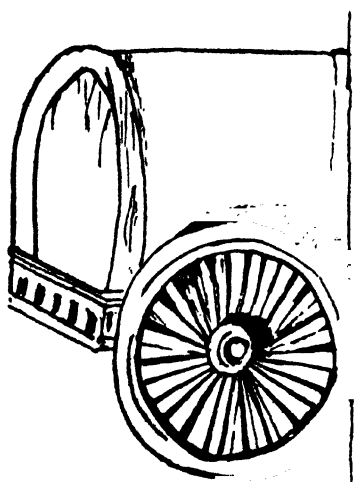


Fig. 2 (p. 272).

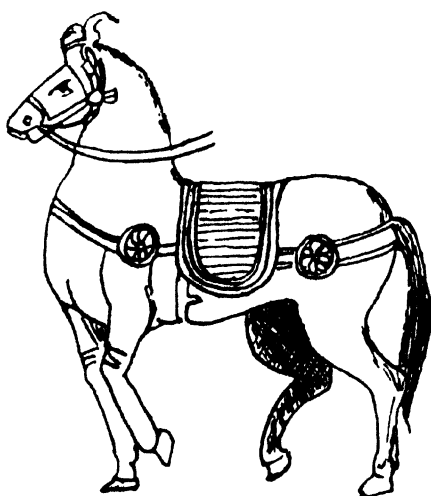


Fig. 4 (p. 272).



Fig. 5 (p. 272)



Fig. 6 (p. 273).



Fig. 7 (p. 273).



Fig. 8 (p. 273).

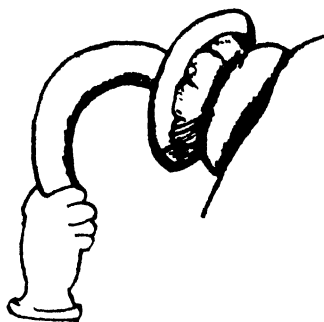


Fig. 9 (p. 274).



## F. WEAPONS.



Fig. 1 (p. 277).



Fig. 2 (p. 277).

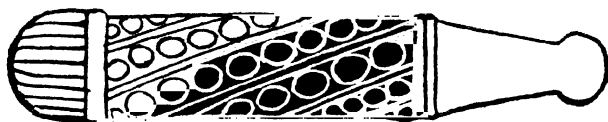


Fig. 3 (p. 277).

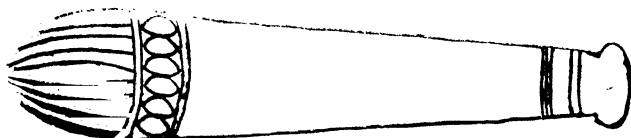


Fig. 4 (p. 278).

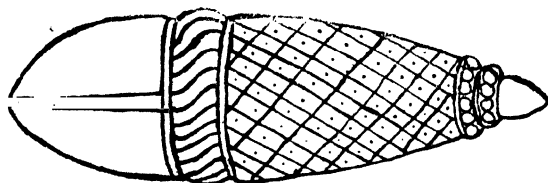


Fig. 5 (p. 279).

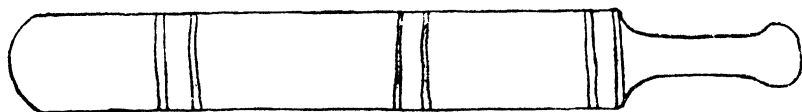


Fig. 6 (p. 279).



Fig. 7 (p. 279).

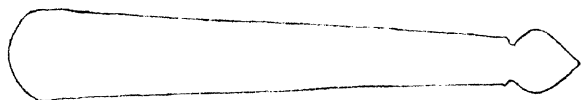


Fig. 8 (p. 279).

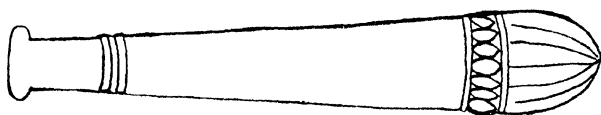


Fig. 9 (p. 280).

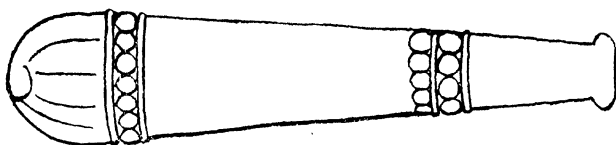


Fig. 10 (p. 280).

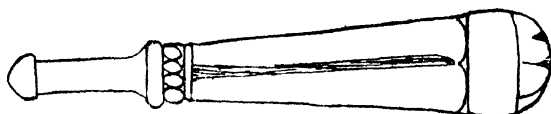


Fig. 11 (p. 280).

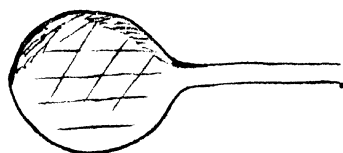


Fig. 12 (p. 281).



Fig. 13 (p. 281).

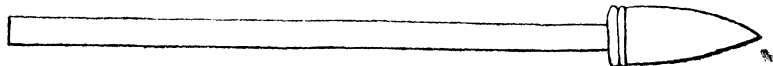


Fig. 14 (p. 281).

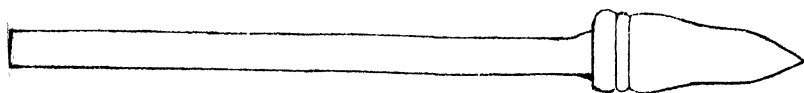


Fig. 15 (p. 282).



Fig. 16 (p. 283).

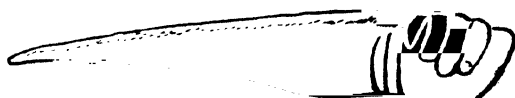


Fig. 17 (p. 283).

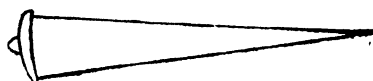


Fig. 18 (p. 283).

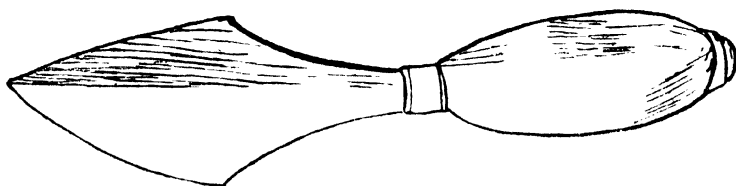


Fig. 19 (p. 283).

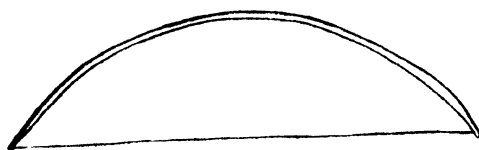


Fig. 20 (p. 284).



Fig. 21 (p. 284).

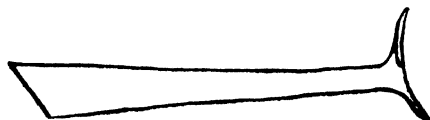


Fig. 22 (p. 286).

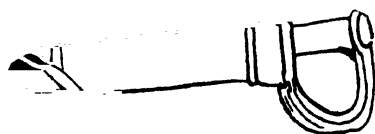


Fig. 23 (p. 286).

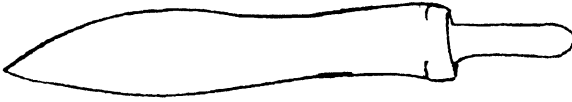


Fig. 24 (p. 286).

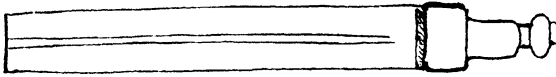


Fig. 25 (p. 287).

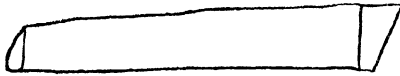


Fig. 26 (p. 287).

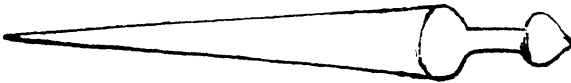


Fig. 27 (p. 288).



Fig. 28 (p. 288).

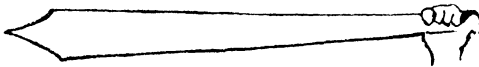


Fig. 29 (p. 288).



Fig. 30 (p. 288).



Fig. 31 (p. 288).



Fig. 32 (p. 288).



Fig. 33 (p. 288).

## A DAKHANĪ MANUSCRIPT

By

M. A. M. KHAN and C. H. SHAIKH

Among many other things that came into our hands in August last was a manuscript containing specimens of early Dakhanī poetry. It is a note-book (باض) and although many of its pages have been torn and removed, it preserves some Dakhanī poems produced in Gujerat as well as Deccan. The MS. is not dated, nor is it possible for us to say with certainty whose بياض it is ; from the date of one of the mathnawīs contained in it, we can say this much that it was not transcribed earlier than A.H. 1100. From a note in Guj-rathi to be found on the blank page after folio 16, we are in a position to say that on the 5th of December 1874 A.D. this manuscript was in Pārdī (near Surat). The last person to be in possession of it was one Muḥammad Karīm Shujā'at. The Manuscript contains the following pieces :

(I) جواب و سوال شيطان و رسول الله

It begins with

خالق ہے سب خلق کا ارض و سما کیا او بھی عرش اور کرسی لوح و قلم کیا او

It occupied 15 folios and in all 326 bayts ; it is incomplete and the portion contained in this Volume ends abruptly with

انسان بیچ غفلت سوتا رہی سو دایم کرتا گنہ ہمیشہ عصیان اوپر سو قائم

It is written in a good hand. It is entirely religious in its substance and has no literary merit about it. The mathnawī is important from the linguistic point of view in so far as it preserves some of the earlier peculiarities of language as well as رسم الخط now entirely lost.

From a careful reading of the poem we have reason to believe that it might have been the work of a native of Gujerat, for, such a person alone could have used words such as

تھیں = by or from

سانچا or سانچ = True

راکھوں = I keep.

(II) After two blank intervening leaves commences another poetical treatise dealing with Qiyāmat : it is more or less a قیامت نامہ

It begins with

قیامت کی دیتا ہوں تمنا خبر سونو ری عزیزان دنیا کی رہتر

and is composed in the usual mutaqārib metre

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — |

This *mathnawī* occupies 18 leaves and possesses 488 *bayts*. It is written in clear nasta 'līq, but bears no indication of its author's name nor does it possess any reference of historical or personal nature. The *mathnawī* aims at describing the day of resurrection based on Tradition and Muslim belief. It ends with

کهنگی کسه گار رحمت کرو مهن بر همیشه نه زحمت کرو

Then follow two blank leaves.

(III) The rest of the volume contains selections from the works of different poets. The first is a *Tarjī'band* of Ṣālīḥ beginning with

۱	خدایا مین تبرا کسه گار هون	تیری ساری بندون سین بد کار هون
۲	بری فعل سین مجه نه آئی حیا	عجب شوخ بی تنک و بی عار هون
۳	اگر مجه اویر تون کری جو عذاب	مشخص مبت اوسکا سزاوار هون
۴	ککن (?) کات تل به تیری بلا	نشانه کی صورت دل افکار هون
۵	شب و روز کرتا هون قریاد مین	که میت بنده لاغر و زار هون
۶	غریب و فقیر و حقیر و نحیف	سدا بی کس و عاجز و خوار هون
۷	اگر کهوئی مین عمر بازی مین	ولی لطیف تیری سین ناچار هون
۸	خدایا تون مجه جیسی بدکار بر	کرم کی نظر کر کسه گار بر

There are in all seven *bands* in this piece containing 8 *bayts* each. The concluding *band* reads thus :—

۱	جدهان جم نکالین مبری جان کون	سلامت رکھین مبری ایمان کون
۲	نه کرتکھری بالون کی مانند تون	یریشات مجه سی یریشات کون
۳	نه کرعیب ظاهر تون کیزی مثال	نه حیران کر مجه سی حیران کون
۴	تیری نام کون نا سنون دم بدم	ایسا دی تون سنان مبری کان کون
۵	مبری جیب <sup>۱</sup> کون بهی بهی بولنان	که نسدن پھزون <sup>۲</sup> تبری قرآن کون
۶	توانائی دی تون مبری پاؤن کون	که مسجد مین جاؤن هر یک آن کون
۷	عمل مین نی صالح کئی نہت اگر	و لیکن مین چاہتا ہوں غفران کون
۸	خدایا تو مجه جیسی بدکار بر	کرم کی نظر کر کسه گار بر

Then follows a meritless poem (in the *qaṣīda* form) by a poet who styles himself as Amīn. There have been a number of Dakhanī poets who had this nom de plume. In the Golconda court there was a poet of this name who composed the story of *Abu Shahma* in Persian under the patronage of Sultān 'Abdu' llāh Quṭb Shāh (1035-1083/1626-1672); this was rendered into Dakhanī verse by another Amīn in 1090 A.H./1679 A.D. during the reign of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh (1083-1098/1672-1687). There was another poet of this name who flourished at Bijāpūr and is believed to have been the author of the *mathnawī* of *Bahrām wa Husn Bānū*, which is described in detail by Naṣīru'd-Dīn Hāshimī in his *Yurup meyn Dakhanī Makhtūfāt* pp. 217-222. According to

him Amīn flourished at Bijāpūr during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (988-1037/1580-1627), but had no connection with the court; he was a Sūfī and a desciple of Shāh 'Ālam. The Dakhanī version of the above story, according to Mr. Hāshmi is very likely to have been made from a Persian work by the same writer for, it bears similarity to it in various respects.

There is another Shaikh Muḥammad Amīn who flourished during the time of Aurangzib and composed the mathnawī of *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* (finished in A.H. 1109), in Dakhanī.

Is any one of the above Amīns identical with the one with whom we are concerned? Be that as it may, the poem under consideration is entitled *يون کرکھا نیی نی کہ رب جب چایگا تب موت بهیج زمین مین سکون چھایگا* and comprises of 84 bayts. It begins with

يون کرکھا نیی نی کہ رب جب چایگا تب موت بهیج زمین مین سکون چھایگا

Written in a clear nasta 'līq, the poem is complete, but is undated and unfortunately there is no reference of historical importance that would prove helpful to us. The poem concludes thus:—

تیری بندی ہین سگی بری یا بھلی ہین دیگا مرتبہ جیسی رب توت چایگا  
عاجز ہو کر کہتا ہی امین جو جگت مینی ایسی مری بخت بڑی رب انین انھایگا

Then follows a poem called *Rikhta-i-Rahmān* the text and a free translation of which is appended to this article.

This is followed by a mathnawī by an important poet called Raḍī. He was one of the most well-known marthia writers of Dakhanī and was the contemporary, if not the disciple, of Walī Dakhanī. According to Mr. Hāshmi in a (bayād) manuscript present in the Edinburgh library there are to be found nine marthias of Raḍī's composition. In his *Yūrup meyn Dakhanī Makḥ-ṭūṭāt*, pp. 636-37, the same author gives selections from the above marthias and thinks that there is very little poetry in his composition although his marthias are replete with pathos and genuine feeling. From the reading of the mathnawī under consideration we are, however, led to think that although Raḍī may not be considered a first grade poet, it would be nevertheless difficult to deny poetical talent to him. Perhaps the true merit of the poet will be realised if we reproduce the entire mathnawī here so as to allow the readers to form their own opinion about him. The mathnawī is composed in the same metre as the *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* of Jāmī, i.e. Hazaj.

- ۱ کتابت کون میری لیجا تون قاصد میری محبوب کون یونچا<sup>۳</sup> تون قاصد
- ۲ لکھا ہون تختی دل پر نامہ اسکون سواد چشم و مژگان کی قلم سون
- ۳ لیتا جیو اس مین پیچ دیکر کیا<sup>۴</sup> داغی فکر سون مہر اوسیر
- ۴ سراپا اوس مین ہے مضبوط عالی لکھی ہے شوق سون اشعار عالی
- ۵ یہی ہے اوس مین مرا عرض احوال جدائی کا<sup>۵</sup> برا ہے سر پر جنجال

- ۶ نہ جانوں یہ جدائی کیا بلا ہے دیوانا کر<sup>۶</sup> مجھی رسوا کیا ہے  
 ۷ نہیں اوس بن میری انکھیا مین آب گیا صبر و فرار و طاقت و تاب  
 ۸ سراپا ظلم ہے اوس مین وفا نہیٹ بیگانا ہے کسی کا آشنا نہیٹ  
 ۹ نہیٹ ہی درد ہے وی یار میرا نہیٹ ہی رحم ہے غمخوار میرا  
 ۱۰ دل اوسکا سخت ہے جیون سخت فولاد ستمگر شوخ ہے فریاد فریاد  
 ۱۱ ستمگر ہے ستمگر ہے ستم خو جفا جو ہے جفا جو ہے جفا جو  
 ۱۲ نہیٹ وہ بوجتا<sup>۷</sup> احوال میرا نہیٹ وہ بوجتا<sup>۷</sup> جنجال میرا  
 ۱۳ کہوں کسکوں<sup>۸</sup> ایسکی درد کی بات فراقی<sup>۹</sup> یار سون روتا ہون دن رات  
 ۱۴ ہر یک سون مین یہی بھر بھر<sup>۱۰</sup> کتاہون نپاندھو کوئی ایسکا دل کسی سون  
 ۱۵ عزیزان دلکون پھاندی مین نہ ڈالو سنبھالو جیو کوٹ اپنی سنبھالو  
 ۱۶ برہ<sup>۱۱</sup> کی راہ ہے تلوار کی دھار برہ ظالم بہو کا ہے شرر بار  
 ۱۷ برہ کی فوج سون سن مکھ<sup>۱۲</sup> رھاہون برہ کی راہ مین ماڑا پرا<sup>۱۳</sup> ہون  
 ۱۸ برہ<sup>۱۴</sup> کی آنچ نہیٹ مجکون جلایا میری سینہ مین دھووات لگایا  
 ۱۹ برہ پن مین سدا دیوانہ ہون مین ایسکی عقل سوت بیگانہ ہون مین  
 ۲۰ پرا<sup>۱۵</sup> ہون عشق کی جنگل مین بھولا بکولا ہون بکولا ہون  
 ۲۱ برنگ شعلہ آتش ہوا ہون سراپا شمع کی مانند جلا ہون  
 ۲۲ بھوت<sup>۱۶</sup> بیکل ہون مجکون کل نہیں تل بھراتی مین نین انجوان سین جل تھل  
 ۲۳ انکھیاں کی حوض لوہو سون ابلتے فوارہ آہ کی دل سہا اچھلتے  
 ۲۴ شہید تیغ خونریزی<sup>۱۷</sup> ادا ہون مریض درد عشق ہی دوا ہون  
 ۲۵ اگر اقامت افلاطون آوین کھات مجھ درد دل کی نبض پاوین  
 ۲۶ نجانوں کیا دوا میری کرینکے طبیبات آپ بس<sup>۱۸</sup> کھا کر مریکے  
 ۲۷ وصال<sup>۱۹</sup> دوست مجھ دکھ کی دوا ہے مبری حق بیچ ہو عین شفا ہے  
 ۲۸ اگر مین شربت دیدار پاوون مری دل کی اکٹ ساری بوجاؤن  
 ۲۹ برہ کی تاب سون ہون سخت بیتاب چھرک اس<sup>۲۰</sup> آگ پر تک لطف کا آب  
 ۳۰ شتابی لطف سون ای نامہ بر توت لیجا یونچا خط اوس نا مہربان کون  
 ۳۱ خدا کی واسطی کرناں میرا کام میری مطلب کون یونچانا سرا انجام

۶ مجھے

۷ بوجھا

۸ اپنی

۹ فراق

۱۰ کہتا

۱۱ فراق = विरह

۱۲. Sanskrit संमुख = face to face ; to confront.

۱۳ پڑا

۱۴ فرقت

۱۵ پڑا

۱۶ بہت

۱۷ خونریز

۱۸ Sanskrit विष = poison. زہر

۱۹ وصال

۲۰ چھڑک



۳۲ اگر آوی تو اسکو تون بلا لا وگر ناوی تون اوسکا جو لکھا لا  
 ۳۳ کر اوسکی هات کا لاوی لکھا تون گلی تھویند کر راکھون اوسی هون  
 ۳۴ دلاسا دلکون دونگا اس سون هر رات که المکتوب هے نصف الملاقات  
 ۳۵ الہی مین دعا یوت مانکنا هون رضی سون لا ملا تون آشنا کون  
 ۳۶ همیشه راکھه دلکون شاد و خورم بحق سید سردار عالم

Then follows a simple poem in Persian entitled *مناجات سید المرسلین* by a poet who calls himself as *Hindī*. The poem begins thus :—

ای سیدی بہر خدا فریاد رس یا مصطفیٰ ای خواجہ ہر دوسرا فریاد رس یا مصطفیٰ  
 and possesses 23 *bayts* in all ; the concluding verses run thus :—

ہندی چنین آمد بجان از تو ہمی خواہد امان المستغاث ای مرہبان فریاد رس یا مصطفیٰ

This is followed by a poem entitled *مناجات مکہ معظمہ* of *Ṣāliḥ*. It possesses five *bayts* and begins with :—

اگر مین خاک مکہ کی ہوا ہوتا تو کیا ہوتا وہاں کی لوگوں کی قد مون لگا ہوتا تو کیا ہوتا

Then follows an artless poem (?) called *مناجات مدینہ* by an anonymous writer. It contains 12 *bayts*, the first and the last of which are :—

دیکھا مجھ کو مدیناری، مدینہ مین لیجا یا رب عرش کا ہی نکیٹاری، مدینہ مین لیجا یا رب  
 \* \* \* \* \*

مدینا جن دیکھا یکبار، رہا مشتاق ہوا اوس نہار عباد اللہ کہی ہر بار، مدینہ مین لیجا یا رب

This is followed by *Raḥmān*'s poem entitled *در بیان الوداع* of which the text as well as an English translation is appended to this article.

*Raḥmān*'s poem is followed by that of *Ṣāliḥ* entitled *مدح حضرت*. It contains 11 *bayts* in all, the first and the last of which are these :—

عاصی ہین تیری بندگان سبکا تون بخشہا رہی تیری صفت رحمان ہی دیگر صفت غفار ہی  
 \* \* \* \* \*

سو گند احمد کی تجھی بخشی گنہ گاروں کوں جب تب کیجین صالح یر کرم وہ عاجزون کا یازہی

Another of *Ṣāliḥ*'s poem occurs next in the manuscript. It possesses 12 *bayts* of which the first and the last are :—

سب خلق کوں پیدا کیتی احمد محمد کی سبب یون کر مدح انکی کہین اپنی زبان سین با ادب  
 \* \* \* \* \*

صالح اگر ہی یر کشتہ لیکن تمارا ہی غلام اوسیر قیامت کوں تمین کریو شفاعت یا حبیب

Then follows a series of poems by *Ṣāliḥ*, in which he praises separately the four Companions of the Prophet. That in praise of *Abū Bakr* begins and ends thus :—

یا مصطفیٰ یا مجتہبی یا سید اہل عرب عاشق تماری صدق سین صدیق ہین مولیٰ طلب  
 \* \* \* \* \*

صالح اگر چاہا ہے تون حق اور نبی راضی رہین کھہ صدق سون شام و سحر صدیق اکبر بوبکر

while those which deal with the other three have the following commencing and concluding lines respectively :—

In praise of 'Umar I :—

افضل هين وي اعلى هين وي اول هين وي صاحب كي سب  
بيچيهت شه عادل عمر اونكي صفت يون كر تون اب

\* \* \* \* \*

صالح بن اپني جي ڪٿين قربان ڪيا هي تم اوپر دوزخ جلاوي ڪيون اوسي ڪهواگ بهتر يا عمر

In praise of 'Uthmān :—

يا شاه عادل يا عمر توڙا هي تمنن ڪفر سب رونق جو بخشي دين کون هين تم پيچيون عثمان عجب

\* \* \* \* \*

عثمان ڪي ڪر پيروي صالح تجي ڪر دين هي صوفي هين صافي دين مين اور دل صفا عثمان هين

'Alī :—1st line

عثمان امين قرآن ڪي ديکهي علي حيدر لقب  
لازم هي انڪي وصف مين ڪنهان يو سبکون روز و شب

last line

ڪيا غم هي صالح آگ سين رکهي هين جب دوجک منين  
سر ٻر سڙي دو همت اول حسن ديگر حسيت

This is followed by a Rikhta-i-Hindi of 14 *bayts* beginning with

سنو تمن سو يارو پيور سونا ليا هي اب تو هوا هون مجنون تيري فراق سיתי

Another poem by Rahmān entitled درود حضرت follows the above. We are appending the text as well as an English translation of it to this article.

Then follows a *Tarjī* 'band of Walī beginning with

ميري دل ٻر وه سرو گلغام هي

This is to be found in both the editions of Prof. Sāyānī and Aḥsan Mārharwī.

After four unidentifiable leaves follows a versified treatise dealing with the

خوارق غوث الاعظم ايران ٻر دستکبر

composed by a poet called Muḥammad Ḥusain who finished this poem in the fort of Aḥmednagar on Monday, the 24th of Ramaḍān 1100 A.H.

خوارق يو سب شاه جيلان ڪي محي الدين محبوب سبحات ڪي  
که ڪر ڪر ختم يو مرتب ڪيا سو تاريخ يو نظم مين سب ڪيا  
مبارک مهينا تها رمضان ڪا خدا ڪي کرم فضل و احسان ڪا  
که چوبيس دن تهي جو اس ماه ڪي دوشنبه ڪا دن . . . . .  
اتهي سنه هزار ايکسو هور سن سو هجري مقدس ڪي اي جان من  
ڪيا ظهر ڪي وقت بعد از نماز ڪيا يو مرتب بمعجز و نیاز

يو احمد نگر کي قلعه مين تمام لکھا مين جو هي قلمه باغ نظام  
 هون مين خاکيای محمد حسين .....  
 لکھا يو کيا صرف مين روزگار که يونهي رهي مجھ ستين يادگار  
 شروع ابتدا سون سو آخر تمام مرتب کيا ختم خير الکلام

This treatise aims at describing 14 miraculous performances of the famous saint Shaiikh 'Abdu' l-Qādir Jilānī, but unfortunately only the description of a few of these has survived as a number of pages are missing from the manuscript.

This is followed by four leaves from the introduction of the *Gulistān* of Sa'di.

## APPENDIX

### ✽ ريخته رحمان

- |    |   |                              |               |
|----|---|------------------------------|---------------|
| ۱  | جو کو <sup>21</sup> غم کی گھر میں چلا جایگا | یقین جات آخر وہ              | یو بایگا      |
| ۲  | جنین <sup>22</sup> عشق کیٹا نہیں جک منین    | قیامت کی دن                  | بھوت بیچنایگا |
| ۳  | زمانات <sup>23</sup> نہنگ ہی تو ہشار ہو     | کہ آخر تجھی ایک دن           | کھایگا        |
| ۴  | نہ مل جک کی لوگ انسین ای یارمن              | کہ آخر یشبانی توت            | یایگا         |
| ۵  | یہی غم رکھین دل کی اوپر سدا                 | دونی دین <sup>24</sup> کا غم | بسر جایگا     |
| ۶  | سجت کی محبت میں یکرنگ ہو                    | کہ او مہربان ہو تجھی         | جایگا         |
| ۷  | جنبت دلکو دھویا نہیں غم نین                 | سو انجھوان کی بانی           | سون وی نہایگا |
| ۸  | اگر یاد نہیں اسکی دلمیت سدا                 | قیامت کون مکھ کیا            | سو دکھلایگا   |
| ۹  | جوانی کون مت کہو تون غفلت منین              | پوای <sup>25</sup> وقت       | بھرت بیچنایگا |
| ۱۰ | فراموش مت کر تون اس یند کون                 | کہ رحمت بنا                  | کون سبھایگا   |

### I. *Rikhta-i-Rahmān*

(Translation)

1. Whosoever enter the house of sincere love (excessive pain),  
Know for certain that he will ultimately find the Beloved.
2. He who has not loved in this world,  
Will extremely regret on the day of resurrection.

\* As far as possible, whatever reading was found in the manuscript described, has been retained. C. H. Sh.

21 کوئی  
24 دنیا دین

22 جس نے  
25 پوایا

23 زمانہ

3. Time is a crocodile : be careful,  
For, it will one day devour you.
4. Do not mix with worldly people, O dear friend !  
For, in the end you will have to regret.
5. Let this alone occupy the mind ; (inasmuch as),  
Grief for the world and religion will be (soon) forgotten.
6. Be sincere in your love to the Beloved,  
Because, He will favour you kindly.
7. He who has not washed his heart with the tears of love,  
Will bathe with the water of tears (of regret).
8. If His thoughts do not for ever occupy one's mind,  
How will one be able to show one's face to Him on the day of resurrection?
9. Do not waste your youth in negligence,  
For, in old age you will be extremely sorry for it.
10. Do not forget this piece of advice :  
Because, can any one except Rāḥmān render admonition ?

## در بیان الوداع

### II

- ۱ یارات سنا<sup>26</sup> اینا نکر ای دوستان اب الوداع  
چهوری<sup>27</sup> همین مادر پدر ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۲ تم هم منین ملنات کهان مل بیئکر هنسنان کهان  
یکرنک هو پهرنات کهان ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۳ یاران سین مکپه مورا<sup>28</sup> هین الفت سین دل تورا<sup>29</sup> هین  
اس دیس کون چهورا<sup>30</sup> هین ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۴ مجبه سر پدر کا تاج کهان ما کا مجبهی اب راج کهان  
یازان تبین هم آج کهان ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۵ سر یر پدر کا بهار<sup>31</sup> هی دل یر درد کا بهار هی  
خاطر مین غم کا خار<sup>32</sup> هی ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۶ کنتها<sup>33</sup> بهیر جوگی هوا بیراک لی بهوگی هوا  
کهین درد مین جوگی هوا ای دوستان اب الوداع

<sup>26</sup> چهورنا

<sup>27</sup> چهوری

<sup>28</sup> موزا هینن

<sup>29</sup> تورا

<sup>30</sup> چهورا

<sup>31</sup> بار

<sup>32</sup> The Manuscript has خوار which is apparently a mistake.

<sup>33</sup> مالا

- ۷ مفاس گدا هوکر چلا      لوہو نین روکر چلا  
انجھوا سین مکہ دھوکر چلا      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۸ الفی گلی پیہنات کفن      سر برہنن ناکی چرن  
دل مین جدائی کی آکن      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۹ دل درد سین ناشاد ہی      یاران کی مجکون یاد ہی  
رب سین یہی فریاد ہی      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۱۰ دیتا ترک<sup>34</sup> اپنا وطن      چھوڑا<sup>35</sup> مین جای امن  
پھر ہون سرگشتہ نمین      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۱ کھر بار ہم سارا تمجا<sup>36</sup>      ماری<sup>37</sup> مندر سارا تمجا  
مادر پدر سارا تمجا      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۱۲ کجرات سین باندھا سفر<sup>38</sup>      راحت گئی ہمکون بسر  
غرمت نی اب راکھا گذر      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۱۳ ہی می پریشانی لکی      اب مجکون حیرانی لکی  
مشکل یہ سب مجکون لکی      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۱۴ تمکون مسلمانان سلام      سب ہندوان کون رام رام  
کہناند عای خاص و عام      ای دوستان اب الوداع
- ۱۵ رحمت ہوا تم سین جدا      نت اوٹھکی یہ مانگی دعا  
اللہ یجمع      ای دوستان اب الوداع

1. O Friends ! my native land has been left !  
Farewell to you, O, friends !  
Mother and father have been left,  
Farewell to you, O friends !
2. Where is now our blissful wanderings in each other's company ?  
Where is now our laughing in an assembled gathering ?  
Where are those (carefree) strolls now that we enjoyed in sincerity ?  
Farewell, now, to you, O friends !
3. We have turned away from our companions,  
We have turned away our heart from love,  
We have left this (dear) country (of ours),  
Farewell now, to you, O friends !

<sup>34</sup> ترک کر دیا

<sup>35</sup> چھوڑا

<sup>36</sup> From Sanskrit त्यज् = to give up, leave.

<sup>37</sup> مہاڑی

<sup>38</sup> The Manuscript has صفر which is apparently a mistake.

کواہی چھبائی ہیں جو جان کر نذرتی ہیں حق کواہی سچ مان کر  
 کوئی بن جو کرئی ہیں حلقوں بر نزا جاو کرے یہی دنیا کی بھتی  
 کلنتی جو کھاتی ہیں ہو پختہ خبر لینا ہو مگر آن جو ہیں دل بھتی  
 یوسب قوم کوں وہاں برتاویں قیامت میں برقم سب خواہی  
 بتی قوم بھان کرئی ہیں بعد دل و تی قوم کوں وہاں بری ہیں دل  
 کلی میں طوقان سنگی دالکر بریان بانوں مانی بریان کھالکر  
 ملائکے لیکرائی کی مارتے اوسب قوم کوں اک میں باری  
 کیتی قوم کی بیت بھار کر خلق میں جون انکیزان کار کر  
 لیکرائی کی انکی انکون کھدائکر روین اوشدہ سوار داسکر  
 کالی مون کیتی قوم کی ہوین کی جلیں کی قیامت میں ادرہین کی  
 کی تی قوم کوئی ہار کی ہوین کی قیامت میں شرمندی ہو روین کی  
 کیتی قوم اواندی سران دالکر روین کی لھر کا بخوان کا حال کر  
 برایان جنبانی کیا ہیں بھان اوز پر عذایان ہوین کی وہاں  
 کہ چالیس برس کا وہاں مکہ فرج جو اسین کئے کار کوں سوز ہی  
 کہ اس روز میں قہر کی سوز میں کئے کار کوں در اس روز میں

سواد چشم و مژگان کی قلم سُون  
 لپتا جیو اُس میں پیچ دی گڑھ  
 کیا د اغ و کر سون مہر او س پر  
 سراپا او س میں ہی مضمون عالی  
 لکھی ہی شوق سُون اشعار عالی  
 بھی ہی اُس میں میر اعرض احوال  
 جُدائی کا پر اہی سر پر جنتِ کمال  
 بخانوں پہ جُدائی کے بالبل  
 دیوانا کر مچنی رسوا کیا ہے  
 نہیں اُس بن میری انکھیاں منہ اب  
 کیا صبر و قرار تاقت و تاب  
 سراپا ظلم ہی اُس میں وفا فہین  
 نیکا ناھی کسی کا آشنانہ فہین  
 نپت بی درد ہی وی یاد میرا  
 نپت بی رحم ہی غم خوار میرا

دل

4. Where is the fatherly crown that shone upon my forehead ?  
Where is the motherly bliss (wherein I was like a king)?  
Where are we from each other, O friends ?  
Farewell now to you, O friends !
5. Anxiety about my father weighs heavily upon me  
There is a heavy load of grief on my heart ;  
There is a thorn of grief in my mind,  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
6. Counting upon the rosary, a Yogī have I become ;  
I have chosen to endure the experience of immigration ;  
I have become Yogī of some one's love,  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
7. I am going away, a beggar and a wretch,  
Smeared with bloody tears flowing from my eyes,  
I am going, having washed my face in tears ;  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
- 8 Round my neck have I worn the threadbare shine,  
Bare-headed, bare-footed,  
With the fire of separation in my heart,  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
9. My mind is depressed due to pain,  
I remember friends ;  
This alone is my wailing in the court of God,  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
10. I have deserted my own dear land,  
I have left the very place of safety,  
And am wandering madly,  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
11. My entire household has been left behind,  
My mansion, my temple,—everything,  
My mother, my father,—all have been left  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !
12. I have girded up my loins for journey from Gujrāt,  
I have forgotten comfort,  
I have to pass through estrangement,  
Farewell to you, O friends !
13. O alas ! confusion has overwhelmed me,  
Now I am perplexed,  
All this calamity has befallen me,  
Farewell to you, now, O friends !



14. Peace upon you, O Muslims !  
And greetings (Rām Rām) to you, O Hindūs !  
Pray for me in general as well as in particular,  
O friends, farewell to you now !
15. Rāhmān has been separated from you,  
He rose and prayed thus,  
"May God bring us together"  
O friends, farewell to you now !

### در مدح حضرت

- ۱ دو چک کي تم هو صاحب سلطان يا محمد  
۲ تمنان کا نور ليتا<sup>39</sup> اوس تہین<sup>40</sup> جہان کيتا  
۳ عاشق تہین خدا کی معشوق هو سدا کي  
۴ شمس الجہان رؤیت بدرالامان رؤیت  
۵ خوشبو گلاب بویت مشک و عنبر ز مویت  
۶ مشتاق جو تہاری بیمار ہیت بیچاری  
۷ بہشتان تہن کون چاوین خدمت مہین کہری ہین<sup>41</sup>  
۸ تم هو حبیب اعلا مرتبا تہارا بالا  
۹ سلطان سب گندا ہین ساری نبی فدا ہین  
۱۰ تم هو امام مرسل نبیون مہین هو افضل  
۱۱ یاسین<sup>43</sup> اور مرسل<sup>43</sup> طہ آئین مدثر<sup>43</sup>  
۱۲ نبیون مہین رفیع هو، محشر مہین شفیق هو  
۱۳ سب خلق کون لی آوی، نیکی بدی تلاوی  
۱۴ حضرت جلال یک یل مانکی حساب تل تل  
۱۵ حق یاس آئین جاوین امت سہی چہراوین<sup>44</sup>  
۱۶ کلہ یہرو جو داہم جنت مقام قائم  
۱۷ صدیق با وفا ہی عمر ذر صفا ہی  
۱۸ فاطمہ جنت کی سرور حسن و حسین انور  
۱۹ باطل مہین دین ساری کافر کون اوندہی ماری  
۲۰ وصفت ہی لا نہایت بچکون کھان ہی طاقت  
۲۱ مرشد مہین ہماري، یاون<sup>45</sup> یر سردیاری  
۲۲ بوکر یر خطا ہی، مرشد سین سب عطا ہی

39 لہ

40

41 کھڑی

42 تمنان

43 Titles of Qur'anic Chapters,

44 چہراوین

45 یاون

III. *In praise of the Prophet*

1. You are the sovereign of the two worlds,  
O Muḥammad !  
The world is a sacrifice to you, O Muḥammad !
2. He (God) took your light and from it created the world,  
The highest heaven ( عرش ), skies, the  
Chair and the Man, O Muḥammad !
3. You (alone) are the lover of God,  
You are for ever the Beloved.  
Your beauty alone  
Is proof positive, O Muḥammad !—(?)
4. Your face is the Sun of the world.  
Your face is the Full Moon of Safety  
Joseph, Egypt and  
Can'ān are your slaves, O Muḥammad !
5. Your (body's) smell is equal to rose-smell  
From your hair (emanate)  
musk and ambergris.  
Susan, Samān, have become due to you  
Sweet basil, O Muḥammad !
6. To those of your admirers  
Who are ill,  
Your face is  
A remedy, O Muḥammad !
7. The occupants of Paradise love you,  
And are ready for your service,  
The Ḥūrīs sacrifice themselves upon you,  
The Riḍwān (as well), O Muḥammad !
8. You are the friend of the Exalted  
Your rank is very high ;  
Ever sends greetings to you  
The Glorious God, O Muḥammad !
9. All the monarchs are beggars (of your Court)  
All the messengers love you,  
The prophets long intently  
To become your door-keepers, O Muḥammad !
10. You are the Leader of the Prophets  
You are the blest among the messengers,  
Your virtues are well-known,  
Distinct, O, Muḥammad !

14. Peace upon you, O Muslims !  
And greetings (Rām Rām) to you, O Hindūs !  
Pray for me in general as well as in particular,  
Friends, farewell to you now !
15. Rahmān has been separated from you,  
He rose and prayed thus,  
"May God bring us together"  
O friends, farewell to you now !

### در مدح حضرت

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| ۱  | دو جگہ کی تم ہو صاحب سلطان یا محمد                                    | عالم تمہاری اوپر قربان یا محمد             |
| ۲  | تمنان کا نور لیتا <sup>39</sup> اوس تہین <sup>40</sup> جہان کیتا      | عرش و سمائیں کرسی، انسان یا محمد           |
| ۳  | عاشق تین خدا کی معشوق ہو سدا کی                                       | تمنان کی فضل کان لک برہان یا محمد          |
| ۴  | شمس الجہان رؤیت بدرالامان رؤیت  | یوسف غلام و مصر و کنعانات یا محمد          |
| ۵  | خوشبو گلاب بویت مشک و عنبر ز مویت                                     | سوسن سمن تین سین ریحات یا محمد             |
| ۶  | مشتاق جو تمہاری بیمار ہین بیچاری                                      | انکو تارا رخ ہی درمات یا محمد              |
| ۷  | بہشتان تین کون چاوین خدمت مہین کھری ہین <sup>41</sup>                 | قربان حوران جاوین رضوان یا محمد            |
| ۸  | تم ہو حبیب اعلا مرتباً تارا بالا                                      | بہجی سلام دایم سبحات یا محمد               |
| ۹  | سلطان سب گدا ہین ساری نبی فدا ہین                                     | مرسل بصد تمنان <sup>42</sup> دربات یا محمد |
| ۱۰ | تم ہو امام مرسل نبیون مہین ہو افضل                                    | غویان تمہاری ظاہر، فراق یا محمد            |
| ۱۱ | یاسین <sup>43</sup> اور مزمل <sup>43</sup> طہ آئین مدثر <sup>43</sup> | صفقان سب بہری ہین، قربان یا محمد           |
| ۱۲ | نبیون مہین رفیع ہو، محشر مہین شفیع ہو                                 | بخشاؤ سب جہان کون عصبات یا محمد            |
| ۱۳ | سب خلق کون لی آوی، نیکی بدی تلاوی                                     | مشکل کون تم گرو جو آسات یا محمد            |
| ۱۴ | حضرت جلال یک پل مانکی حساب تل تل                                      | چھوٹی اگر ہی ثابت ایہات یا محمد            |
| ۱۵ | حق پاس آئین جاوین امت سہی چہراوین <sup>44</sup>                       | جنت مہین لبجاوین مہات یا محمد              |
| ۱۶ | کلہ بھرو جو دایم جنت مقام قایم  | دیدار تب دیکھاوی رحمت یا محمد              |
| ۱۷ | صدیق با وفا ہی عمر ذر صفا ہی  | حیدر علی ہین صاحب عثمان یا محمد            |
| ۱۸ | فاطمہ جنت کی سرور حسن و حسین انور                                     | شہدا ہین کر بلا کی میدات یا محمد           |
| ۱۹ | باطل ہین دین ساری کافر کون اوند ہی ماری                               | امت ساری بند کیا ہی شیطانات یا محمد        |
| ۲۰ | وصفت ہی لا نہایت جھکون کھان ہی طاقت                                   | لولاک کی چھتر کون فرمات یا محمد            |
| ۲۱ | مرشد ہین ہماري، یاون <sup>45</sup> پر سردیاری                         | بوچھا تمہاری رہ کا عرفات یا محمد           |
| ۲۲ | بو بکر پر خطا ہی، مرشد سین سب عطا ہی                                  | تیر فدا ہوا ہی رحمت یا محمد                |

39 لیا

40 سے

41 کھڑی

42 تمنا

43 Titles of Qur'anic Chapters.

44 چہراوین

45 پاؤن

III. *In praise of the Prophet*

1. You are the sovereign of the two worlds,  
O Muḥammad !  
The world is a sacrifice to you, O Muḥammad !
2. He (God) took your light and from it created the world,  
The highest heaven (عرش), skies, the  
Chair and the Man, O Muḥammad !
3. You (alone) are the lover of God,  
You are for ever the Beloved.  
Your beauty alone  
Is proof positive, O Muḥammad !—(?)
4. Your face is the Sun of the world.  
Your face is the Full Moon of Safety  
Joseph, Egypt and  
Can'ān are your slaves, O Muḥammad !
5. Your (body's) smell is equal to rose-smell  
From your hair (emanate)  
musk and ambergris.  
Susan, Saman, have become due to you  
Sweet basil, O Muḥammad !
6. To those of your admirers  
Who are ill,  
Your face is  
A remedy, O Muḥammad !
7. The occupants of Paradise love you,  
And are ready for your service,  
The Ḥūrīs sacrifice themselves upon you,  
The Ridwān (as well), O Muḥammad !
8. You are the friend of the Exalted  
Your rank is very high ;  
Ever sends greetings to you  
The Glorious God, O Muḥammad !
9. All the monarchs are beggars (of your Court)  
All the messengers love you,  
The prophets long intently  
To become your door-keepers, O Muḥammad !
10. You are the Leader of the Prophets  
You are the blest among the messengers,  
Your virtues are well-known,  
Distinct, O, Muḥammad !

*Yāsīn* and *Muzammal*

*Tāhā*, and *Madaththar*,

Comprise of your attributes,

May I be sacrificed to you, O Muḥammad !

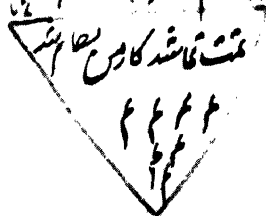
12. You are high among the messengers,  
You are the intercessor on the day of Gathering,  
(Pray) Cause the entire world to be forgiven the sins, O, Muḥammad !
13. When the entire creation will be brought together,  
When bad deeds will be weighed,—  
—Then ease our difficulty, O Muḥammad !
14. In a moment the Glorious (God)  
Will demand account of every bit,  
Salvation will come only if  
Faith is firm, O, Muḥammad !
15. You alone will go to God  
And liberate (Your) entire followers,  
Take them to Paradise  
As guests, O Muhammad !
16. Recite constantly the *kalma* (so that)  
Paradise will be your settled place ;  
Then will show Face  
The Merciful (God), O Muḥammad !
17. Siddīq is faithful,  
'Umar is the pearl of purity  
Haidar 'Ali and' Uthmān  
Are Companions, O, Muḥammad !
18. Fāṭima will be the Leader in Paradise,  
Hasan and Husain, the luminaries,  
Are the martyrs of the plain of Kerbalā  
O, Muḥammad !
19. All the other religions are false,  
May the unbelievers be upset,  
The entire community has been bound  
By Satan, O, Muḥammad !
20. Your description is endless  
Where have I the strength (to attempt it) ?  
To the Canopy of "*But for thee*",<sup>46</sup>  
The authority, O Muḥammad !

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<sup>46</sup> Qur'ān.

رحمان تون رحمت سون <sup>مکرم</sup> کہ بولیا ہی فرائیں <sup>الفضل</sup>  
 امی تو کیرماں حماری اوہر <sup>ما</sup> بجی محمد کرم کی نظر <sup>ط</sup>  
 خوارق بوبشاہ جیلانگی <sup>ما</sup> محی الدین محبوب سبحان کی  
 کہ کر ختم ہو مرتب کیا <sup>ما</sup> سوتا پنج یوں نظم میں کیا  
 مبارک مینا مختار مضان کا <sup>ما</sup> خدا کی کرم فضل و حسن کا  
 کہ جو بیس دن ہتی جو اس ماہ کی <sup>ما</sup> دوشنبہ کا دن وقت سون <sup>ما</sup>  
 اچھی سنہ ہزار ایک سو ہوش <sup>ما</sup> سو ہجری مقدس کی ائی جاننی  
 کیا ظہر کا وقت بعد از نماز <sup>ما</sup> کیا ہو مرتب بحر و نیا <sup>ما</sup>  
 یو احمد نکر کی قلعہ میں تمام <sup>ما</sup> لکھیا میں جو ہی قلعہ بان نظام  
 ہوں میں خاکبائی محمد حسین <sup>ما</sup> جو اس جہن ہوئی کشف عجوبہ  
 لکھیا یو کہ صرف میں روزگار <sup>ما</sup> کہ بونظی رہی جہہ ستین بادکار

شروع ابته استون سو آخر تمام  
 مرتب کتب ختم خیر الکلام <sup>ما</sup>





21. Our Spiritual guide we have ;  
 Putting on his feet my forehead  
 I have acquired of your path  
 Knowledge, O Muḥammad ! ”
22. Abū Bakr<sup>47</sup> the sinful,  
 —All is bestowed by the Spiritual Guide—  
 Has fallen in your Love  
 Raḥmān, O Muḥammad !

<sup>47</sup> The Kunya of the writer of this poem, not to be mixed up with the name of the first Khalifa Abū Bakr.



# ARABIC VERSION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA LEGEND

By

R. G. HARSHE.

M. Reinaud, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, has published, in 1845, an important book under the title: "Fragments Arabes et Persans, inédits, relatifs à l'Inde, antérieurement au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne."<sup>1</sup> We find in it a chapter with the text and a translation in French of a Persian work named "Modjmel-altevarykh."<sup>2</sup> The name of the chapter itself is: "History of the Kings of India and their chronological order according to the information which has come to our knowledge." This chapter is an extract from a work which had been drawn up, in 1026 A.D., from an Arabic work, by *Aboul-Hassan-Ali-ben Mohammed*, the Librarian of the Prince of the city of Djordjan,<sup>3</sup> near the shores of the Caspian Sea. The Arabic work itself was the translation of a Sanskrit work, by Abou-Saleh, son of Schoayb and the Sanskrit original had the title of which the Arabic rendering is: 'Instruction of the Princes.' The importance of this work is that neither the original Sanskrit work of the name nor its Arabic version has so far been quoted anywhere. It gives, besides the legend of the Mahābhārata, some other historical and semi-historical legends which are not yet properly identified. The object of this article is to give the Arabic version of the Mahābhārata legend as translated into French by M. Reinaud from the original Persian work: "Modjmel-altevarykh."<sup>4</sup>

## *Extract No. I*

"I saw an old book coming from the Indians, which has been translated from the Indian language into Arabic by Abou-Saleh,<sup>5</sup> son of Schoayb,<sup>6</sup> son of Djami,<sup>7</sup> and which has been translated into Persian from the Arabic, in the year of 417, by Aboul-Hassan Ali,<sup>8</sup> son of Mahommed al. . . . . ,<sup>9</sup> keeper

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<sup>1</sup> 'Unpublished Arabic and Persian Fragments about India before the eleventh century of the Christian Era.'

<sup>2</sup> Pages 1-54.

<sup>3</sup> I have retained the original French spelling of proper names in my translation to avoid confusion and to facilitate further identification. The modern spelling of such names is indicated in the footnotes, wherever possible.

<sup>4</sup> I am much indebted to Dr. Taraporewala and Prof. C. H. Shaikh, Reader in Semitic Languages and Literature, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for having compared the original Persian text with my translation from the French. Their corrections are given in the footnotes. The original footnotes of the French translator are put into the inverted commas.

<sup>5</sup> Abu-Ṣāleh.

<sup>6</sup> Shu'ayb.

<sup>7</sup> Jāmi'.

<sup>8</sup> Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali.

<sup>9</sup> Muḥammed al-Hablati.

of the city library of Djordjan,<sup>10</sup> for a sipebed<sup>11</sup> (?) of the Dilemites. The copy on which I have worked was from the hand of the translator himself and gives the date mentioned above. In this work, according to the custom of the wise of India, the language is often in the mouth of the animals and birds, in the same manner as in the book entitled *Kalila and Dimna*.<sup>12</sup> I have taken out an extract from this work of the description of the origin of Kings with a short account of their history, and I have reproduced it here for want of a more suitable place.<sup>13</sup> God alone knows the truth.

### *History of the Zath and the Meyd.*

As the original book begins with this chapter, we shall begin in the same way. This is what one reads in it :

There were two tribes (*gorouh*) in the country of Sind, and one river namer Béher. One of these tribes was called Meyd<sup>14</sup> and the other Zath;<sup>15</sup> both descended from Cham<sup>16</sup> (son of Noah). To this day still, in the Arabic language, the Indians are called (from the country) Zath.

It is said that the Meyd subjugated the Zath and treated them very harshly. The Zath, forced to leave their country, withdrew to the banks of the river Péhen,<sup>17</sup> where they established their home. They knew the art of

<sup>10</sup> Jurjān.

<sup>11</sup> That is, chieftain.

<sup>12</sup> *Kalila wa Dimna*.

<sup>13</sup> This sentence literally translated would be "As it is nowhere to be found. God knows better".

<sup>14</sup> The Meyds were obviously the Medes, the inhabitants of Media, which is the ancient name of the north-western part of Iran (modern Azerbaijan, Ardalan, Iraq Ajemi and parts of Kurdistan). The earliest historical reference to them goes as far back as 836 B.C. They seem to belong to the Indo-Iranian (Aryan) stock. One of their heroes Cyaxares (Uvaksatra) fought with and overpowered the Assyrians in 616 B.C. Is he the same as Āvikṣitaḥ referred to in the *Ait. Br.* 8.21; *Sat. Br.* 13.5.4.6 and *Mbh.*, *Sānti*, 28? Under Darius the Great, Sind was first invaded in 515 B.C. by the Persians. The Medes must probably have accompanied them unless the old Sanskrit tradition recorded by the Arab author is to be set aside.

It might be added here that the Greek word for the Medes is *Mādoi* while the Old Persian word is *Māda*. In the opinion of Dr. Taraporewala *Māda* is the same as *Madra* in Sanskrit. We find a corroboration of this theory from the fact that Mādri, the second wife of Pāṇḍu is also called 'Bālhiki,' i.e. of the Bālhika country (Balkh). Vide *Mbh.* (Critical Ed.) *Ādi*, 116.21. To explain the connection of *Māda* and *Madra*, it is enough to quote similar connections between Mod. Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit : *cāka*, *cakra* ; *tāka*, *takra* ; *pāta*, *patra*, etc.

<sup>15</sup> No definite information about the origin and antiquity of the tribe is available. The *Sind Gazetteer* mentions it as one of the Scythian tribes (p. 87). The Jats have been identified with Zanthii of Strabo and the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy (*Jodh. Gaz.*, p. 83). According to the Indian mythical tradition, they are said to have been descended from the hair (*jaṭā*) of Śiva.

<sup>16</sup> Hām.

<sup>17</sup> Pahn. It is probably the same river which is named, some lines above, as Béher. It is difficult to identify this river. The *Sind Gazetteer* describes one river named the Baghār (meaning "the destroyer") which is the western branch of the Indus, diverging a little to the south of the town of Tatta and having numerous branches or offshoots from it (Ed. 1874, p. 272). The other two names that might be considered in this connection are the Baran and the Puran rivers.

navigation and they penetrated into the territory of the Meyd through water. The latter reared sheep. At last, the Zath troubled the Meyd very much ; they killed several of them and created havoc in their territory. The Meyd found themselves at the mercy of the Zath.

One day, one of the chiefs of the Zath said to them : " Fortune never remains the same ; lately, the Meyd had the upper-hand with regard to us, and now we are dominating them. It would be wiser to make peace with them. We shall consult together, and delegates will go in our name to the king Dadjouschana<sup>18</sup> (Douryodhana ?), son of Dahrāta<sup>19</sup> (Dhritarashtra). We shall request the King that he should send a person to rule over this land, in such a way that we and the Meyd would find ourselves under his orders." This proposition was agreed to, and the people replied : " Do what you think proper." Consequently, after much discussion and speeches, what the chief had proposed was put into execution. King Douryodhana gave this country to his sister named . . . . .<sup>20</sup> who was the daughter of Dhritarashtra.<sup>21</sup> This princess had married<sup>22</sup> Djayadratha,<sup>23</sup> who became<sup>24</sup> a powerful prince.

The Prince and the Princess then occupied Sind and its towns. The account of that and of the wisdom of the Princess is to be found in the original book. There were not, in this region, neither the wise nor the Brāhmaṇas who had attained to this stage of greatness.<sup>25</sup> The Princess wrote a long letter about this to her brother. Douryodhana brought together thirty thousand Brāhmaṇas, from different parts of India, and sent them with their daughters and relatives to his sister. The original book recounts the long<sup>26</sup> discussions and interviews of all sorts on this head.<sup>27</sup>

During this time, the country of Sind became populous. The book gives the description of its provinces, rivers and whatever was found to be very remarkable.<sup>28</sup> Several cities were founded, notably the capital, which

<sup>18</sup> Duḥōshan. This is apparently a misprint in the Persian. Later on, the name appears more correctly Dujōshan.

<sup>19</sup> Dahrān.

<sup>20</sup> Dusal. " The name of the sister is probably to be found in the *Mbh.*" It is *Duḥśalā*. See, *Adi.*, 60, 110 ; 131.18—(Ed. Kumbhakonam) *Bhāg.*, IX. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Dahrab.

<sup>22</sup> Lit., " was given in marriage to."

<sup>23</sup> Jandrat.

<sup>24</sup> Lit., " was."

<sup>25</sup> Lit., " Never, in the history of that region, had the wise men or Brāhmaṇas attained to this height of greatness."

<sup>26</sup> " Innumerable " in the original. '

<sup>27</sup> It is suggested here that Jayadratha was deputed to Sind, as its King, by Douryodhana at the request of the warring tribes of Zath & Meyd, but according to the *Mbh.*, Jayadratha was the son of Vṛddhakṣtra who himself was the ruler of Sind. Besides Sind, Jayadratha was also the ruler of Sauvira and Śibi (*Mbh.*, *Vana.*, 266), and had six brothers. Since the Arabs were the early invaders of Sind, it is probable that they might have been in possession of the earlier sources of the history of Sind and it would be worth while to collect more evidence on the point from the Arabic sources, if possible.

<sup>28</sup> In the original Persian text it is stated : " The book contains descriptions of the foundation of the country, its rivers and other rare and strange objects not to be found elsewhere".

was named Askelend.<sup>29</sup> One part of the country was given to the Zath, who accepted as their own chief a man called Djoudarat.<sup>30</sup> The Meyd also received a special territory. Djayadratha exercised the authority for 20 and some odd years, until the sovereign power escaped from the hands of the Bharata ; that is what is going to be said in the following chapter.

*Domination of the Bharata and the Pāṇḍava.*

One reads in this book that Four,<sup>31</sup> King of kings of India, was one of the sons of Mahran,<sup>32</sup> who lived at the time of Dhohhak<sup>33</sup> and Ferydoun,<sup>34</sup> and were descendants of Cham.<sup>35</sup> At the time of his death, Cham had two sons ; one was called Dhrita<sup>36</sup> and the other Pan.<sup>37</sup> Dhrita was blind and Pan found himself very young in age. Consequently, the enemies raised their head from all sides, and each one seized some province. But as soon as Pan became fully grown up, Dhrita called him in his presence and gave him much advice, saying : “ Take into your hands the interests of the empire and do not neglect them in order that the name of our forefathers is upheld<sup>38</sup> and that none should tarnish our reputation by saying that we have not done what was proper.” Pan, according to the orders of his brother and in order to follow his advice,<sup>39</sup> raised an army and marched towards the frontiers. Traversing all the countries of India, he made such numerous exploits<sup>40</sup> that the empire was rid of the evils that had afflicted it, and the enemies disappeared.<sup>41</sup> Then he returned to his brother and standing up before him, wished his victory ;<sup>42</sup> then he said : “ All that the king had ordered, I have done.” Dhrita got up and pressed his brother to his heart ; then he made him sit on the throne and said to him : “ You have conducted yourself as be-

<sup>29</sup> Also named “ Askelendousse ”. There is a province called Iskandah given in the *Sind Gazetteer* (p. 88), which might be a corrupt form of Askeland ; but the city of that name is nowhere to be traced in later documents. In the *Ait. Br.*, however, a capital town Āsandivat has been mentioned (*Ait. Br.*, 8. 21 ; also *Sat. Br.* 13.5.4.2.) which was the capital of one Janamejaya—not the descendant but the ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas. (*Mbh. Ādi.* 101. 40-43).

<sup>30</sup> Yuddharatha (?)

<sup>31</sup> Fūr = Puruḥ (?)

<sup>32</sup> There is a reference to one Purukutsa son of Mandhatṛ. It is probable that the same has been referred to here. But the chronological information given here is obviously wrong and inadequate so far as the Indian tradition is concerned.

<sup>33</sup> Duhhak. *Aṣi Dahāka* of Avesta and Zāhhak of the *Shāhnāmā*. According to the Iranian tradition, he was an Arab king who slew the illustrious king Yima Xšāeta or Jamshed.

<sup>34</sup> Faridun. He is the famous king of the Iranian mythology who overpowered Zāhhak.

<sup>35</sup> Hām.

<sup>36</sup> Dehrān.

<sup>37</sup> Fān.

<sup>38</sup> The Persian says : “ revived ”.

<sup>39</sup> The Persian says : “ In fulfilment of his brother's orders and advice.”

<sup>40</sup> The Persian says : “ He carried on innumerable and extensive campaigns, with the result that etc.”

<sup>41</sup> The *Mbh.* confirms this *divijaya* of Pāṇḍu—(*Ādi.* 122).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *jayatu, jayatu devaḥ*.

fits men of (brave) hearts<sup>43</sup> and all idea of reproach is gone away from us ; now, it is to you that the empire is befitting<sup>44</sup> for I have become old, I am deprived of the eyesight, and you are in a better position to exercise authority." Pan replied : " God forbid that I should ever seek to raise myself up above you ; I am like a slave obeying your orders. If the king orders<sup>45</sup> that I should burn myself, I will do it, in order that I should get a good reputation in the world." At the same time, he put the royal ring into the finger of Dhrita, and put the crown on his head. Dhrita replied : " You might well say this ten times as much, but the authority would not belong to you any the less."<sup>46</sup> That very moment he gave half of the empire to his brother.<sup>47</sup>

Pan occupied himself entirely in exercising the authority and justice.<sup>48</sup> Dhrita had many sons, as well as a daughter, all born of the same mother, named Gandhari.<sup>49</sup> The eldest of the sons was called Dadjouschana ; as for the daughter, her name was . . . . . ,<sup>50</sup> it has already been mentioned. All this race<sup>51</sup> bore the name of Bharata. The other family was named the Pāṇḍava.<sup>52</sup> It was made up of the five brothers, son of Pan. The name of the eldest was Youdhicht,<sup>53</sup> the second was called Bhimasena ; the third, Ardjouna ;<sup>54</sup> the fourth, Sahadeva,<sup>55</sup> and the fifth, Nacoula.<sup>56</sup> Each of these brothers distinguished himself by a special talent.<sup>57</sup>

They say that Pan was a great lover of hunting ; all night long he walked to find the game. Now a number of Indian Brāhmaṇas and hermits had established their abode on a mountain ; among them was a hermit who by his saintliness had acquired the gift of seeing all his wishes fulfilled. One day, this hermit saw two gazelles coupling themselves ; the concupiscence carried him away ; but he thought that if his passion revealed itself<sup>58</sup> he would be dishonoured. Consequently, he addressed a prayer to God on high in order to get himself metamorphosed into a gazelle, for the time being, and to be able to find a companion after which he would again become a human being without his secret being discovered. What he had asked for did happen. The hermit became a gazelle, and having found a companion, he withdrew himself during the night with her and they had intercourse together.

<sup>43</sup> In the original Persian : " You have proved yourself a magnificent hero ".

<sup>44</sup> The Persian has, " And now you deserve to be king ".

<sup>45</sup> The Persian says : " If the king chooses to speak such words I would rather go and burn myself so that I may become famous for it."

<sup>46</sup> The Persian has, " Even if you were to repeat it ten times the dominion nevertheless belongs to you ".

<sup>47</sup> The Persian has, " Brother Fān ; and thereafter Fān etc." According to the *Mbh.* Pāṇḍu was crowned king instead of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, (*Adi.* 118).

<sup>48</sup> The new paragraph in the Persian original begins from " Dhrita had many sons etc ".

<sup>49</sup> Qandhar.

<sup>50</sup> Dusal.

<sup>51</sup> Or " This dynasty."

<sup>52</sup> Fanīmīn.

<sup>53</sup> Jehtal.

<sup>54</sup> Ajūn.

<sup>55</sup> Shahdēt, evidently a misprint, for elsewhere it is given correctly as Shahdēb.

<sup>56</sup> Newal.

<sup>57</sup> Literally, " were talented in a special art ".

<sup>58</sup> Literally, " If he were to gratify his passion."

By chance, Pan arrived at this place at the same moment. At the noise which the couple made, he shot an arrow in the midst of darkness, and, as at this moment the hermit was crouching, the arrow hit his belly. The hermit fell down, and resuming his own form, he rolled all covered with blood. At the same time he gave out this wish :<sup>59</sup> "Oh my God ! since a man has thus obstructed me in satisfying my passion, the first time that he would be carried away by passion, make him also die !" Pan came there at the same instant. At this sight he was quite surprised and put some questions to the anchorite. The latter who could hardly breathe told him his adventure. Pan replied "I did not know that." At the same time he begged his pardon. The hermit replied : "I pardon you ; but there's the wish<sup>60</sup> which I have uttered." Saying these words, he died. Pan withdrew overwhelmed with sadness.<sup>61</sup>

Pan had two very beautiful wives ; both of them were King's daughters. One of them was called Counti<sup>62</sup> and the other Mādri.<sup>63</sup> He went to the king Dhrita and told him what had just happened. The story afflicted Dhrita. Pan added : "Now, I have lost all attachment to life ; as Kingship is of no use to me any longer, I am going to retire and dwell on the mountain of the anchorites in order to pass the rest of my days in devotional practices ;<sup>64</sup> for I do not expect any more the pleasures of this world." This speech struck Dhrita with stupefaction and he had no strength to utter a word. Pan then abandoned the sovereignty and withdrew to the mountain. His wives had said to him : "We shall go with you wherever you go," and they carried out their word.

Some time passed in this way. Pan made great progress in the life of devotion ; his wives followed his example, and they saw all their prayers coming to fruition. But it is necessary to repeat what is found in the original story, however absurd it might be, and one must not attribute to us any responsibility about it.

One day, at the time when the Sun was about to go down the horizon, Pan was asleep and Mādri said to Counti : "Wake him up so that he would eat something." In fact, it was customary for them to eat at this time ; and the moment the Sun went down, they made it a point not to eat anything till the next day when they took food at the same hour. Counti replied : "I am going to wait till Pan is awoke and eats something."<sup>65</sup> Soon the Sun was set and the stars appeared on the horizon. Two hours of the night had passed

<sup>59</sup> The Persian only says, "he said". <sup>60</sup> The Persian has "curse".

<sup>61</sup> The story of the curse on Pāṇḍu is substantially the same as given in the *Mbh.*, (Ādi, 123).

<sup>62</sup> Fundar.

<sup>63</sup> Madhār.

<sup>64</sup> The Persian adds here, "So that I might be prepared for the next world".

<sup>65</sup> The original Persian has a short sentence here (omitted in the French) which implies that at this moment Counti was urged by amorous desires. The story in the *Mbh.* (Ādi, III) agrees with the Persian in substance. The Persian, however does not mention the miraculous births of other sons of Kuntī and Mādri.

when Pan asked Counti what she desired ; Counti told it to him. Pan said : " What interest<sup>66</sup> have I in the pleasure of this world ? . . . and why should I forbear longer for the sake of this life ? " Pan ordered to prepare a funeral pile and gave away whatever he had to the Brāhmaṇas. At the same time, he said to his wives : " No man should ever obtain your favours."<sup>67</sup> Then he set about doing what Counti had desired ; but the moment his passion was excited, and he was about to gratify it, he gave up life.<sup>68</sup> He was burnt.

Of the five sons of Pan whom we have already mentioned, Youdicht, Ardjouna, and Bhimasena were born of Counti. As for Sahadeva and Nacoula, both of them were given birth to by Mādri.<sup>69</sup> The original story adds that the two wives lived after Pan for a long time. When passion seized them, they had intercourse with the children of the Air.<sup>70</sup> The author tells the most ridiculous stories about this subject.

At this moment, the children of Pan were very young, and every one of them had been entrusted to a pious man to be brought up and educated. Pan had in addition a son named Pan, like himself,<sup>71</sup> and who lived with the king Dhrita.

However, the pious men said : " Let us take Pan's children to their uncle Dhrita ". Each Brahman addressed to God a prayer, in order to obtain in favour of his pupil whatever he desired. Youdicht had asked for a mighty rule and a firm minister ; Bhimasena, wonderful strength, Ardjouna, a great skill in drawing the bow ; Nacoula, bravery and skill in riding a horse, so much so that none should hold out before him ; lastly, Sahadeva who sought wisdom and did not speak except when interrogated, solicited Science of the Stars and the knowledge of hidden things. In fact, the five brothers became unique, each one in his own field, as is shown in its proper place, and the

<sup>66</sup> The Persian is rather difficult—" What pleasure do I derive from their (wives') life, while even the Sun halts to look at them ? ".

<sup>67</sup> The Persian text puts this much more strongly—" No human being can, nor ever will, gratify your desires ".

<sup>68</sup> In the *Mbh.* (*Ādi*, 133-134) the story of the end of Pāṇḍu is very different. Once when Mādri (not Kunti) was going with Pāṇḍu through a forest, it was spring time and she looked very charming. She was wearing a beautiful thin garment and Pāṇḍu could not resist her charms. He embraced her in spite of her protestations. Consequently, through the working of the curse, he fell dead immediately. Thereupon Mādri requested Kunti to look after her children and burnt herself with her husband.

<sup>69</sup> The Persian says that these two " were born of the same womb from," i.e., they were twins.

<sup>70</sup> The Persian has, " the dwellers of the air would gather round them out of desire and they were overcome by their passions for these *jims*." This is how original account of the miraculous birth of the Pāṇḍavas has been misunderstood and summarily dismissed by the Moslem writer.

<sup>71</sup> The Persian distinguishes the two names, " Fan the son of Fān ". Is this Kaṇṇa ?

empire left the Bharatas in order to come to them. These brothers were designated by the general name of Pandava.

The Brahmins took the five princes with their mothers to the king Dhritra, who showed himself very much delighted. Dhritra housed them in the pavilion and the lodge<sup>72</sup> of their father and treated them with more kindness than his own sons; then he called together all the kings of India and sages also, and gave away half of his kingdom to his nephews. Youdicht was entrusted with watching over them all.<sup>73</sup> The other half of his kingdom was given to his own sons, at the head of whom he placed Dadjouschana. At the same time Dhritra gave all of them much advice and information; he told them several stories and anecdotes (fables), recommending to them equity and justice, and a mutual agreement.

But people had preference to Youdicht on account of his intelligence and good manners. Dadjouschana, having noticed it, felt jealousy and thought of a stratagem to put them to death. With the consent of Youdicht, he ordered a grand pavilion to be built at a certain spot in his kingdom for himself and his brothers. At the same time, he ordered a pavilion to be constructed for Youdicht and his brothers and confided to Pan, son of Pan, the following stratagem.<sup>74</sup> It was arranged to have an empty space inside the walls of the pavilion; a considerable mass of fuel was enclosed within this hollow and a man<sup>75</sup> received the order to the effect that when Youdicht would be found with his brothers in the pavilion, he should spread naphtha on the fuel and set fire to it during the night.

It was by chance that at the time when the work was finished, Youdicht asked the permission of his uncle to return to his territory. Dhritra gave him good advice with regard to several things and said to him: "Take care not to turn your head from obedience to Dadjouschana, for he is older than you;<sup>76</sup> but at the same time do not trust him, for, he is jealous of you; on the contrary, be on your guard." Youdicht replied: "I shall obey." At the same time he bade good-bye to his uncle but, at the time of his departure, Dadjouschana said to him: "Oh my brother, I wish that you should come to the residence which I have built, and stay in your pavilion." Youdicht replied: "I am at your service." And he started with his brothers and mothers, all together. Now, they say that the five brothers had an uncle named Bhimasena,<sup>77</sup> who was very much attached to them. The uncle sent a man to make a hole in the pavilion and to prepare a subterranean passage by which it would be

<sup>72</sup> The Persian says, "Palace."

<sup>73</sup> The Persian is more explicit and says that he "Was their overlord."

<sup>74</sup> Karṇa and Śakuni were the chief advisers. According to the *Mbh.* the entire house was made of lac (For the story see *Adi.*, 141-148).

<sup>75</sup> His name was Purocana.

<sup>76</sup> Duryodhana was not older than Yudhiṣṭhira; on the contrary, it is said (*Mbh.*, *Adi.* 115) that having heard the news of the birth of a son to Kuntī, Gāndhārī, consumed with jealousy, tried an abortion and later on a hundred sons and one daughter were born of the aborted foetus.

<sup>77</sup> So the Persian version. This was of course Vidura.



possible to get out. At the same time he informed his nephews of the danger that threatened them : " When you would see the fire you should get out through this outlet." All that happened ; but the man who was entrusted with lighting the fire was burnt as well as two women and five men, who had come at that time to beg a favour of Youdicht. The inhabitants of the city, convinced that the dead bodies, which were found after the fire, were those of Youdicht and his brothers and their mothers, lamented their death ; and Dadjouschana, being deceived by this false news, felt the greatest joy. He took into his hands all the (royal) authority. Dhrita died some time after.<sup>78</sup>

Youdicht, his brothers and their mothers formed a group of seven persons and they went together into<sup>79</sup> . . . . . and went through innumerable adventures. Then, they went to a Brahmin. Thereafter they joined the king Droupada whose daughter, named Drōpadi became their wife on account of the advantage that Ardjouna had of hitting with his arrow the eye of a golden fish placed at the top of a tower. Drōpadi served as a wife for all the five brothers. The narration tells strange things in regard to this subject.

After that, the five brothers went into another country and each of them tried to shine out with the talent with which he was endowed. The story of their adventures with the *divs*<sup>80</sup> would be too long to reproduce. They traversed many countries and at last obtained the kingship.

But at the end of some years, war began between them and Dadjouschana. The latter called his brother-in-law Djayadratha from Sind, and, with his hundred brothers, marched to the fight. In vain did Youdicht send him several messages, requesting him to give him back the four or five provinces which were given to them by the king Dhrita. Dadjouschana did not wish to favour any settlement. At last, all of them were killed : Youdicht pierced Dadjouschana with an arrow,<sup>81</sup> and none of them survived. When the news of this disaster reached . . . . .<sup>82</sup> daughter of Dhrita, she moaned with passionate grief ; then she burnt herself.<sup>83</sup> Thus finished the empire of the Bharata.

They say that when Dadjouschana and his brothers had perished, their mother Gandhari went to shed tears on their dead bodies. A Brāhmaṇa

<sup>78</sup> Dhṛtarāṣṭra did not die so early. According to the *Mbh.*, (*Āśva.*, 37) he died after the Great War, when he with Gāndhārī and Kuntī entered into the forest-conflagration on the Gandhamādāna mountain.

<sup>79</sup> The Persian has the name Sāmān here. In a footnote the editor M. Reinaud suggests that it might be *biyābān* (wilderness).

<sup>80</sup> This word is merely a Persian transcription of *deva*. Of course in Persian the word means "demons".

<sup>81</sup> Yudhiṣṭhira did not kill Duryodhana ; it was Bhīma who killed him with his mace.

<sup>82</sup> Dusal.

<sup>83</sup> Duḥśalā did not burn herself but lived even after the death of her own son. It was she who took her grandson to Arjuna and begged for peace when the latter was fighting with her chieftains at the time of Aśvamedha (See, *Mbh.*, *Āśva.*, 78).

having come to give her advice, she would not listen to him : all the efforts of the Brāhmaṇa were in vain. Then the Brāhmaṇa said to the princess : "God should fill you with shame, since you do not wish to listen to my words." Then he went away. At the end of two or three days, this woman found herself going mad, on account of her grief, and because she had not eaten anything. She was as though beside herself ; but she continued shedding tears. One night, by chance, something which resembled food being visible in the air and having passed before Gandhari, she got up and stretched out her hand to get the thing ; but she could not get at it and fell down due to weakness. The next day, at sun-rise, she took the dead body of one of her sons and stood up on his breast ; but she could not reach the object, which all the while looked to be so near. In vain did she place the dead bodies of her sons, one over the other, till she made a pile of her hundred sons ; this thing was always found to be too high ; by lucky chance, the Brāhmaṇa passed that way and said : "You did not wish to listen to my advice, and now you do that." Gandhari replied : "What you say is true, and your curses against me have been fulfilled. Now the veil is rent : there you see how far the desire to eat has carried me." Thereupon the princess got down near the Brāhmaṇa, who gave her something to eat. The next day she burnt all the dead bodies of her children in the manner of the Indians and took rest. God knows the truth.

### *Empire of the Pandava.*

Youdicht then seated himself on the throne and the entire Hindoustan submitted itself to his laws. Sendjouara,<sup>84</sup> son of Djayadratha, having implored his good graces, he granted him pardon and Sind was given to him. From this time onwards, Youdicht exercised sovereign authority and made justice to flourish among his subjects, in the manner of his forefathers. At last, he called his brothers near him and said to them : "The things of this world do not last. I have decided to retire myself to the mountain of the anchorites and there to devote myself to the cult of God. Accept the authority (rule) and exercise it as did our forefathers and myself." His brothers said to him : "All that you wish seems to us proper." Then they installed on the throne Parik, son of Ardjoura,<sup>85</sup> and the five brothers withdrew together to the mountain of the Brāhmaṇa, where they gave themselves up to religious practices till their death.

Parik imitated the conduct of his uncle, and reigned for thirty years.<sup>86</sup> He had, as successor, his son Djanamedjaya. The latter was a firm and just man ; he reigned for twenty years and was replaced by his son Satanika<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> The name of Jayadratha's son was Suratha.

<sup>85</sup> Parik (Parikṣita) was the grandson of Arjuna (*Mbh.*, *Āśva.*, 69).

<sup>86</sup> According to the *Devī Bhāgavata* (2. 8) he ruled for sixty years.

<sup>87</sup> In Persian Saḥdāniq. According to *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (2.37. 245-48) and *Matsya-Purāṇa* (50. 57-64), Janamejaya was forced by the people to abdicate and then Śatānika came to the throne.

who ruled for the period of twenty-five years. Then, Safsanica<sup>88</sup> administered justice and equity : he was a man of good behaviour and sweet manners. His reign lasted for twenty-four years. After him his son Yesra<sup>89</sup> ruled for fifty years and people got tired of his rule. There was disorder in state affairs. At his death, he was replaced by his brother Couyahour,<sup>90</sup> son of Safsanica. The administration of the latter was bad ; he swerved from the customs established by his ancestors, and the empire went out of the hand of the Pandava. He was killed, after having reigned in this manner for fifteen years. God knows the truth.

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<sup>88</sup> Sahasrāṇika. The *Bhāgavata* mentions him as the son of Satāṇika (*Bhāg.* IX. 22. 39) but the traditional lists of the later kings of this line given in the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* have different names altogether. (Vide *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kālī Age*—by F. E. PARGITER, pp. 3-8).

<sup>89</sup> It is difficult to identify this person. Probably, a later king Uṣṇas is referred to here.

<sup>90</sup> It might either be Citraratha or Śucidratha if we are to follow the names given in the Paurāṇic lists.

# DRAVIDIAN NOTES

By

C. R. SANKARAN

## I. DRAVIDIAN WORDS FOR "PLAITING".<sup>1</sup>

WALDE-POKORNY<sup>2</sup> gives several words used for "plaiting" (*flechten* and *Flechtwerk*) in the IE. and SCHRADER<sup>3</sup> extensively shows that plaiting was used even in erecting walls, houses and roofs.

The following interesting words<sup>4</sup> from *Tāvaḍi* and *Ahirāṇi*<sup>5</sup> are significant showing the various purposes for which "plaiting" was used.

I. *Kaṇaḡi*.<sup>6</sup> This means 'granary which is cylindrical in shape and closed on one side, plastered over with a thin layer of earth and cowdung

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<sup>1</sup> This note is the outcome of a literary correspondence I have been carrying on with Prof. Siddheshwar VARMA on the subject. It is proposed to collect all the available linguistic material on home-industries first as a preliminary work for the Real-Lexicon of Indian Linguistics.

<sup>2</sup> WALDE-POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Band I, pages 16, 257, 261, 337, 409, 507, 587, 608, 716; Band II, pages 97, 164, 272, 374.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SCHRADER-JEVONS, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, pp. 328 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to D. R. PATIL, a student of the History Department of the Deccan College Research Institute, for helping me in this matter.

<sup>5</sup> *Tāvaḍi* and *Ahirāṇi* are two sub-dialects of the *Marāṭhī bolī* (dialect) spoken in the Khandesh district. *Tāvaḍi* is spoken in the eastern division of the district while *Ahirāṇi* is spoken in the Western part of the district. Besides these two, there are various others which are spoken mainly by the aboriginal population of the hilly tracts of the *Sātpuḍa* mountains. See also GRIERSON, *LSI.*, Vol. IX, Pt. III, pp. 203-253.

<sup>6</sup> *Kaṇaḡi*, *Kaṇḡi* and *Kaṇḡi* are interesting variants of this word *Kaṇaḡi*. It is interesting to compare these words with the Tamil words *Kaḷakam* 'sheaf of paddy' and *Kalañciyam* (Telugu, *Kalañjamu*, Kannada, *Kalañji*) 'granary, barn'. Cf. *Vaṅkaḷaka ṇiḷaverikkum*, Tirumaṅgai ĀLVĀR, *Periyatirumoli; Nālāyira Divya-prabandham*, 6, 9, 10. *Kalañciyam* is metaphorically used in the sense of 'repository, treasury' in the following instances also. *Tirukkōḷaiti nāṇakkalañciyamē* (Ramalinga SWAMIGAL, *Tiru Arutpā i, Viṇṇṇam*, 255). See also *Tamīl Lexicon*, Madras, Volume II, Part II, 1927, pp. 810-811. In passing, I draw attention also to the word *Kalaṇi* in Tamil meaning 'corn-field' (Vide *Pattuppāṭṭu*, 9 *Pattinappālai* 8, page 514 of U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's third edition 1931, Madras). Cf. also *Puraṇāṇūru* 13, line 11, page 38 of U. V. Swāminātha AIYAR's 3rd ed., Madras, 1935. In this connection, attention may also be drawn to the Tamil word *Kadīr* 'ear of corn' which K. V. SUBBAYYA gives as an example for the preservation of the medial *d* of the Primitive Dravidian (Vide *Ind. Ant.*, 38, 1909, p. 201. cf. *Katirkk-Kalaṇi*, 4, *Perumpāṇṇūruppālai*. *Pattuppāṭṭu*, line 228, pages 194 and 223 of U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's edition. *Kural* is yet another Tamil word meaning 'ear of corn' (cf. *Kuruṇṭokai*, Stanza 105, page 276 of U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's edition, 1937).

mixture. When this 'barn' is dry, corn is stored in it and the opening is closed with a thick paste of cowdung. When of a smaller size, the Bhils (an aboriginal people) call it *koṭhi*. These *kaṇaḡis* are mostly prepared by the Kaikāḡis<sup>7</sup> (a class of people supposed to be despised) and sometimes by Mahārs. This is prepared by weaving the *foḡyās* (i.e. thin sticks, while they are fresh and green) of *nirgūṇḡa* and of *sirāḡi* (kinds of bush).

II. *Taṭṭi*.<sup>8</sup> The same materials as in the case of *kaṇaḡi* are used here though the sticks in this case may be thicker. Sometimes the material consists of *paḡakāṭhyās* (i.e. green and fresh sticks of the *tūra* plant). It is flat and mainly used for houses of tiled roofs. It is placed over the bamboos, which support the roof, and the tiles are arranged over it. It is also used as a partition for a poor man's house, sometimes even serving as the walls of his cottage. If carefully made, it lasts for more than 3 or 4 years. It is the Kaikāḡis who prepare this also and deal in it. The Bhils too call it *taṭṭi* or *tāṭṭi*.<sup>9</sup>

III. *Taṭṭā*. Bamboo is the chief material here. The *ṭokara* (i.e. bamboo) is broken and *chipās* (i.e. thin and long plates) are formed out of it. These are then woven and we get a sort of big bamboo-mat. It is of very great use to the villagers. For the building of flat-roofed houses, it serves as a ceiling over the wooden beams which support the heavy weight of the earth covering the *taṭṭā*. It serves as a partition of a house or as a shelter over windows against the scorching heat of the sun. It also forms the roof of a small bullock cart.

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to remember that in Tamil *Kaikāṭṭi* is the name of a caste of accountants, so called from their custom of prohibiting a daughter-in-law from communicating with her mother-in-law except by signs.

See *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, Vol. II, Part III, 1927, p. 1101.

<sup>8</sup> Its variants are *tāṭi* and *tāṭi*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Tamil—Kannaḡa—Malayālam—Tulu—Telugu, *Taṭṭi* 'screen, as of cuscuss grass, rattan, etc.'; *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, 1929, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 1718. Vide also K. V. SUBAYYA, *Ind. Ant.*, 38, 1909, p. 167. The word *Taṭṭu* in Tamil was also used to denote flower vase; cf. *piṭakaip peyta kamaḡṇaṇum pēvinar* (*Pattup-pāṭṭu*, 6. *Maturaikkāñci*, 397) *piṭakai* is rendered into *pūṇṭaḡu* in the gloss (See U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's ed., pp. 315 and 381. The word *taṭṭai* also actually occurs in *Pattup-pāṭṭu* (6, *Maturaikkāñci*, 305) in connection with the description of perforated bamboos through which air rushes producing music. (See pages 309 and 370). *Taṭṭuppiḡā* is a particular vessel, cf. gloss on the line:—*malar vāyṭ piḡvāṭ pularavāṇṇi*. [*Pattup-pāṭṭu* 4, *perumpāṇṇṇrup-patai*, 276, pages 197 and 237]. *Taṭṭu* is also a musical instrument made of bamboos (*Pattup-pāṭṭu* 8, *Kuṇṇippāṭṭu*, 43, pages 486 and 487. Cf. also 10. *Malaipatukaṭām*, 9 and 328, pages 565 and 605, 586 and 639.) I am indebted to Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai for drawing my attention to the word *taṭṭu* used in this sense in *Pattup-pāṭṭu*. *Taṭṭi* in Tamil appears as *daḡḡi* in Kannaḡa, Tulu and Telugu. This is given by K. V. SUBBAYA (*Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1909, p. 162) to illustrate "the phenomenon of voicing of initial consonants, through lack of stress and also of medial ones, which is a characteristic of all except the South Dravidian family, viz., Tamil and Malayālam and which generally takes place when the initial consonants are followed by cerebrals, doubled consonants and liquids."

The Bhīls also call it *taṭṭā*. This industry is the main concern of the Māṅgs who besides these, weave baskets and other articles made of bamboo.

We have in Tamil two words relating to plaiting (1) *pinnutal* (2) *miḍaital*.<sup>10</sup> The latter is colloquially corrupted into *muḍaital*.<sup>11</sup> *Pinnutal* is generally used with respect to anything of a fine texture. It means 'to plait, braid, lace, knit, weave, entwine, interweave'.<sup>12</sup> *Miḍaital* is used in connection with the plaiting of leaves, etc. *maḍittal*<sup>13</sup> is also used in this sense in some rare cases. I cannot find my way to agree that it is a mere coincidence that in Jammu we meet with the word *miḍi*<sup>14</sup> which means also 'plaited hair' for which there seems to be no IA. correspondent. Remembering that the art of plaiting should have been known even in pre-historic times to the Indo-Europeans<sup>15</sup> the presence of the obviously Dravidian word (at any rate the non-Indo-Aryan and non-IE word)<sup>16</sup> *miḍi* in a modern Indo-Aryan dialect is indeed significant: could it be yet another instance which shows the possibility of positing primeval-relationship between the two great families of the languages of the world?<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Silappatikāram* 8, 46 and 13, 160. Besides the root *pinnutal*, there is another root from which we have the Tamil *pinai* and *piṇi* 'to bind' which certainly goes back to the primitive Dravidian. (cf. Telugu *penāgu*, *pena*; Kannaḍa *pene*, 'to unite, intertwine.' (Vide T. BURROW, *Dravidian Studies*, B. S. O. S., Vol. X, Part II, 1940, page 295).

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI for drawing my attention to this fact. But Tam.—Mal.—Kan.—Tuḷu—Telugu *muḍi* 'knot' is a good example where Primitive Dravidian medial *u* is retained in all the languages. (Vide K. V. SUBBAYA, 'A Primer of Dravidian Phonology', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1909, p. 169).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *pinniviṭṭa piṭṭaḍakkai* (*Civakaciṇṇamaṇi*, 1658). The word *pinnutal* is also used in the sense of 'to bind, hold fast', *pinniya toḷar nivi*. (*kalittokai*, 15, 18) cf. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. V, Pt. I, 1932, pp. 27, 28. Compare also the Marāṭhi *pēḍ* in this connection which means 'a single string of braided hair'. See J. T. MOLESWORTH's *dictionary*, Bombay, 1857. Cf. also the following passages from *Pattuppāṭṭu* :—*pinniy-anna pināṅkarinūlai torum* (10, *Malaiṣaṭṭukūṭam*, line 379). The gloss on this is :—*avaraṅkaliṭ pinnivaittāḷotta koṭipināṅkina ciṟukūṭaiyūṭaiya ciṟiya vaḷikaṭṭurum*. See pages 590 and 643 of U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's edition of *Pattuppāṭṭu*. Cf. also *pinnirunī Kūṇtal*, 'dark tress of plaited hair' (8, *Kurincip-pāṭṭu*, line 60, pages 470 and 488). *piṅkkaiyanna pinnuvīl, ciṟu puṟattut-ṭoḷik-kai makaṭūu*. (3, *ciṟuṭ-āṇṭṟuppaḷai*, lines 191-192). The gloss on this is :—*piṭṭiyinṭu kaiyayōtta pinniyamayir vīṇṭu kiṭṭakkinṭa ciṟiya mutukinaiyūm iṭṭiyānṭa kaiyinaiyū-muṭaiya makaḷ* (pages 143 and 168).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. with the Tamil word *maḍaittal* (verb transitive), Telugu *maḍutsu* 'to fold up, to double up, curl' and with the Tamil *maḍi*, Kannaḍa *maḍi* 'bending down as sheaf of paddy'.

<sup>14</sup> Prof. Siddheshwar VARMA has drawn my attention to this word.

<sup>15</sup> SCHRADER-JEVONS, *ibid*, p. 329.

<sup>16</sup> There seems to be no Munḍa or Kol word corresponding to this, so far as I know, except the word 'mit' 'unite' cf. P. O. BODDING *Santal Dict.*, s.v.

<sup>17</sup> On the question of the primeval relationship between IE. and Dravidian, see my paper in the *Bulletin of the D. C. R. I. Poona*, pages 391-392, Vol. I, 1940. The Indo-Aryans certainly knew 'plaiting' even before their entrance into India (see note 15). Why then have they borrowed (if at all they have) from the Dravidians

*Miḍaital* means also 'to weave, as mat, etc.'<sup>18</sup> We have also in Tamil the word *muḍaital* < *miḍai*-(verb-transitive) meaning 'to braid, plait, wattle'.<sup>19</sup> The line *ularnta paḷuttalai muṭaiṉtu vēyṉta taṇimaṇai* occurring in the commentary on *Pattuppāḷḷu* are significant<sup>20</sup> in that it refers to the building of houses by means of the bark of the coconut-palm tree. This is the most ancient literary reference in Tamil to the special use to which plaiting is put, viz. building houses. Hence it is clear that about the second century A.D. (the approximate date of composition of *Pattuppāḷḷu*)<sup>21</sup> the unique use to which plaiting could be put, was known in Dravidian India. It is interesting to remember that in *Śilappadikāram* also we have reference to the closely allied art of weaving.<sup>22</sup> Building houses by means of the bark is contrasted

a word for 'plaiting hair'? In a sense, I venture to suggest that the problem here is similar to the one of the Indo-Aryans borrowing from the Austro-Asiatic, a word for the arrow. (P. C. BAGCHI, *Pri-Aryan and Post-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 22). On the question of the primeval relationship between Dravidian and Finno-Ugrian, see also CALDWELL, *Comp. Gr. of the Drav. Languages*, 2nd ed., 1875, pp. 69-70. See also HEVESY, *BSOS.*, 6, pp. 187 ff. and COEDÈS, *BEFEO.*, 32, pp. 580-581.

<sup>18</sup> *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. V, Pt. IV, 1933, p. 3197.

<sup>19</sup> As a noun *muṭai* means 'Ola basket' (vide *Divākaram*) and 'an umbrella of palm leaves'. *Muṭai* and *muṭaital* are interesting words showing that plaiting was sometimes used for rough architectural purposes, may be, only for protecting walls as Prof. Siddheshwar VARMA thinks. It is interesting to note that *miṭai* means 'platform for watching, left in a corn field'. *ṇallavar koṇṭār miṭai* (*Koḷittokai*, 103, line 9, p. 315 of Kāṣivīśvanātha CHETTIAR's ed., Dharmā Vaiśya ilaṇṇar Saṅgam publications, 1938).

<sup>20</sup> *Perumpāṇṇruppaṭai*, 353 *urai* on the lines *vaṇ ṭṭut te. kiṇ vṇu maṭal vēyṉta* (353) U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed., Madras, 1931, pp. 201 and 244.

<sup>21</sup> See V. R. Ramchandra DIKSHITAR, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, London, 1931, pages 48 and 54. Compare also V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, *The Śilappadikāram*, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 66. I am very much inclined to agree with Prof. K. A. Nilakantha SĀSTRĪ that the *Pattuppāḷḷu* should have been composed very much earlier than *Śilappadikāram* in its present form. The absolute silence in *Pattuppāḷḷu* with regard to *Pallavas* is a strong evidence for the early date of its composition. The style and diction of *Pattuppāḷḷu* and *Eṭṭuttokai* bear close affinities to those of the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkhalai* and as are much nearer to those in point of time. Such an assumption is based on the consideration (among others) of the absence of any reference to *Pallavas*. (cf. K. A. Nilakantha SĀSTRĪ, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, London, 1929, pp. 18-19). The age of these works lies in the early centuries of the Christian era (cf. K. A. Nilakantha SĀSTRĪ, *ibid.*, p. 24). In *Pattuppāḷḷu* (4 *Perumpāṇṇruppaṭai* 336 U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR'S 1st edition of text alone, 1931, p. 11. Vide also *Saṅga ilakkiyam*, Śaiva Siddhāntamahāsamājam edition, Madras, 1940, p. 322) there seems to be a possible reference to what is now known as Mahābalipuram near Madras. No doubt, *Pattuppāḷḷu* as it is extant now, is only a redacted Old Tamil classic, as Prof. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI thinks ("Dravidian origins and the beginnings of Indian Civilization", *The Modern Review*, Vol. 36, December 1924, p. 675).

<sup>22</sup> Vide V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, *The Śilappadikāram*, p. 110 and footnote 6. See also *Śilappadikāram* edited by U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR, Madras, 1927, 5, 16 and 17, pp. 138 and 154.

*Pāḷḷu mayirūṇum Parutti ṇṭiṇṇu*  
*Kāḷḷu ṇuṇ vīṇaik Kārukar irukkaiyūṇ*

with, in the line *Vēyāmāṭam* in *Pattuppāṭṭu*.<sup>23</sup>

It must be remembered also that the word *mudaical* in Tamil also refers to 'plaiting, braiding, that which is plaited' and 'screen of bambōo or palm leaves for protecting the banks of rivers from erosion by floods.'<sup>24</sup>

Lastly, I wish merely to draw attention here to some ornamental decoration made by Oraon women of Chota-Nagpur with paddy sheaves. *Karsa-hanria*, used at Oraon marriages, which is an earthen jar (*Kalsi*) decorated with a crown of ears of paddy plaited together, is the most interesting of these decorations.<sup>25</sup>

Oraon men also plait straw and make into oval-shaped grain receptacles (*moras and tipsis*) of different signs.<sup>26</sup>

## II. NAME TRANSFERENCE IN DRAVIDIAN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOME WORDS EXPRESSIVE OF RELATIONSHIP.

I have discussed previously<sup>27</sup> the Malayalam words *ettal* and *oppol* with special reference to the phenomenon of "Name Transference". I should like to draw attention here to yet another interesting Tamil word, belonging to this category viz. *irai*, (cf. Kan. *ere*. Cf. also *Tol.*, *Porul.*, 256. Ceṇṭaṇār, *Divākaram* Madras, Manonmani Press, 1904) "anyone who is great, as one's father". It developed the meaning of 'elder brother.' (Cf. *Paripāṭal*, Madras Commercial Press 1918, p. 85) and also later on 'husband, as lord of his wife' *happinnai tanakkiyai* (*Nāṭāyira Divyaprabandham*, Tirumangai Alvār, *Periyatirumoli* 2. 3. 5).

The interesting transfer in this as well as in words like *oppol* (Malayalam), *ettal* (Mal.), *appe* (Tulu) and *amme* (Tulu) can be brought under the third category of *Name Transference* of Aristotle where the name of a species is transferred to another species. In Latin *nepos* 'grandson' or 'sister's son' is transferred in the form of *nephew* to a brother's son. Here we have transference from one species of blood relationship to another.<sup>28</sup>

## III. DRAVIDIAN-NUMERATION.

CODRINGTON<sup>29</sup> observed that the word *tale* should have at first signified ten in Savo when no other number beyond ten was counted. J. PRZYLUSKI<sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> 4 *Perumpāṇāruppāṭai*, 348 (pages 201 and 243).

<sup>24</sup> *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, 1934, p. 3248.

<sup>25</sup> Sarat Chandra ROY, 'Arts and Manufactures of the Oraons', *The Modern Review*, Vol. 16, August 1914, pp. 178-179.

<sup>26</sup> Vide Sarat Chandra ROY, *ibid*, p. 179.

<sup>27</sup> "The Dravidian (Tamil) *Attan* and *Anṇai* in Hittite" (*Bull. D. C. R. I. Vol. I*, 1940, pp. 392-393).

<sup>28</sup> Vide for a discussion of this phenomenon W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, 1939, London, p. 175 and footnote 1.

<sup>29</sup> CODRINGTON, *Melanesian languages*, p. 249.

<sup>30</sup> P. C. BAGCHI, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 27. Also cf. P. C. BAGCHI, *ibid*, p. 25 for the Austro-Asiatic word for 'twenty' in Bengal. In common



argued that similarly in the Austro-Asiatic languages the words which later on under a little different form, signified 'twenty' should have originally signified 'ten'.

In Dravidian India also, counting by ten as in most of the Austro-Asiatic languages seems to have been the rule at one time.<sup>31</sup>

Now we have in *Pattuppāṭṭu* the following telling line :

*taca-ñāṇkeytiya paṇaimaruṇḍṇāl*<sup>32</sup>

It is interesting that the expression *taca-ñāṇku*<sup>33</sup> used here for forty (10×4) is made up of the Sanskrit words *daśa* (10) and the Tamil word *ñāṇku* (4).<sup>34</sup> It is also significant that this expression though quite accidentally enough (?), as it may undoubtedly appear at first sight, seems to be a compromise between the old Austro-Asiatic system of numeration (which was perhaps the same in the most ancient times in Dravidian India too (?) viz. counting by ten)<sup>35</sup> and the quartal system which should have prevailed in the early phases of the primitive Indo-European.<sup>36</sup>

Indo-European at a later stage, higher numbers upto twenty seem to have existed (vide also P. C. BAGCHI, *ibid.*, pp. 26-27). The Muṇḍās count in twenties.

<sup>31</sup> Vide KITTEL, *IA*, ii. 1873, p. 124, GRIERSON, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV. p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> 7 *ñetuñalvālai*, 115, U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. of *Pattupāṭṭu* 1931, p. 440.

<sup>33</sup> For the hardening of original *d* of *daśa* into *t* see S. K. CHATTERJI, *The Modern Review*, Vol. 36, Dec. 1924, p. 675. In *Tol., ecce iyal collatikāram* sutra 6, 3 ;

*vaṭa coṇ kiḷavi vaṭa eḷuttorū*

*eḷuttoṭu puṇarṇta collākumme*

885, page 122 of C. Namaccivāya MUDALIAR's ed. of *Tolkāppiyā Collatikāram*, 1922, Madras. *cīṇa.*, DANḌI., sūtra 25, *urai.*, i-iv., sutras 175, 635 *taca* as well as *caruma* in '*taippamāi carumattu*' (*Paripāṭal* 21, 3, p. 155 of U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. 2. 1935., also *ibid.*, p. x.) are usually cited as instances of Tamil adaptations of Sanskrit (Indo-Aryan ?) words. Cf. also my review of *Kayātaram* in the *NIA.*, 194 Vol. III.

<sup>34</sup> That this is not an isolated instance but a representative of an unbroken tradition well kept up even in far later times, is attested by the occurrence of the form *taca-ñūru* (10 × 100) in Oṭṭak KÜTTAR's *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, 635. See also the *urai* on this '*Kiraṇṭamuñ tamilūṇkūṭiyavāru*' (U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed., 1930, p. 211). It is interesting to note here that the Sanskrit language itself was called *kiraṇṭa* (from Skt., *grantha*), possibly from the script in which it was perhaps usually written among Dravidians as now. This script is still called by that name.

<sup>35</sup> For correspondence between Fino-Ugrian and Dravidian expressions of numerals, see F. OTTO SCHRADER, *ZII.*, 3. 1925, pp. 107-109 also *BSOS.*, Vol. 8, 1936, p. 751, 6 ftn. 2 ; cf. my paper also *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I. 1940, p. 391.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. MACKENZIE, *Leeds studies in English and kindred languages*, 1937, pp. 1-4. See also my paper 'Tocharian and the invalidity of the Satem-Centum hypothesis etc.', *NIA.* 1940, p. 42. f. n. 11. Pure quartal system might have been prevalent in the later stages of the primitive Dravidian too—(cf. H. HERAS, *NIA.*, II, 1939, p. 457. See also my paper *Bull.*, *D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I. 1940, p. 415.) in all probability, just prior to the period when the Dravidians, like the Sumerians, developed a duo-decimal system which is preserved to this day among the Minicoy islanders [cf. S. V. VENKATESWARA, *Indian culture through the ages*, Vol. I. 1928, p. 10. See footnote 3 above]. MARK COLLINS (*Dravidic Studies*, No. 4, Madras University 1926, p. 20) has already suggested that a compromise between the decimal and the octaval systems may

In the formation of the words for four, the Dravidians seem to have been originally guided by the idea of evenness as pointed out by KITTELS.<sup>37</sup> What I seek to emphasise here is that though the Tamil word *taca* occurring in the earliest of Saṅgam works (as noted above) is doubtless an Indo-Aryan loan (Skt. *daśa*), it undoubtedly represents an older Dravidian tradition of counting by ten, as it is an established and proved fact that the Dravidians had independent words upto ten even in the most ancient times.<sup>38</sup>

#### IV. PICTURE-WRITING IN ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN INDIA.

In my paper on "The Dravidian words for 'book' and 'writing'"<sup>39</sup> I put forward the view that picture writing was the prevailing mode of writing in Ancient Dravidian India. In support of this contention, I am now in position to adduce a few more literary evidences<sup>40</sup> which I believe are incontrovertible. The following occurs in *Yāpparaṅgalavirutti* : (Minerva Press, Madras 1916) :

*Uruvēy-unarvāy-oliyē taṇmai*  
*Yeṇa vīr eḷutium uriyaveṇṇa*  
*Kāṇappaḷḷa uruvam ellā*  
*Māṇakāḷḷum vakaṁmai ṇāṭi*  
*Vaḷuvil ḍviyaṇ kaivinaṭi pōla*  
*Eḷutappaṭuvat-uruveḷuttākum*

MAILAINĀTHAR in his commentary on *Ṇaṇṇūḷ*, 256 (Madras, Vijayanti Press, 1918) quotes this sūtra. *Vaḍiveḷuttu* is mentioned by Cēntaṇār in his *Divākaram*,<sup>41</sup> but its definition does not seem to be clear. In all probability, it also refers to picture-writing.

The Tamil word *kiṟukku* is purely colloquial.<sup>42</sup> It does not occur in any of the Tamil classics. Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI connects this word with *kaṟaṅgu* 'to whirl, or to move round'<sup>43</sup> whose causative form is *kaṟakku*. Here it must be noted that this form is very common in Malayālam though rare in Tamil. The equation *kaṟakku* > *kiṟukku* seems to be tenable. In regard to

have taken place. Cf. my paper, *NIA.*, 1940, p. 43, f.n. 11. That the Kols (Kolareans ?) borrowed the decimal notation from the Indo-Aryans seems to have been the opinion of H. G. T. (Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. ii, p. 97). The Kol substrata in the Dravidian, especially in the matter of numeration, is certainly an interesting question and may lead to fruitful investigations.

<sup>39</sup> *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. I. 2-4, 1940, p. 420.

<sup>38</sup> Vide KITTEL, *Ind. Ant.* ii. 1873, p. 124. Note 3 above.

<sup>39</sup> *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. I. 2-4, 1940, P. 420.

<sup>40</sup> I am greatly indebted to Prof. S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI of the Madras University for drawing my attention to these literary evidences.

<sup>41</sup> Madras, Maṇḍḍaṇi Vilāsa Press, 1904.

<sup>42</sup> Vide my paper "The Dravidian words for 'book' and 'writing'" *Bull. D.C. R. I.* Vol. I., p. 420.

<sup>43</sup> Malayālam *kaṟaṇṇu*. See also *pambarattu Kaṟaṅgiya paḍiya* (*kacciyaēppa* ŚIVĀCĀRYĀR, *Kaṇḍapurāṇam, tiruṇagarappaḷalam*. 28. Madras Presidency Press, 1908).

the latter word, whether its *abstract sense* or *concrete sense* is a later development, it is not easy to say.<sup>44</sup> But Prof. S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI agrees with me in thinking that it is just probable that the meaning to 'scribble illegibly' preceded the *abstract sense*. In passing, I should like to draw here attention to the interesting definition of *Cittiravaṇṇa* (a special variety of poetic composition in which long and short syllables are arranged in a particular way) in *Tolkāppiyam*. The name *Cittiravaṇṇa*<sup>45</sup> 'colour of painting' seems to be very significant—*cittira vaṇṇa neṭiyavuṇ kuṟiyavu ṇērntutaṇ varumē* (*Tol., Por.*, 523). As an example of this variety of this poetic composition *Ilampūraṇar* gives the following instance :

*ōrūr vāḷinuṇ cēri vārār*  
*cēri varinṇum āra muyāṅkār.* (*Kuṟuṇṭokai.*, 231)<sup>46</sup>

The significance of the words *olivaḍivam* and *varivaḍivam* also must not be forgotten, in this connection.<sup>47</sup> The following instances from *Kalittokai* also seem to confirm my view of picture writing in Ancient Dravidian India.

<sup>44</sup> Vide my paper "Dravidian words for 'book' and 'writing'." *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. I, p. 420. Like the significant word *kizukku*, the Tamil word *varaivu* is used also in the sense of 'an exemplary character which has the power to discriminate what ought to be done from what ought not to be done'. (Cf. *Tol. Por.*, 256. See the gloss on it in *Ilampūraṇam* p. 364. It is useful to remember here that KITTEL in his *Kannaḍa Dictionary* gives Tamil-Kannaḍa *kīzu* = Telugu *gīru* 'to scratch' to illustrate that Tam. Kan. *K* = Tel. g. According to SUBBAYYA (*Indian Antiquary*, 1909, pages 207 and 217), however, Tam. *K* = Kan. Tel. g. See Jules BLOCH, BSL. XXV, I, p. 7 P. C. BAGCHI, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 48. See also T. BURROW, BSOS., 9, 711. Tamil *kīzū* Malayām *kīzuṟa* Kannaḍa *kīzu*. Tuḷu *kīzu* (In Tuḷu prim. Drav. *r* is represented by *z*), Telugu *gīru* 'scratch' are given by K. V. SUBBAYYA (*ibid.*, p. 168) as good examples to show that the primitive Dravidian medial *i* is retained in all the Dravidian Languages (cf. K. V. SUBBAYYA, *ibid.*, p. 212). *kīzu* 'cut' in the compound *kīzu-tiṅkal* 'crescent moon'. (*Tirumaḷicappirāṇ*, *Tiruccaṇṭa Viruttam*. 42 *Nāḷāyīrad Divya Prabaṇḍham*. B. Ratna Naikar and Sons ed., p. 211).

<sup>45</sup> The expression *Varivaṇṇappu* occurring in *Pura ṇāṇṟu* (*Bull., D. C. R. I.*, I, p. 419) occurs also in *Maṇimēkhalai* (U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. 3, Madras, 1931, 3, 8, p. 27).

<sup>46</sup> Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. of *Kuṟuṇṭokai* Madras, 1937, pages 557-559.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. 'Die Sprache der alten Gedichte setzt eine lange Kultur voraus, die wahrscheinlich in die Zeit vor ihrer schriftlichen Fixierung zurückreicht und wozu nicht nur das Tamil-Volk beigetragen hat. Auf diese Zeit scheinen mir auch die alten Grammatiken hinzuweisen mit ihrer starken Betonung der doppelten Gestalt der Buchstaben, der Lautgestalt (*olivaḍivam*) und Liniengestalt (*varivaḍivam*). Erstere erkennt, wie sie sagen, nur das Ohr, letztere das Auge. Das *olivaḍivam* ist das Erste und wichtigste.' (Heinrich NAU, *Prolegomena Zu Paṭṭaṇattu Pillaiyār's Pāḍal*, Halle, 1919, p. 20). It must also be borne in mind that the script used in some of the Ancient Tamil inscriptions is known as *Vaṭṭeluttu* (cf. H. NAU, *ibid.*, 25 and 43. *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*. Madras Government Publication, 1919). *Vaṭṭeluttu* is the script of the early inscriptions till about the end of the tenth century A.D. (cf. K. A. Nilakanta SĀSTRĪ, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, London, 1929, p. 6).

*toyyl poritta Vanamulai Vāṇ Kōṭṭu*. 32 (*Marutakkali*, line 12. 97, p. 292 of Kāśi Viśvanātha REDDIYAR'S edition, Madras. Dhana Vaiśya ilaiṇaṅ Tamilṣaṅga publication 2, 1938.)

The significant gloss on this is as follows :—

*Toyyl eḷutina aḷakiṇaiyuṭaiya mulaiyākiya Veṇmaiyaṭaiya Kōṭṭinaiyum* (p. 293)

..... *men mulai mēṇroyyl eḷutu-Kōmarrenrān*. *Mullaikkali*, 111. lines, 16-17. p. 356.<sup>48</sup>

I have already referred to the interesting passage '*Vallōṇrai iya vari vaṇappuṇṇa allippāvai*' occurring in *Puraṇāṇūru*, (33, lines 16 and 17, page 92 of U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR'S ed., 1935).<sup>49</sup> In that connection, it is interesting to remember the significant lines.

"*Vallōṇrai iya variṇṇuṇṇaṭpāvai*" occurring in *Pattuppāṭṭu* (6 *Maturaikkāṇṇi*, line 723, pages 333 and 421 of U. V. Swaminath AIYAR'S ed., 1931).

The gloss on it is as follows :—

*cittirakāri paṇṇappaṭṭa eḷutikkaiceyṭa*<sup>50</sup> *pāvaiy-iḷattē*

Prof. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI seeks to establish the following equation : Lycian *prnnwate* 'made, built' ('excavated ; cut' ?) = Tamil. *Var* ; Kannaḍa. *ba* ; Telugu. *Vra* 'to write' and attempts to derive the meanings of the Dravidian words from the idea of 'scratching' 'cutting' (vide Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI, "Dravidian Origins and the beginnings of Indian Civilization" *The Modern Review*, Vol. 36, 1924, p. 678).<sup>51</sup>

Even in case of wide admission and general acceptance of the above equation I think that I do not have any valid reason here to abandon or even in any way modify my view that the Tamil word *Vari* and the cognates in other Dravidian languages are significant in demonstrating the existence of pictorial-writing in ancient Dravidian India. I believe that the few literary evidences I have been able to give here make my position quite unalterable.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also *Karumpum Valliyum perun tōḷ eḷuti* (*Silappatikāram*. Canto II, line 21 U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR'S ed.<sup>3</sup> 1927, pp. 43 and 49. See also V. R. Ramachandri DIKSHITAR, *The Silappadikāram*, Oxford University Press. 1939, p. 93. "Kovalan mused himself by painting, on the broad shoulders of his lady-love, the sugarcane and the *valli*."

<sup>49</sup> *Bull.*, D. C. R. I. Vol. I, 1940. p. 420. The gloss on it as follows :

*Kai vallōṇṇar puṇaiṇṭu ceyyappaṭṭa eḷutiya aḷaku poruṇṭiya allippāvai* (p. 93 of Swaminatha AIYAR'S ed.)

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also the expression *eḷutucittirāṇkaḷ* Periyāḷvar, *Tirumoli*, 3, 6, 9, p. 74 of Ratna layakar and Sons edition of *Nālāyirādivya Prabandham*, Madras. *cittirāṇ eḷutu aḷ cittirāṇ varai* 'draw a picture' are of course current in usage even in Modern Tamil. For the meaning of draw or print for *eḷutu*, see A. MASTER, *BSOS*. Vol. 9, 1004.

<sup>51</sup> My attention to this learned article was drawn by Prof. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI himself.

V. ON THE TAMIL WORD *tīrvai*.

In a previous paper,<sup>52</sup> I have referred to the fact that the word *tīrvai* in the time of KAMPA came to mean 'antidote, remedy'. It is interesting to note that subsequently this word developed the meaning of 'ultimate end, conclusion, certainty' also. This is attested by the following line from a song of Tāyumāṇavar.<sup>53</sup>

*Eṭutāl iṟakkaveṇṇē enkenkumoru tīrvai*

'there is a certainty about the fact that those who are born should die'.

\* \* \* \* \*

With regard to the meaning 'divorce fee' of the word *kaḷḷar* mentioned in the paper referred to above, I wish merely to draw attention here to the interesting Semitic word *khūl'um* meaning "a simple substitute, signifying 'the act of divorcing a wife for a ransom to release her from her husband'".<sup>54</sup>

VI. THE SEMANTICS OF THE TAMIL WORD *nūl*

I have already discussed the question of the psychological semantic channel through which the Tamil word *nūl* meaning 'book' passed.<sup>55</sup> I propose to place here some additional facts I have been able to collect since then in support of my view.

*Nūl* in general and a variety of it in particular are defined in *Tolkāppiyam* thus<sup>56</sup> :

*Nūlenap paṭuvatu nuvalun kālai*  
*Mutalu mutivu māṟukōlinṇit*  
*Tokaiyinuṁ vakaiyinuṁ poruṁmai kāṭṭi*  
*Yunṇin ṟakanṟa vurai yōṭu ( puṇarṇtu ? ) poruṁti*  
*Nunṇitin viḷakkalatuvatan paṇṇe*<sup>57</sup>  
*Nērina maṇiyai niralpaṭa vaitṭān*  
*Kōrinap poruḷai yoruvaḷi vaiṇṇa*  
*Tōttena moḷipa uyarmoḷippulavar*<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> "An extended misapplication of the Dative of Relationship in Tamil" *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 418, fn. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Works*, published by B. Ratna Nayakar and Sons, Madras, 1937, p. 190.

<sup>54</sup> Vide LANE'S *Arabic Lexicon*, Book I, Part 2, p. 791. I am indebted to Prof. C. H. SHAIKH, for drawing my attention to this.

<sup>55</sup> "Dravidian words for 'book' and 'writing'," *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 2-4, p. 419. It is interesting to remember in passing that Tamil Kannaḍa-Malayalam-Telugu-Tulu *nūlu* illustrates that the primitive Dravidian medial *ū* is preserved in all the Dravidian languages. (Cf. K. V. SUBBAIYA, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 38, 1909, p. 170).

<sup>56</sup> *Tolkāppiyam Poruḍatikāram*, ed. by Chidambaram PILLAI and Jaiyapuri PILLAI, Madras, 1935, pp. 435 and 482.

<sup>57</sup> *Tol. Por.*, 468, Rāmaśwamy Sastrulu, ed. Madras, 1935.

<sup>58</sup> *Tol. Por.* 472.

Here in the last stanza *ōttu* (a variety of *nūl*) is defined as a composition where different *ideas* are strung like a garland of gems.

The following is also an interesting definition of *nūl* in Tolkāppiyam.<sup>59</sup>

*Otta Cūttiramuraippir kāṇṭikai*  
*Meyppataḥ kiḷanta vakaiyaṭāki*  
*Īrain kuṟṟamum inri nēritin*  
*Muppat tiruvakaiy uttiyoḷu puṇarin*  
*Nūleṇa moḷipa ṇuṇaṅkumoḷip pulavar.*

In classic Tamil, what is known as *Poruḷilakkaṇam* is constituted by *akam* and *puṟam*. *Akam* is the indescribable mental state (the state of *Rasa*-realisation) of the lover and the beloved. The psychological analysis and description of this state has also come to be called *akam* from its original meaning 'in'. *Puṟam* is the description of outer or external conduct of men (such as heroic deeds, etc.) which can be understood by all ; in other words, it can be objectively studied.<sup>60</sup> Among these, for obvious reasons *akapporuḷ* has been given much greater prominence than *puṟapporuḷ* in Tamil classics.<sup>61</sup> Among the *prabāṇḍhas* which for their main theme have *akam*, *Kōvai* is the foremost.<sup>62</sup> They seem to have been mainly composed in strict conformity with the rules laid down in *Akapporuḷ ilakkaṇam* as is attested by the fact that in the *Īṟaiyaṇārakapporuḷ urai*, verses from *Pāntikkōvai* are given to illustrate the rules in the grammar of *Īṟaiyaṇār*. Likewise the whole of *Taṇjai Vāṇaṇ kōvai*<sup>63</sup> is illustrated in the *akapporuḷ viḷakka urai* of Nāṟ kavirāca NAMBI while verses from both *Tirukkōvaiyār* and *Pāṇṭikkōvai* are given in the work called *Kaḷaviyaṟ Kārikai*.<sup>64</sup>

*Kōvai* is defined as a work in which *ideas* pertaining to *akam* are strung together. This is clear from the fact that one of the *paḷiṇṇēṅkiḷkaṇakku* (the group of 18 short classics)<sup>65</sup> is known by the name of *ācāṅṅkōvai*.

<sup>59</sup> Tol. Por. 644.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's ed. 4, of *Aiyaṇāritāṇār's Puṟapporuḷ Venbā-mālai*, 1934, p. v. Cf. also U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's ed. 3 of *Puṟaṇṇūru*, 1935, p. viii. See also Heinrich, *NAU, Prolegomena zu Paṇṇaṇṇu Pillaiyars Pāḍal*, Halle 1919, p. 27. Cf. also Sri Vatsa Cakravarti Rājagopāla ARYAN's ed. of *Aka Nūḷu*, Madras, 1935, R. Raghava AIYANGĀR's Introduction, pp. 5-6.

<sup>61</sup> See for instance *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikṛam* ed., by U. Chidambaram PILLAI, Madras, 1935. Namacciṇṇaiya MUDALIĀR's ed. Tamil kaḷaga Publication. Madras, 1924. Cf. U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's ed. of *Tiruvārūkkōvai*, Madras, 1937, pp. i-ii.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the Tamil saying 'Yāvaiyūm pāṭik kōvai-pāṭu' (Compose *kōvai* after composing in every metre.) Vide U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's introduction to *Kōṭi-ccurakkōvai*, p. 13, Madras 1932. Cf. also Introduction to U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's ed. 2 (1926) of Subrahmanya MUNIVER's *Tiruvāṇḍuduraikkōvai*, p. vii.

<sup>63</sup> Its author might have been Poyyāmoḷi. See U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's ed.<sup>3</sup> *Civakaciṇṇamāṇi Kōvīṇṭaiyār ilampakam*, Madras, 1928, Introduction, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> See U. V. Swaminatha AIYĀR's ed. *Tiruvārūkkōvai* by Ellappa Nayaṇār, 1937, p. ii.

<sup>65</sup> *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, 1931, Vol. IV, Pt. 4, p. 2476, V. R. Ramchandra DIKSHITAR, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, London, 1930, p. 37,

It is interesting to note in this connection that *Aka nāṇūru* is called by the other name *neṭuṇ tokai*. Its significance is pointed out by R. Raghava AIYANGAR.<sup>66</sup>

\* It is significant that *enkkōvai* is another name of *eṭṭuttokai* which itself is the collective name of the following eight Tamil classics of the *San̄gam* period.

- |                           |                                      |                        |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>narrinai</i> .      | 2. <i>Kuṟuṇtokai</i> .               | 3. <i>aṇkuṟuṇūru</i> . |
| 4. <i>paṭiṟruppattu</i> . | 5. <i>paṛipāṭal</i> .                | 6. <i>Kalittokai</i> . |
| 7. <i>aka nāṇūru</i> .    | 8. <i>puṟaṇāṇūru</i> . <sup>67</sup> |                        |

It may be clearly seen that the word *kōvai* also supports the view that *nūl* passed through a *psychological* semantic channel rather than a *material* semantic channel in its passage of meaning from "string" to "book", for *kōvai* has been a collection of stanzas which give a connected sense, from very early times.<sup>68</sup>

*Mummaṇik kōvai* is compared to a string made up of *Puṣpa-rāga*, *vai-ḍūrya* and *gōmēṭaka* stones, as this work contains stanzas strung together (compared in the following three metres, *āciriyaṭṭā*, *veṇpā* and *Kaṭṭalaikka-littuṟai*)<sup>69</sup>. We again have in st. 814 of *Takkayāgapparaṇi* the equally significant expression *Tamiḷ-kottu* which is also met with in *Tiruvāḷavāyudaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṭṭurāṇam*.<sup>70</sup>

Great poets and saints have composed various *kōvais*. Māṇikka Vācagar composed *Tirucciṟṟam balakkōvai* while to Avvai and Ottakkūttar are attributed *acatikkōvai* and *Kāṅkēyan Nālāyirakkōvai* respectively. The oldest of *Kōvais* now extant are *Tirucciṟṟambalakkōvai* and *Pāṇṭikkōvai*. We have also later on Paṭṭanattu Pillaiyar's *Tirukkakumala mummaṇikkōvai* and *Tiruvi-ḍaimarudūr mummaṇikkōvai*.<sup>71</sup> There are various subdivisions of *Kōvai*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Vide Sri Vatsa Rajagopala ARYAN's ed. of *Aka Nāṇūru*, Madras, 1935, Introduction, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> See U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's 2nd ed. of *Paripāṭal*, Madras, 1935. Introduction p. v. fn. For the similar significance of the name *tokai*, see U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's 3rd ed. of *Puṟaṇāṇūru*, 1935, Madras Introduction p. vii.

<sup>68</sup> *Kōkkuṇ tamiḷ kottayāittum vāḷiye*. *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, 813, U. V. Swaminath AIYAR's 3rd ed. Madras, 1930, pp. 254 and 364. See also *Tiruvārūkkōvai*, p. ii. Compare also the following: *Mammaṇi yūvaṇa coṇṇa puruḍaṭāgam uṟuvaiyāṇi*, *Kōmēṭakamē yēṇṇā. kōḍuvār* (Perumbarrappuliyūr NAMBI *Tiruvāḷa Vāyudaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṭṭurāṇam*, 25, 22 Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. 1927, p. 97).

<sup>69</sup> See U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. of *valivala Mummaṇikkōvai*, Kalaimagal publications 3, 1934, p. iii.

<sup>70</sup> *Kaḍavul vāṭṭu* 17, p. 6. With the word *kottu* and *coṇṇālai* (*Tiru*. 4, 220, vide *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 419) compare also the Sanskrit expression *vākya-puṣpapakhāram* (Swami PAVITRĀNANDA'S *Śivamahimā Stotram*, Advaita Ashram Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Stanza 31, pp. 62-63, 1938).

<sup>71</sup> Paṭṭanattu PILLAIYAR'S *Prabandattiraṭṭu*, Madras, 1934, 4th ed. pp. 209-386. H. M. NAU, *Prolegomena Zu Paṭṭanattu Pillaiyārs Pāḍal*, Halle, 1919, p. 43.

<sup>72</sup> See U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed., of *Tiruvārūkkōvai*, p. iii, cf. also U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's *kaṇṇdatum kēṭṭatum*, 1938, Madras ed., pp. 46-47.

The following are some of the interesting later *Kōvais* now edited by U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR : Subrahmaṇya MUNIVAR'S *Tiruvāḍuḍuraikkōvai*.<sup>73</sup> Swaminatha DĒŚIKAR'S *Palamalaiikkōvai* (1935) *Valivalamumntarūkkōvai*.<sup>74</sup> Śivakkolundu DĒŚIKAR'S *Kōṭiccurakkōvai* ; Kumāragurupara SWĀMIGAL'S Cidambara Mummaṇikkōvai *Cidambaracceyyuṭkōvai* and *paṇḍāramummanikkōvai*.<sup>75</sup>

# VII. ON THE MALAYĀLAM WORDS *oppol* and *ettal*.

I have already suggested the possible connection between the Melanesian *O'fa* and the Malayālam *oppol*<sup>76</sup> as well as between the original Tamil *attan* and the Malayālam *ettal*. A purely sociological reason is also plausible for the interesting phenomena of Name Transference<sup>77</sup> involved in these words. The cause for this interesting phenomenon may lie in the undoubtedly most antique Dravidian custom of the father marrying his son when a child to a mature girl and then assuming the performance of the procreative function until the putative father comes of age.<sup>78</sup> This is doubtless attested by the existence of the following Dravidian words<sup>79</sup> which I give here in a convenient tabular form.

## 'Elder Brother'

I.	
Telugu . . . . .	<i>anna</i>
Tamil . . . . .	<i>aṇṇaṇ</i>
Kannaḍa . . . . .	<i>aṇṇa</i>
Malayālam . . . . .	<i>aṇṇan</i>
Tuḷlu . . . . .	<i>aṇṇe</i>

## 'Father'

Tamil <sup>80</sup> (colloquial) . . . . .	<i>aṇṇa</i>
Kannaḍa . . . . .	<i>aṇṇa</i>
Telugu . . . . .	<i>nāṇṇa</i>

<sup>73</sup> 1926, 2nd ed.

<sup>74</sup> 1934, Kalaimagaḷ publication 3.

<sup>75</sup> Vide U. V. Swaminath AIYAR'S ed. of Kumāra gurupara SWĀMIGAL, *Prabandikaḷ* 1939, Madras, pp. 339 ff. Nimpai caṅkara NĀRAṆAR'S *Maturaiikkōvai*, ed. by Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI, (Madras, 1934), is an old *Kōvai*, the date of whose composition is about 1600, (see *ibid.*, Introduction, p. 1).

<sup>76</sup> *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 392, fn. 18 and p. 393, fn. 19. The word *oppol* as it is pronounced by the Malayālis to-day (*oppā*, Voc.) appears to confirm the view that it is undoubtedly connected with the Melanesian *o'fa*. In actual pronunciation the middle phoneme in this interesting word seems to be between what might be described as voiceless labial explosive and fricative.

<sup>77</sup> *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 416.

<sup>78</sup> HEMINGWAY says "that Tottiyans very commonly marry a young boy to a grown woman and as among the Konga Vellālas the boy's father takes the duties of a husband upon himself until the boy is grown up". Quoted in E. THURSTON, *Castes and Tribes of the Southern India*, Madras, Vol. VII, 1909, p. 193.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. G. J. SMAYAJI, some words denoting Relationship in the Dravidian Language, *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1938, Vol. XII, pp. 254-257.

<sup>80</sup> *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, p. 60, Vol. I, pt. I.



(*na* [the pronominal prefix meaning "my"], + *ana* [doubtless a form of the primitive Dravidian *amma*])

'Daughter-in-law'

II.

Telugu . . . . . *kōḍalu*

'wife'

Telugu . . . . . *kōḍalu*

(possibly from *kōḍa* 'tender, young'<sup>81</sup> + *ālu* as *mā kōḍalu*).<sup>82</sup>

G. J. SOMAYAJI<sup>83</sup> draws attention to the important fact that in those classes where the husband addresses the wife as '*kōḍalu*' the wife refers to the husband as '*māma*' (uncle, father-in-law).

The jokes cracked at the sons of the maternal uncle in the Marāṭha country<sup>84</sup> especially the one at *ḍīra* gain an added significance in the light of the very interesting linguistic facts of the Dravidian noted above. Whether these jokes show any trace of the influence of the most ancient Dravidian custom (of the father marrying his son as a child to a girl who has attained maturity) on the Indo-Aryans, I leave experts in the field of sociology to decide. For the present, it is enough that I state that similar blending and mixing, not to speak of borrowing of customs is not unlikely and unknown in the history of different peoples and even races.<sup>85</sup>

'Mother'

III.

Tamil . . . . . *ammā, ammai*<sup>86</sup>

Kannāḍa . . . . . *amma*

Telugu . . . . . *amma*

'Grand-mother'

Telugu . . . . . *māmma*

<sup>81</sup> KITTEL, *Kannāḍa Dictionary*, p. 483.

<sup>82</sup> BROWN, *Telugu Dictionary*, p. 325.

<sup>83</sup> G. J. SOMAYAJI, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>84</sup> Witness for instance "*māmā* went to Telangpur. He brought a sari from Telangpur. I put it on and went to fetch water and saw my small *ḍīra* and took him up in my arms". Vide Dr. Irawati KARVÉ, 'Kinship terminology and usages in Maratha country' *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. 1, 1940, pages 351-352.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. my paper, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. 1, 1940, p. 391. See also C. C. UHLENBECK, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, 1937, p. 390.

<sup>86</sup> Vide my paper, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 32.

‘ Son ’

IV.

Tamil . . .	<i>magaṇ</i> or <i>mahan</i> <sup>87</sup> (or even <i>makāṇ</i> ).
Kannāḍa <sup>88</sup> . . . . .	<i>magaṇu</i>
Telugu . . . . .	<i>magaṇ</i>

‘ Husband ’

Telugu . . . . .	<i>magaṇdu</i>
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‘ Father-in-law ’

V.

Tamil . . . . .	<i>māmā</i>
Telugu . . . . .	<i>māma</i>

‘ Husband ’

Telugu . . . . .	<i>māmā</i> <sup>89</sup>
Tamil . . . . .	<i>māmaṇ</i> <sup>90</sup>

‘ Father ’

VI.

Indo-Aryan . . . . .	<i>tāta</i>
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‘ Grand-father ’

Telugu <sup>91</sup> . . . . .	<i>tāta</i> .
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From the above grouping, it is clear that the cause for the *semantic divergences* noticed throughout seems to lie in the family relationship of the individual members of the primitive Dravidians, for, to the youngest child born in a family (where sons as mere children are married to mature girls and where the father-in-law of the brides assume the performance of the procreative function until the putative fathers come of age), the eldest son of the family is a father as well as a brother [since he is both the wedded (and

<sup>87</sup> Here the three different pronunciations current in three dialects of Tamil are given. Intervocally, *k* is usually either a weak velar fricative or a voiced *h* in Tamil. Cf. J. R. FIRTH, *An Appendix on Tamil Phonetics*, in A. H. ARDEN, *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, 1934, p. x.

<sup>88</sup> This word seems to have been adopted in the Marāṭha country. Vide Dr. Irawati KARVÉ, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>89</sup> Prof. Irawati KARVÉ (*Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 25), however, takes this term to reflect a social situation, viz., the most frequent custom of the maternal uncle marrying the niece in the Telugu country.

<sup>90</sup> ‘ A term used by Pariah women in addressing their husbands’ *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, Vol. V, Part IV, 1933, p. 3162.

<sup>91</sup> Doubtless an Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) loan word in the Dravidian with a characteristic semantic divergence. See G. J. SOMYAJI, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

legal !)<sup>92</sup> husband of his mother and the real father's son] ; the young wife similarly becomes in that family a young wife to the father and a wife to his son at the same time ; the young wife is again both a mother and a grandmother to the youngest child (since she is not only his mother but also his grand-father's wife); the grand-father and father are identical in the old men of the house and likewise the *de jure* husband of the young wife is not only a husband but also a son being the son of her virtual (*de facto*) husband (hence the confusion between the senses of 'son' and 'husband' too !).<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> G. J. SOMAYAJI (*loc. cit.*, p. 254) while admitting that traces of this custom appear to have existed until very recently, seems to doubt whether they actually exist to-day. A case brought before the Munsif Court in Coimbatore some time back (about 1933 or 1934) however, goes to prove that there may be still traces of this very ancient custom. My attention to this interesting case has been drawn by the very judge before whom this case was brought. The facts of the case are as follows.

A gaunḍa woman of Salem District aged about 35, filed a suit for maintenance against her husband who was alleged to be aged 20 years and was a student in the Intermediate or B.A. Class in the St. Joseph's College at Trichinopoly. He raised a contention that he did not marry the plaintiff and that she was not entitled to any maintenance from him. The plaintiff's case was that she was married to him while he was 7 or 8 years old, but that according to the custom of the caste, i.e. the Vellāla gaunḍas of Coimbatore and Salem Districts, she was serving his father as a wife, that accordingly she was enjoyed by the father and that she had given birth to three children by him but that nevertheless her *legal* husband was only the son.

In South India, among Nāṭṭukōṭṭai Cettiārs also there is a practice of marrying boys very early, in any event before 20. It often happens that the brides are older than the bridegrooms. It does not appear whether it was because elders are anxious to get brides or bridegrooms from families of equal status or on account of the dearth of boys or girls or it is a remnant of the now forgotten ancient primitive Dravidian custom.

<sup>93</sup> Vide G. J. SOMAYAJI, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257.

# A FURTHER NOTE ON THE LOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE THREE PROBABLE STAGES OF PRIMITIVE-INDO- EUROPEAN COMPOUND-FORMATION

By

C. R. SANKARAN.

I have discussed elsewhere<sup>1</sup> the view that thought is typically little more than invisible and inaudible speech activity.<sup>2</sup> J. B. WATSON conceived thought to be a kind of complex muscular activity in which the muscles of the larynx and of the oral cavity were chiefly involved.<sup>3</sup>

LORIMER, however, believed that "thought as implicit tensional behaviour and mind as its immediate context are prior to linguistic activity; but thought is recognised and mind is reconstituted through the instrumentality of linguistic processes into human reason and logical structures."<sup>4</sup> It must be remembered here that logical analysis of a language always presupposes a phenomenological analysis. While logical analysis confines itself to implicational and inferential meaning and concerns itself with words and sentences only in so far as they constitute the medium of such meanings, phenomenological analysis, on the other hand, is concerned with the *meaning functions* of language in its primary character as speech or communication.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> NIA., I. p. 744. See also my paper, "Paget's gesture-theory of the origin of human speech" to be published shortly in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

<sup>2</sup> For the principle of the inseparability of thought and language, see W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, pp. 320-347 and Chap. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. B. WATSON, *Psychology from the standpoint of behaviourism*, 1919. For complete bibliography on this controversial question, see S. K. BOSE, "Language and Meaning," *Journal of the Department of Letters*, (Calcutta University), XXXII, 1939, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Vide F. LORIMER, *The growth of Reason*, 1929, p. 16 as quoted by S. K. BOSE, *ibid*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Vide W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, pp. 134-135 and 282.

The word "phenomenology" is used in several senses. But here it is used more or less in the same sense in which it is used by K. KOFFKA (*Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, 1935., p. 73) but more precisely in the sense in which it is used by W. M. URBAN (*loc. cit.*). According to K. KOFFKA, phenomenology means that kind of observation, which inevitably leads to as thorough a description as possible, of a phenomenon which by itself rules out a number of theories and indicate definite features which a true theory must possess. Witness for instance my postulation of the two stages of *Karmadhāraya compound-formation* in the PIE., in my paper "The Double-Accented Vedic Compounds" published in the *Madras University Journal*, Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 85-86.

It must also be borne in mind that the *determinative Karmadhāraya-stage* in the primitive Indo-European I have postulated<sup>6</sup> corresponds to the stage of the *adjective-formation* in the child's language where the adjectival words express more the inner *states* than *indicate abstract qualities*.<sup>7</sup>

Finally in connection with my postulation of the *crude-substance-attribute* state in the PIE. tongue,<sup>8</sup> I wish to merely call attention here to the very interesting fact that B. MALINOWSKI<sup>9</sup> calls the category of persons and personified things which the practical *Weltanschauung* of primitive man isolates (the rough, uncouth matrix out of which the various conceptions of substance could be evolved) out of undifferentiated background, the *crude-substance*.

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<sup>6</sup> See my paper referred to in fn. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. E. CASSIRER, *Die Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen*, Vol. III, p. 128. CLARA and W. STERN, *Die Kinder Sprache*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 35 ff. and 224 ff. W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *NIA.*, I, p. 744.

<sup>9</sup> *Supplement I* to OGDEN and RICHARDS, *The Meaning of Meaning*, p. 332.

# THE PHONEMIC VARIANTS OF AYTAM IN OLD TAMIL\*

By

C. R. SANKARAN and N. K. SRINIVASAN.

The conventions of Tamil writing have all along been a very poor guide. The traditional writing does not adequately serve the scientific study of the language.<sup>1</sup> But nevertheless the principle of a symbol for each phoneme is approached by the traditional alphabetic writing to some extent, at least. This is evident from the following *sūtra* in *Tolkāppiyam*.<sup>2</sup>

*Pulliy illāvellā meyyum  
uruv uruvākiy akaramōṭṭuyirttalum  
ēṇaiy uyirōṭ uruvu tirintuyirttalum  
āyīriyalav uyirttal āṇē*

This *sūtra* speaks of symbols being used to represent the combination of a pure consonant and vowel phonemes.

The defect in the alphabetic writing of Tamil is clear from the following *sūtra* of *ĀNANŪL* also, inasmuch as the way to record a complete list of the written symbols providing one sign for each phoneme of the language<sup>3</sup> is not in any way indicated. Hence, it is not surprising that no attempt was ever made to record the *phonemic* variants<sup>4</sup> of what is traditionally known as *āytam* :—

*Tollai vaṭivinaṇḍ ellāv eḷuttumāṇḍ  
eytum ekaramokara meṇ pulli<sup>5</sup>*

Commenting on the *sūtra*

*Kuṭṭiyal ikaraṇ kuṭṭiyal ukaram  
āytam eṇṇa  
mupparpulliyum eḷuttōr aṇṇa<sup>6</sup>*

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\* It is unfortunate that my student Mr. N. K. SRINIVASAN who collaborated with me in writing this paper passed away on the 3rd of December, 1940, long before the publication of this paper.—C. R. SANKARAN.

<sup>1</sup> L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, 1933, pp. 79 and 85.

See also C. Subrahmanya BHĀRATĪYĀR, *Tamiḷ eḷuttukkuṇai, Kalaimagal*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, February 1941, pages 206-209.

<sup>2</sup> *Tol. eḷut.*, 17.

M. Raghava AIYANGĀR, 'Tolkāppiyaṇārum pulli eḷuttum' *ceṇṭamiḷ*, 25.

<sup>3</sup> L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> See P. S. Subrahmanya ŚĀSTRĪ, *Tol., eḷut., Kuṭṭipṇurai*, p. 8.

See also C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, 'An attempt at Demonstration of the Non-Numerical Mathematical Discourse of Linguistics.' This is to be published shortly. References to it are henceforth numbered 4 throughout.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ānanūl*. *Sūtra* 98. See U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's edition, 1935.

<sup>6</sup> *Tol., eḷut.*, 2.

ŌACCINĀRKKINIYAR says that *āytam* is represented in writing by three dots (◦◦) like an oven<sup>7</sup> (*āytam enīa occāitāṇ aḍupukkūṭṭupōla mūṇṇu pulli-vaṭivirī enḇatu unarittarku āytam enīa muppār pulliyum enīār*).

The word *āytam* is doubtless from Sanskrit *āsritam*. The change of Sanskrit ś > Tamil y is regular in many of the loan words.<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *āsritam* while being borrowed into Tamil, loses r, ś is replaced by y and i by u. The name *āsritam* is significant, for this phoneme is modified by the following phoneme in a word and accordingly becomes one or the other of its six *phonemic variants*<sup>9</sup> (see below). In other words, it belongs to the class of phonemes which is indicated by the symbol (h) here only for the sake of convenience, as in :

Skt.—*anta(h) karana ; ka(h) pacati*.

The sūtra, *Kuṛiyataṇ munṇar āyta-ppulliy uyiroṭu puṇarṇtavallāṇ micaittē*<sup>10</sup>

as we have seen 4 (together with the sūtra 101) determine the position of *āytam* as that between a short vowel and one of the six consonants k, c, t, ṭ, p and ṛ.

But the sūtra

*āytam ṇilaiyalum varai ṇilaiyiṇṇē  
takaram varūuṇ kālai yāṇa*<sup>11</sup>

takes into account instances like *mul + titu > mu ◦◦ t̥itu* (or *mul t̥itu*). Similarly we have *ḇattu* side by side with ◦◦ *tu*, *a ◦◦ tai* by the side of *attai*. We have also *kal + titu > ka ◦◦ r̥itu* (or *kar r̥itu*) which is taken into consideration by the following sūtra of ŌANNŪL also.<sup>12</sup>

*la laṇṇiyaipinām āytam a ◦◦ kum*.<sup>13</sup>

Instances like *'ka(l) + titu*, *mu(l) + titu* can be taken as instances of *speech forms* with a given linearly ordered class of phonemes. The phoneme known as *āytam* represented by the symbol ◦◦ cuts the class in the familiar manner

<sup>7</sup> *The South India Śaivasiddhānta edition*. Tinnevely, 1933, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Skt. *śmaśāna* > Tamil *mayāṇam*  
Skt. *śmaśru* > *mayir*.

M. R. Rajagopala IYENGAR, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. 14, 1940, p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Tol.*, *elut.* 101. Also fn. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Tol.*, *elut.* 38. L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR thinks "that the significant fact that the syllable immediately preceding the plosive which produces the *āytam* in Tamil is usually short, suggests the possible influence of some kind of accent-distribution in the production of the aspirate" [*The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 59. 1930, p. 198, footnote 3.]

<sup>11</sup> *Tol.*, *elut.*, 399.

<sup>12</sup> See also *Tol.*, *eluttatikāram*, Sūtra 369 *Takaram varu vaṭiyāyta ṇilaiyilum Pukariṇṇ enṇmaṇār pulamaiy ōrē*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ōannūl* Sūtra 97, U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR's ed. p. 55.

of DEDEKIND's postulate ; it may be conceived as a member of a new class.<sup>14</sup>

An attempt has been so far made here only to apply DEDEKIND's postulate to *sandhi-formations* like *ka(l) + titu*. But both *sandhi* and *'non-sandhi* (instances like *i<sub>o</sub>.tu*)—formations may be considered together and then we may demonstrate that the following theorem of DEDEKIND can also be applied with advantage.

Leonard BLOOMFIELD<sup>15</sup> appears to conceive of a new class of phonemes defined by these 'cuts' and we venture to point out that the entire discussion in this paper centres around a particular class of these 'cuts'. We do not regard the instances discussed here as *phonetic modifications*. Perhaps L. BLOOMFIELD might differ from us.<sup>16</sup>

DEDEKIND's theorem is conveniently given as follows.<sup>17</sup>

"If the real numbers are divided into two classes L and R in such a way that

- (i) every number belongs to one or other of the two classes,
- (ii) each class contains at least one number,
- (iii) any member of L is less than any member of R,

then there is a number  $\alpha$  which has the property that all the numbers less than it belong to L and all the numbers greater than it to R. The number  $\alpha$  itself may belong to either class."

Taking the three successive phonemes (*vowel + āytam + consonant*) in each of the speech-forms under discussion as an integral part, the vowel that immediately precedes and the stop-consonant that immediately follows the *āytam* (which can conveniently be denoted as  $\alpha$ ) may be taken to belong to the L and R classes respectively (in the integral part taken) such that any mem-

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note here that VĪRAMĀMUNIVAR explicitly says that it is neither a vowel, nor a consonant VĪRAMĀMUNIVAR, *Toṇṇūl Viṭṭakkam* 13, urai quoted by P. S. Subrahmanya SĀSTRĪ, *Tamil Language*, Trichy., 1936, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 54. *Foundations of the Unity of Science*, Vol. I, No. 4, The University of Chicago Press, 1939.

<sup>16</sup> BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> See G. H. HARDY'S *A Course of Pure Mathematics* (Cambridge University Press), 5th ed. 1928, p. 29.

In the matter of application of DEDEKIND's postulate and DEDEKIND's theorem for the clarification of many ideas we are indebted to our friend Mr. P. JAGAN-NATHAN. Incidentally this demonstration illustrates how "a mathematical theorem is, regarded from the point of view of its application in empirical science, a device or tool enabling us to make a very complex and long chain of applications of the rules of the calculus by one stroke, so to speak. The theorem is itself, even when interpreted, not a factual statement but an instrument facilitating operations with factual statements, namely, the deduction of a factual conclusion from factual premises. The service which mathematics renders to empirical science consists in furnishing these instruments ; the mathematician not only produces them for any particular case of application but keeps them in store, so to speak, ready for any need that may arise." Cf. Rudolf CARNAP, *Foundations of logic and mathematics*, International encyclopaedia of Unified Science. (The University of Chicago Press), Vol. I. No. 3, (1939), p. 47.



ber of the L class is less than any member of the R class, since, as has been pointed out elsewhere the vowels are *less significant for the sense*, than the consonants\* (4).

Even in the *Sangam* period there doubtless occurred a tendency to obliterate the distinctions of the different *phonemic variants* of *āytam* for we meet with *a<sub>o</sub>o<sub>o</sub>tai* beside *akutai* in *Sangam* literature.<sup>18</sup>

Doubtless the same symbol *o<sub>o</sub>o* represented from very old times the six *different variants* (of a particular phoneme known as *āytam*) rather than *different phonemes*. Accoustic analysis cannot possibly reveal differences between these *variants* (it is quite possible that they are even now fairly faithfully reflected in some dialectal pronunciations, which problem in itself requires very detailed investigation), since *phoneme-grouping* is not a product of accoustic analysis. "Various sounds may belong to the same phoneme without any demonstrable common 'phoneme-feature in the sound waves'."<sup>19</sup> In any case, here is clearly a phoneme where no accoustic similarity or *constant* can possibly be found. Accoustic analysis may also possibly reveal nothing which the *variants* of the phoneme known as *āytam* in *a<sub>o</sub>o<sub>o</sub>ku* and *a<sub>o</sub>o<sub>o</sub>pōtam* have and which the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* (in Sanskrit) have.<sup>20</sup> All that we can say is that the *āytam* in the later period of the *Sangam* age was a fixed phoneme corresponding to the Sanskrit phoneme known by the name of *jihvāmūliya*.

We may now consider also how this phoneme (*āytam*) was symbolically represented in writing. We have no evidence that originally it was represented by three *o<sub>o</sub>o* dots in the same way as it is done now. Perhaps before the time of ṆACCINĀRKKIṆIYAR (the great commentator of Tamil Classics) it was written thus *o<sub>o</sub>o*. During the time of ṆACCINĀRKKIṆIYAR, it came to be written like the Sanskrit *visarga* (:), possibly influenced by the Sanskrit mode of writing and on account of considering the *āytam* as identical with the *jihvāmūliya*.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *a<sub>o</sub>o<sub>o</sub>tai* (*akaññūru* 9, line 12; 76, line 3; 113, line 4).

<sup>19</sup> W. F. TWADDELL, *Language*, XII, 1936, p. 294.

<sup>20</sup> L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR also shows how *āytam* was not possibly a "borrowing" from Sanskrit; See *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIX, 1930, p. 199.

<sup>21</sup> See ṆACCINĀRKKIṆIYAR's gloss on *Tol., eḷut., 2*  
*ikkālāittār naḍuvu vāṅgi yiṭṭeḷutupa.*

TUTTLE, (*Dravidian Developments*, p. 9) says that the Sanskrit model was closely followed when the Tamil alphabet was introduced.

See also A. MASTER, "Intervocalic plosives in Early Tamil," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 9, 1934, p. 1003.

It may also be pointed out here that the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya* appear to be only phonemic variants of *Visarga*. Hence their status also seems to be only that of the phonemic variants of *āytam*. However, giving two distinct names to two different phonemic variants of *visarga* reflects very creditably on the ancient Sanskrit grammarians. Here is clearly another remarkable instance of their superior insight. That *āytam* was identified with *visarga* at one time in old Tamil is attested further by the fact that *ma<sub>o</sub>o<sub>o</sub>n* (son) yielded *ma+uṇ* (the *āytam* becoming *u* under certain conditions) which in turn yielded by sandhi *mōṇ* in Jaffna Tamil. See Swami VIPULANANDAR, *Kalaimagal*, Vol. XIX, January, 1941, p. 87.

The practice of representing *āytam* with three dots (as is done now) ூ must have been a very late development. This might have been due to the wrong interpretation of the word *mup̄p̄āṭṭip̄ullī*<sup>22</sup> found in *Tolkāppiyam*. Both NACCINĀRKKINĪYAR and ILAMPURANAR failed to make the important distinction between writing and speech.<sup>23</sup> They interpret the above alluded expression of TOLKĀPPIYANĀR as a description of the 'sign' (*mūṇtu kūṇṇatākiya p̄ullī*).

In inscriptions, belonging to the 8th century A.D., *āytam* is represented as ூ.<sup>24</sup> During this period, evidently the name *āytam* seems to have been confused also with the Sanskrit word *āyatam* meaning 'long' and therefore a 'long' line was used in the symbol to denote this phoneme.

In a later *Pāṇḍya Śāśana*, the central line is a straight one.<sup>25</sup> Some assume that the symbol ூ was used in old times to denote a phoneme alien to Tamil,<sup>26</sup> but found only in Indo-Aryan loan words. This assumption goes quite contrary to the facts for *āytam* is a special phoneme (represented no doubt by the written symbol ூ only at a very late period of Tamil) found in common and ordinary Tamil (Dravidian) words like *aōōtu*, *eōōku* etc.

Those who make such an untenable assumption as we have just referred to, suggest certain curious spelling-reforms of modern Tamil which cannot be taken seriously by any scientific-minded scholar.

In conclusion, one cannot but admit that at the time of TOLKĀPPIYANĀR, the phoneme (*āytam*) had *different variants* according to the consonants which followed it.<sup>27</sup> Here  $\alpha_1$ ,  $\alpha_2$ ,  $\alpha_3$ ,  $\alpha_4$ ,  $\alpha_5$ ,  $\alpha_6$  are six *different variants* of the single phoneme *āytam* which is denoted as  $\alpha$  (see above). It is significant to note in this connection that *āytam* is not only put along with vowels in the traditional teaching but also (as we have seen) it is put down along with stop consonants according to Sūtras like *Tol.*, *Elut.*, 101.<sup>28</sup> Of all the 17 vowels

<sup>22</sup> *Tol.*, *elut.* 2.

It must be remembered here that (as P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI assumes) even the word *eluttu* in *Tolkāppiyam* meant not *character* or *letter*, but *phoneme*. Vide P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *History of Grammatical theories in Tamil*, pp. 43 ff. (For contra, see A. MASTER, *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 9, 1934, p. 1004.)

<sup>23</sup> This failure was a chief factor (as it was in Europe of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; cf. L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 6) which prevented a beginning of linguistic science in those parts of India where Dravidian languages were spoken.

<sup>24</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, ed. by HULTZSCH, 1895, Vol. II, Part III, No. 73, Kasakudi plates of NĀNDIVARMAN, Pl. XV.

<sup>25</sup> Dalavay Agrahāram Plates of Varatūṅgarāma Pāṇḍya, Śaka Samvat 1510 (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Madras, 1910-13.)

<sup>26</sup> *Śēṭtamīlccelvi*, 1940, June-July.

<sup>27</sup> P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *Tol.*, *elut.*, *Kurippurai*, p. 9 and footnotes.

<sup>28</sup> It is clear that L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR's criticism of modern Tamil commentators is not justified [*The Indian Antiquary*, Volume LIX, 1930, page 198, footnote 2.]



(1) $a \circ \circ ku$	$La_1 R$	$a \circ \circ k + (u)$
(2) $e \circ \circ ku$	$La_1 R$	$e \circ \circ k + (u)$
(3) $k \circ \circ cu$	$La_2 R$	$(k) + a \circ \circ c + (u)$
(4) $ka \circ \circ \dot{t}u$	$La_3 R$	$(k) + a \circ \circ \dot{t} + (u)^{31}$
(5) $mu \circ \circ \dot{t}itu$	$La_3 R$	$(m) + u \circ \circ \dot{t} + (\dot{t}u)$
(6) $e \circ \circ \dot{t}itu$	$La_3 R$	$e \circ \circ \dot{t} + (\dot{t}u)^{32}$
(7) $a \circ \circ tu$	$La_4 R$	$a \circ \circ t + (u)$
(8) $i \circ \circ tu$	$La_4 R$	$i \circ \circ t + (u)$
(9) $a \circ \circ p\dot{o}tam$	$La_5 R$	$a \circ \circ p + (\dot{o}tam)$
(10) $ka \circ \circ \dot{r}itu$	$La_6 R$	$(k) + a \circ \circ \dot{r} + (\dot{r}u)$
(11) $cu \circ \circ \dot{r}u$	$La_6 R$	$(c) + u \circ \circ \dot{r} + (u)$
(12) $e \circ \circ \dot{r}itu$	$La_6 R$	$e \circ \circ \dot{r} + (\dot{r}u)$
$(< el + \dot{t}itu)$		

The diagram overleaf clearly illustrates the point under discussion.

At the time of  $\dot{N}ANN\dot{U}L$ , the *different variants* seemed to have fallen into disuse and the phoneme got identified with the one called the *jihvāmūliya* by the Sanskrit grammarians. Hence its *sthāna* ('place of articulation') is described as *talai*<sup>33</sup> (the *kaṇṭha* of Sanskrit grammarians) by the author of  $\dot{N}ANN\dot{U}L$ —

*āytak kiṭaṇṭalāiy-aṅkā muraṇci*  
*cārpeluttēṇavun tammatal aṇāiya.*<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See  $\dot{N}ANN\dot{U}L$  *Kāṇḍikāiyurai* edited by Saṭagōpa Ramanuja ĀCĀRIYĀR and Kṛṣṇamā ĀCĀRIYĀR, 12th edition, Madras, 1928, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup>  $el + \dot{t}itu > e \circ \circ \dot{t}itu$

See *Tol. eḷut.*, *Sūtra* 399. Similarly  $Ka\dot{t} + \dot{t}itu > ka \circ \circ \dot{t}itu$ .

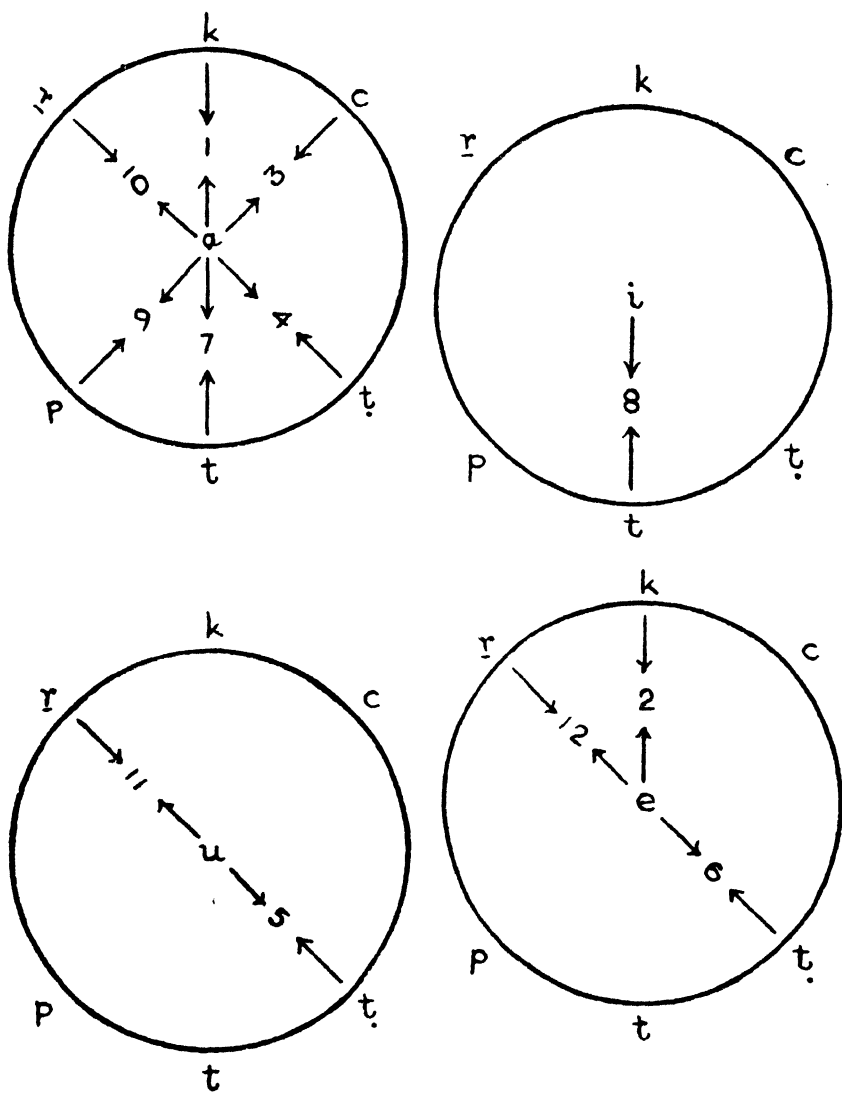
<sup>33</sup> *talai* would literally mean 'head'. But  $\dot{N}ACCINĀRKKINĪYAR$  uses the word *ṇēṇcu* (Skt. *kaṇṭha*) 'throat'. See under *Tol., eḷut.*, 101.

See also U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR'S ed. of  $\dot{N}ANN\dot{U}L$  p. 44, fn. 2.

Cf. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI also, *Tol., eḷut., Kuṟippurai*, pp. 102-105. See also P. S. Subrahmanya SĀSTRĪ, *Tamil Language*, 1936, p. 57.

It may be mentioned here in passing that M. Kārtikēya MUDALIĀR (*Moliṇṇul*, 1923) makes a distinction between 'involuntary' and 'voluntary' speech-sounds (he says 'natural' -*iyaykai*; but from the language he uses, we are led to conclude that he means only 'involuntary' and 'voluntary'). He puts the *phoneme* (we do not know whether he has any clear idea of the concept of *phoneme at all*) before *k* in  $a \circ \circ ku$  under the former category and says that it is the same sound we produce when coughing and spitting. The other *phonemic variants* of *āytam* he calls 'voluntary.' It is needless to point out that his classification is absurdly unscientific which does not deserve any serious comment or notice from us.

<sup>34</sup>  $\dot{N}ANN\dot{U}L$ , 87. It is worth remembering here that "there are a number of contexts in the rude uncultivated dialects of central India, where the presence of the plosive has given rise to an aspirate immediately before the plosive as in Gōṇḍī plural ending—*hk* and Gōṇḍī causative ending—*ht*. The phonetic features of the change in Gōṇḍī are exactly on a par with the features characterising the production of the Tamil *āytam*"—L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 59, p. 199,



This *sūtra* merely repeats also the 'idea' contained in the *sūtra* 101 of *Tol., elut.*, (see above) that the *āyām* had six *different variants* as determined by the following consonant.

## AN ANCIENT ATTACK ON GRAMMAR !\*

By

D. V. GARGE.

### Introductory :

Jaimini the author of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras* has laid down that *Dharma* (i.e. religious duty) is only that which is indicated by the Vedic Injunction as conducive to the highest good.<sup>1</sup> The Mīmāṃsakas maintain that the Vedas are not a creation (either human or divine), and that they are eternal with no beginning in time. As a necessary corollary to it, they hold that a Vedic Injunction is infallible and self-evident, and that each and every word of the Veda has some definite purpose to serve in matters relating to *Dharma*.

As regards those matters pertaining to *Dharma* that are not discussed in the Veda, the *Smṛti*-texts are to be consulted to find out whether a particular course of action is *dharmic* or otherwise. All orthodox *Smṛtis* are based on some Vedic text or other, and hence are equally authoritative in the sphere of *Dharma*,<sup>2</sup> unless they go counter to some Vedic passage.<sup>3</sup> *It is this highly authoritative nature of the Smṛtis that gives rise to the dispute whether or not Grammar (i.e. Vyākaraṇa-Smṛtis) should be included in the list of those Smṛtis that bear upon matters religious.* Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika* on the *Vyākaraṇādihikaraṇa*<sup>4</sup> treats in detail and disposes of all the objections levelled against *Vyākaraṇa* as a *Smṛti*.

The important arguments of the *Pūrvapakṣin* and their refutation by the *Siddhāntin*, as given by Kumārila, are discussed below, as the *Pūrvapakṣa* or *prima facie* view throws an interesting side-light on the views held on the utility or otherwise of the Science of Grammar among the learned circles in those very ancient days, long before the modern distaste for Grammar developed.

A review of the following discussion shows that the *Pūrvapakṣin*, who attacks Grammar from the point of view of its utility or otherwise to the actual performance, *almost holds the field* ! Although the *Siddhāntin*, who is a Mīmāṃsaka, upholds the cause of the sister-science of Grammar, yet his advocacy of Grammar as indispensable to the performance of religious duties (*Dharma*), though unfortunately not very convincing, is an illustration of the wonderful hold that the Science of Grammar had attained on the minds of the learned circles. Although its character as an indispensable adjunct to the performance of sacrifice, could not be very convincingly established and

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\* I am very deeply indebted to Prof. V. M. APTE for the help rendered by him in the preparation of this article.

<sup>1</sup> *J. Sū.*, I. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *J. Sū.*, I. iii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *J. Sū.*, I. iii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Sābara Bhāṣya*, I. iii. 24-29.

many of the *Pūrvapakṣin*'s objections had to be left unanswered, yet the arguments in favour of the utility of Grammar show that its sectarian character is more impressive than the religious ; that is to say, though religious in origin, its later developments took more or less a sectarian line so that in the friendly discussions within the Mīmāṃsaka-school, well-nigh unanswerable objections could be raised against its utility for the sacrificial lore.

The way in which Grammar creeps into the discussions on Mīmāṃsā, is as follows :—

It is believed that the Grammatical rules help us to know in what particular form a word, say 'go', really denotes the particular thing, a 'cow,' and thus they help us in understanding the definite meaning of a passage. Naturally, all other forms of words, which are not in conformity with those rules, are called ungrammatical or corrupt. Now, the treatises (*Smṛtis*) dealing with those rules, if they are to be authoritative in connection with matters religious, must restrict us to the use of correct words, because they alone would denote without any vagueness, the particular object. The *Pūrvapakṣin*, here, challenges this restriction of the usage of words, and thus denounces the authority of Grammar in matters relating to *Dharma*.

#### *The Pūrvapakṣin's Objection : 1.*

The grammarians hold that only those forms which are grammatically correct, have any power to denote a particular object ; and secondly these alone are eternal like the Vedas. This view, however, does not sound correct.

The correctness and incorrectness of words are universally recognised as identical with their expressiveness and inexpressiveness respectively. Now, whether a certain word expresses a meaning or not, can be ascertained from ordinary usage.<sup>5</sup> To take an illustration, words like *Gāvi*, *Goṇi*, *Gotā* and *Gopotalikā*<sup>6</sup> denote a 'cow', as readily as the Sanskrit word 'go'. These words then must all be recognised as equally correct, exactly as the words, *hasta*, *kara*, *pāṇi*—all signifying the same object—are all accepted to be equally correct.<sup>7</sup> No grammarian therefore, can declare that words such as *Gāvi*, *Goṇi* etc., are inexpressive and therefore incorrect. Patañjali's statement that these words are *apabhraṃśas* (corrupt), thus, directly opposes a fact of ordinary experience.

<sup>5</sup> *Tantravārtika* (Ānand. ed.), p. 253, ll. 9f.

लोकादेवाधिगन्तव्या शब्दानां साध्वसाधुता ।  
वाचकावाचकत्वेन सा च नित्यं व्यवस्थिता ॥

<sup>6</sup> *Mahābhāṣya*, I. i. 1.

गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिकेत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ।

<sup>7</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 253, ll. 14ff.

गाव्यादयः पुनर्गवादिबदेव साधयन्त्यर्थमिति सत्यप्येकविषयानेकशब्दत्वे स्तत्करण्यादं-  
शब्दवदर्थसाधनत्वात्साधुत्वेनावधार्यन्ते ।

*The Siddhāntin's Answer to Objection 1.*

The words *Gāvī*, *Goṇī* etc., are declared to be correct on the ground that they express the same object as the word 'go'<sup>8</sup>. This view is incorrect. It can be shown that this so-called expressiveness is not invariably connected with correctness.<sup>9</sup> Inasmuch as there is a chance of discrepancies while pronouncing words, it is probable that what is uttered is not the correct form of the word.<sup>10</sup> The object, however, is rightly denoted not because the ungrammatical form has any power to do so, but it does so on account of its extreme similarity to the correct form. These distortions and corruptions are distinctly found to be due to carelessness or inability in pronouncing, on the part of the speaker, and hence they cannot be accepted as synonyms of the original word.<sup>11</sup> That is why words like *Kara*, *pāṇī* used for 'hasta' are correct, while 'gāvī', 'goṇī' used for 'go' are corruptions and hence incorrect, though expressive somehow of the same object. An ordinary man is incapable of discriminating the correct from the incorrect word ; and it is here that Grammar steps in. It helps us to draw this distinction. Grammar as a *Smṛti*, has a stronger authority than any usage.<sup>12</sup> Hence the use of words like 'gāvī', 'goṇī' etc. cannot be justified.

*Objection 2.*

If one were to say that the Science of Grammar teaches us to use 'correct' words, which is a *Vidhi* and to avoid 'incorrect' ones which is a *Pratiśedha* or prohibition, then, as this use of correct words and avoidance of incorrect ones are incapable of being of any service in the performance of any religious act like the employment of *Vṛihi* etc., they cannot be the subject of any *Vidhi* or *Pratiśedha*.

It might be argued that the *Vyākaraṇa-smṛtis* lay down a *Niyamavidhi* for the sake of some religious merit (*apūrva*) arising from it in the form : 'साधुभिरेव भाषितव्यम्' ('One should utter only correct words') ; but this is absurd, because a *Niyama* (restriction) is possible only when there are two alternatives of which one is to be adhered to. In the present case however, an incorrect word, being completely inexpressive (according to a grammarian),

\* *Śābara-Bhāṣya*, I. 3. 24.

प्रतीयते हि गान्यादिभ्यः सास्नादिमानर्थः ।

<sup>9</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 275, l. 18.

अन्यथाऽप्युपपन्नत्वात्प्रयोगार्थावबोधयोः ॥

<sup>10</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 276, ll. 18f.

अपराधस्य भागित्वाद्...असाधोश्च प्रयोज्यता ॥

<sup>11</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 276, ll. 22f.

एक एवायं शब्दः पुरुषाशक्तिप्रमादकारणादिभेदात्...अपभ्रंशरूपेण गृह्यमाणस्तमेवार्थं प्रतिपादयतीति न पर्यायकल्पनया वाचकशब्दान्तरत्वैकान्तसिद्धिः ।

<sup>12</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 220, ll. 25f.

आचारास्तु स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा श्रुतिर्विश्रियते यतः ।

तेन ह्यन्तरितं तस्य प्रामाण्यं विप्रकृष्यते ॥



would not be used at all.<sup>13</sup> Thus, inasmuch as *Niyama* is in no way possible, the works on Grammar serve no useful purpose in the accomplishment of Dharma.

*Answer to Objection 2.*

As for a *Niyamavidhi*, it is possible even when there are no two alternatives, that is to say, a *Niyamavidhi* sometimes lays down a course, (even though there are no other ones), which is to be always adhered to.<sup>14</sup> It is just possible that one may at times use incorrect words or mere gestures to express himself. Under these circumstances, the *Niyamavidhi* lays down the necessity of using the correct words. Though educated persons are found using incorrect forms on some occasions and that carelessness is inevitable under certain circumstances, the sense of the prohibition of grammatically incorrect words must not be disregarded. One should try his best to obtain mastery over words. Thus it is quite in the fitness of things, that we should have an Injunction laying down the necessity of using correct words. By constantly adhering to such usage one would be creating an *apūrva* (a transcendental result) which leads to bliss.<sup>15</sup>

*Answer to Objection 3.*

From the *Smṛtis* of Gautama, Manu, Yajñavalkya and the like, we infer the existence of *śruti*-texts in support of every statement made in them, because the topics treated of in the *Smṛtis* such as, *Upanayana*, *Prāyaścitta*, the duties of the four castes and conditions of life &c., are mostly the same as treated of in the *śruti*-texts. All the *Smṛtis* are similar in contents so far as their subjects are concerned. The grammatical treatises, however, do not stand on the same footing with those *Smṛtis*. They do not treat of the same subjects as Gautama, Manu etc. do. Hence the words on Grammar are of no use in acquiring religious merit.

It is true that Grammar which deals with correctness or otherwise of words—a subject entirely different from those treated of in the *Smṛtis* of Gautama etc., has no resemblance to the latter. But the absence in *Vyākaraṇa*-texts, of subjects similar to those of other *Smṛtis*, is no sufficient reason why Grammar should be deprived of its authoritative character. The origin of Grammar can be traced to the Veda itself.<sup>16</sup> Grammar again, is an impor-

<sup>13</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 255, ll. 9f.

त्वन्मते तु पुनः—अत्यन्तावाचकत्वात् नैवासाधुः प्रसज्यते ।

<sup>14</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 282, l. 18.

नित्यतामात्रकारी तु नियमः किं न लभ्यते ।

<sup>15</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 282, ll. 21f.

अत्र श्रेयोऽर्थिनो नित्यं साधुभाषा नियम्यते ।

नियोगेन हि तां कुर्वन्नपूर्वं साधयिष्यति ॥

<sup>16</sup> *Taitt. Sam.*, (6. 4. 7.).

तस्मादेषा व्याकृता वागुच्यते ।

tant subsidiary science (*aṅga*) of the Veda. Now, even though the 'subsidiary sciences' are not called by the name *Smṛtis* yet the *authoritative* character of *Smṛtis* belongs equally to the *Dharma-sūtras* and the subsidiaries of the Veda.<sup>17</sup> Manu,<sup>18</sup> in this connection, declares that the following are of equal authority. The *Purāṇas*, the *Dharmaśāstra* laid down by Manu, the Veda with all its subsidiaries and the Science of Medicine. Hence the claims of Grammar as one among many means of achieving heaven, cannot be doubted.

#### Objection 4.

As regards the purpose or aim of the Science of Grammar Pāṇini the author of the *Vyākaraṇa-Smṛti*, has not mentioned any ; and how on earth he forgot to state the purpose of such an extensive work ? Usually, it is a practice with great authors that they state the purpose of their work in the introduction ; for instance, the very first *Sūtra* of *Āpastamba-paribhāṣāsūtra* reads as 'यज्ञं व्याख्यास्यामः' 'we shall now explain the science of sacrifice.' Pāṇini, thus disregards the most important factor in the treatment of his subject. Of the two remaining 'sages' in grammar, Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* declares that the *Knowledge* of Grammar constitutes *Dharma*, while Kātyāyana, the author of the *Vārtika* opines that *Dharma* consists in the *use* of correct words pointed out by Grammar. Thus there is no unanimity among grammarians on this point.

#### Answer to Objection 4.

A truthful or correct utterance is a means of achieving bliss. Truthfulness of utterance is of two kinds. (1) that of *words*, in conformity with the Science of Grammar and (2) that of *matter*, in conformity with the state of things. The one is as much a means of achieving bliss as the other. Now the knowledge of correctness or otherwise of words is possible only after a careful study of Grammar which thus indirectly leads a man to heaven and bliss. Thus the purpose of Grammar viz. the explanation of all words,<sup>19</sup> is too well-known to need a mention in the body of the *sūtra*-work ; and hence no flaw accrues to Pāṇini's work.

As for Kātyāyana's view,<sup>20</sup> it is as follows : If the *Knowledge* of correct words constitutes *Dharma* then, as such a knowledge involves indirectly the knowledge of incorrect ones also, the *Dharma* would always be mixed up with *Adharma*. Hence it would be right to hold that the actual using of the correct forms of words constitutes *Dharma*. Now the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* 'अथ वा पुनरस्तु ज्ञाने धर्मः' (Or the knowledge of the correct words may be

<sup>17</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 285, ll. 29 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Manu Smṛti*, (XII. 110 f.).

<sup>19</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, p. 287, l. 9.

शास्त्रेण सर्वशब्दानामन्वाख्यानप्रयोजनम् ।

<sup>20</sup> *Kātyāyana's Vārtika*

लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनिवृत्तिः ।

said to constitute 'Dharma'), is not laid down in order to refute Kātyāyana's theory. The import of the passages is only to show that any argument advanced against the second theory (viz. the *Knowledge* constitutes *Dharma*), is not quite irrefutable and thus it is simply a gratuitous prolonging of the discussion.<sup>21</sup> Thus, it will be clear that these two 'sages' do not contradict one another. Both of them, as a matter of fact, are one on the fundamentals viz. the Science of Grammar is not without any purpose in view.

#### Objection 5.

Even the fundamental treatises on Grammar are known to have been laid down by persons in flesh and blood, therefore neither the Science of Grammar nor the so-called correct usage of words can be eternal in character. And as a consequence they cannot have any authority as regards *dharmic* matters.

It has been argued by the grammarian under his answer to the objection 3, that the Science of Grammar is spoken of in the sentence तस्मादेषा व्याकृता वागुच्यते<sup>22</sup> | ('Hence it is called purified speech') and hence it is as eternal as the Veda. This view is, however, erroneous. 'Vyākṛtā Vāk' means the Vedic sentences themselves which are sanctified by traditional course of study and are recited on sacred occasions like that of a sacrifice etc.

There is another sentence :—

‘एकः शब्दः समगङ्गातः सम्यक्प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवति ।’

(‘A single word correctly known, duly used, becomes a means of fulfilling all desires in Heaven and on Earth’)—which is quoted in support of his own views by a grammarian without understanding the proper significance. From the context, it is evident that it is only a praise (*Arthavāda*) of the daily reading up of the Veda, at least a portion of it, which is enjoined in the Veda itself.<sup>23</sup> It has therefore nothing to do with Grammar.

There are some more passages like the following, which are never aptly quoted by the grammarian. They are :—

आहिताग्निरपशब्दं प्रयुज्य प्रायश्चित्तीयां सारस्वतीमिष्टिं निर्वपेत् ।

and

तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै, म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः ।

(‘If one who has taken to *Agnihotra*, happen to utter a wrong word, in expiation of this, he should perform the *Sārasvatī* sacrifice’ and ‘Hence the *Brāhmaṇa* should not behave like the *Mleccha* i.e. he should not talk incorrectly, because an incorrect word verily is *Mleccha*’). The term ‘*apaśabda*’ in these passages does not refer to ungrammatical words such as *gāvi*, *goṇi* etc. It is used in the sense of *a lie*, or *a distortion of Vedic reading*. It may also mean a ‘foreign word’, for instance, a word from the *Mleccha* language,

<sup>21</sup> *Tan. Vār.*, 287, ll. 22f.

अभ्युपेत्यवादमात्रं तत्पूर्वोक्तदोषपरिहारसामर्थ्यप्रदर्शनार्थं कृत्वाचिन्तान्यायेनोक्तम् ।

<sup>22</sup> *Taitt. Sam.*, (6. 4. 7).

<sup>23</sup> अहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीयीत ।...अप्येकामृचं यजुः साम वा.... ।

because there is a direct prohibition of the use of the *Mleccha* language.<sup>24</sup> Hence the occurrence of the term *Apaśabda* does not support the authority of grammar as regards *dharmic* matters.

#### Answer to Objection 5.

As regards the objection to the eternal character of the Science of Grammar and the usage of correct words, it can be said that though an individual treatise on Grammar or an individual use of a correct word may have a beginning in time, yet the rules of that science and usage of correct words have continued from times immemorial. To take an illustration, though the erection of an individual sacrificial post has a beginning in time, yet the continuity of such a usage is eternal. As for Pāṇini's work, it is only the exposition of some of the rules of that Science.

Further, the eternity of Grammar is pointed out by passages from the *śruti* as well as *Smṛtis*. In the passage, 'तस्मादिषा व्याकृता वागुयते' the term *Vyākṛtā Vāk* does not mean, as the *Pūrvapakṣin* holds, 'sentences sanctified by the traditional study,' because in that case the word '*Udyate*' would be a useless repetition. *Vyākṛtā* undoubtedly means 'grammatically purified' and it indicates that Grammar is as eternal as the *Śruti* itself.

Again Manu's remark 'यश्च व्याकुरुते वाचं यश्च मीमांसतेऽवरम्' ('one who grammatically explains a sentence and he who investigates the nature of sacrifices etc.') indicates that the knowledge of grammar is an independent condition of holiness and is based on the *śruti*.

Passages like तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन etc., deprecate the use of incorrect words. The word '*Mleccha*' indicates a confused or indistinct sound<sup>25</sup> and points to the fact that such an incorrect or corrupt word uttered carelessly is incapable of expressing the meaning.

Thus the deprecation and prohibition of incorrect or corrupt words enjoin the rightful usage of *Vyākṛta* words (i.e. word duly purified by the rules of Grammar). The sentence : एकः शब्दः &c., commends the use of such a correct word.

#### Objection 6.

Moreover, in the *Kalpasūtras*, *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, *Nirukta* and *Jaimini-sūtras*—a sacred library handed down to us from times immemorial—we come across a number of words which an orthodox grammarian would call 'incorrect' ones. It is however, unfair to judge them by the man-made rules of Grammar. Here are some of the most outstanding ungrammatical forms from those works.

(a) समानमितरं ज्योतिष्टोमेन<sup>26</sup> ।

इतरं would be इतरत् according to Pāṇini Sūtra VII. I. 25.

(b) प्रत्यसित्वा प्रायश्चित्तं जुहुयुः<sup>27</sup> ।

<sup>24</sup> न म्लेच्छभाषां शिक्षेत ।

<sup>25</sup> *Maṣaka Kalpasūtra*.

<sup>26</sup> *Pāṇ. Dhā.* 205.

<sup>27</sup> *Āśva. Ś. Sū.* VIII. 12. 14.

The form according to Pāṇini (Sū. VII. I. 37) would be 'प्रत्यस्य'.

(c) झतारः सन्ति मेत्युत्त्वा<sup>28</sup> ।

Here is a double saṁdhi which is against Pāṇini-Sū. VIII. 2. 1 and VIII. 3. 19.

(d) गव्यस्य च तदादिषु<sup>29</sup> ।

गव्य Meaning 'a product or a part of the body of the cow' according to Pāṇini-Sūtra IV. 3, 160, is used here in the sense of the *gavāmayana* sacrifice.

(e) ब्राह्मणो ब्रवणात्<sup>30</sup> violates the rule : 'ब्रवो वचिः'<sup>31</sup>

(f) मध्य आपस्य तिष्ठति<sup>32</sup> । नीचीनवारं वरुणः कबन्धम्<sup>33</sup> ।

Here the change of अपां into आपस्य is in no way justifiable ; so also the word वार instead of द्वार, is found nowhere except in the Lāta language.

Further, even the chief works on grammar are not free from anomalies. For instance, (i) the sūtra : 'जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः'<sup>34</sup> (the source of that which is produced is governed by ablative) involves two mistakes. The word 'जनि' signifies the root 'जन्.' Therefore, 'जनिकर्तु' means 'the producer of the root 'जन्', which is absurd. A grammarian understands by the word 'जनिकर्तु' 'that which is produced'; but it is against grammatical rules. Secondly, the compound 'जनिकर्तु' is objectionable, as it violates another sūtra viz., 'तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि'<sup>35</sup>. Another instance of a direct infringement of this sūtra, is the Sūtra, 'तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च'<sup>36</sup> and 'दम्भेर्हलप्रहणस्य जातिवाचकत्वात्तिद्धम्.'<sup>37</sup>

(ii) आन्यभाष्यं तु कालशब्दव्यवायात्<sup>38</sup> ।

It is very difficult to explain grammatically the term 'आन्यभाष्य'. If we label it as a compound, then we have affix 'Ṣyañ' used in a word which, is not an adjective, and this is an infringement of the Sūtra, 'गुणवचनं ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः'<sup>39</sup> ।

(iii) अविरविकन्यायेन<sup>40</sup> ।

Here the nominative termination after the first 'avi' is not dropped and hence it is a violation of Pāṇini-Sū. II. 4. 71.

(iv) अन्यथाकृत्वा चोदितम्<sup>41</sup> ।

Here 'Namul' has not been used even though its use was clearly laid down by the Pāṇini-Sūtra. III. 4. 27.

Attempts have been made to justify as correct, these grammatical forms on the ground of their being 'Nipātas.' But it is against all logic. Only those

<sup>28</sup> *Manu Smṛti*.

<sup>29</sup> *Nirukta*. IX. 6.

<sup>30</sup> *S.V.*, 2. 1006<sup>b</sup>. IX. *J.B.* 2.144<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> *Pāṇ. Sū.*, I. 4. 30.

<sup>32</sup> *Pāṇ. Sū.*, I. 7. 55.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>34</sup> *Mahābhāṣya*,

<sup>29</sup> *J. Sū.*, VIII. 2. 18.

<sup>31</sup> *Pāṇ. Sū.*, II. 4. 53.

<sup>32</sup> *RV.*, V. 85. 3<sup>a</sup>; *Nir.* 10. 4<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Pāṇ. Sū.*, II. 2. 15.

<sup>34</sup> *Kātyāyana's Vārtika*.

<sup>35</sup> *Pāṇ. Sū.*, V. 1. 24,

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*.

words can be termed 'as ' *Nipātas* ', that do not go counter to any direct rules, because ' *Nipāta* ' is nothing but another word for 'current usage'; and when this *usage* goes against the so-called grammatical *smṛtis*, the latter sets aside the former. Thus, it will be found that the grammatical treatises defeat their own purpose when they admit by the back door, such forms as 'जनिकर्तु' and so on.

#### Answer to objection 6.

There is no doubt that there are many ungrammatical forms in the *Kalpa-sūtras*, *Smṛtis*, etc. and that there are contradictions among the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, the *Vārtika* and the *Mahābhāṣya*. These contradictions, however, do not shake the authority of the *smṛtis*, inasmuch as, even the Vedas are not completely free from contradictory statements. The *Smṛtis* based upon contradictory passages in the Veda cannot but be contradictory. Under these circumstances, none of them can be said to be absolutely unauthoritative; both are therefore accepted as optional alternatives. These contradictions are however, found in the matters of detail only. All the *Vyākaraṇa Smṛtis* agree on the fundamental point namely that the use of correct words accomplishes *Dharma*.

As for the attacks on the Pāṇini-sūtras, it may be remarked that the authors of the *Vārtika* and the *Mahābhāṣya* explain away the apparent inconsistencies in the *sūtras*, and thus the authority of the *sūtras*, becomes doubly strong. As for additions and alterations proposed in the *Vārtika* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, they are based upon other grammatical treatises i.e. *Smṛtis*; and certainly an addition of more material does not challenge the authority of the original work.

#### Objection 7.

Patañjali enumerates five principal reasons why Grammar should be studied. They are thus stated :—

(i) Preservation of the Veda (*Rakṣā*), (ii) modification (*Ūha*) (iii) Nature of scripture (*Āgama*) (iv) Simplification (*Laghu*) and (v) removal of doubts (*Asaṁdeha*). All this is fallacious (i) The greatest means for the preservation of the *śruti*-texts is their direct *guruparamparā* descent, which has nothing to do with grammar. (ii) As for 'modification', we obtain the necessary information on this point from the Veda itself, quite independently of the Science of Grammar. *Kalpasūtras* and *Jaimini-Sūtras* too, help us in this connection, especially in the use of the names of the deities. Grammar, however, fails to render any help on this point. (iii) The term *Āgama* can be applied to nothing but the *śruti*-texts. Grammar therefore, cannot be said to have the nature of *śruti*. Again grammar has no claims to be included among the 'subsidiaries' of the Veda, as it serves no purpose with regard to the Veda. The six 'subsidiaries' mentioned in the Vedic Injunction viz. 'ब्राह्मणे निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयः' are, as matter of fact, the six means of interpretation of the Veda stated in the *Jaimini-Sūtra* III. 3. 14. They are

(a) 'Direct Assertion' (*Śruti*), (b) 'Indirect Implication' (*Liṅga*), (c) 'Syntactical connection' (*Vākya*), (d) Context (*Prakaraṇa*), (e) Position (*Sthāna*) and (f) Name (*Samākhyā*).

(iv) It is highly doubtful whether Grammar simplifies the process of distinguishing grammatical forms from ungrammatical ones. What the grammatical treatises do, is that they arrive at the forms of the words that are in vogue, after having gone through long processes such as most difficult root-forms and queer *ūṇādi-affixes*.

(v) As for the removal of doubts in *dharmaic* matters, the *Kalpasūtras* and the persons well-versed in the science of sacrifice serve the purpose. Grammar which deals with merely the noun and verb forms, does not in any way help us in ascertaining the exact significance of the Vedic texts.

Lastly, we find certain grammatical rules contradicting the *śruti* itself; and as such, they must be discarded as unauthoritative. To take an illustration, Pāṇini derives the word '*Kāleya*' and '*Vāmadevya*', by adding the '*dhak*' and '*dhyat*' affixes to the words '*kali*' and '*Vāmadeva*'. It contradicts the *texts* :—

'यदकालयत् तत्कालेयस्य कालेयत्वम्' and 'ततो वहु वामं समभवत् तस्माद् वामदेव्यम्' which derive the word '*Kāleya*' from the root '*Kal*,' meaning to '*remove*', and '*Vāmadeva*' from '*Vāma*', meaning '*plenty*'. In the case of those words also, where the meaning is determined by the *accent*, the meaning can be duly ascertained independently of Grammar, with the help of commentaries on the Veda and the *Kalpasūtras*.

All the above arguments go to prove that grammar serves no necessary purpose with regard to the Veda and hence it has no utility for a man accomplishing *Dharma*.

(Kumārila does not answer this objection separately. It is already answered under (3), where it has been stated that Grammar has its origin in the Veda of which it forms an important subsidiary (*aṅga*). When Grammar is admitted to be so, there can be no objections with regard to its uses as enumerated in the grammatical treatises).

# THE BENGAL EPISODE IN MARATHA HISTORY

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Bengal was *successively* invaded by the Marathas for more than a decade. These Bengal invasions stand to the exclusive credit of the Nagpur Bhonsales. The exploits of the Nagpur Bhonsales are for the most part unconnected with the main stream of Maratha history and hence stand side-tracked. For that reason scant notice has been taken of these invasions by the Maratha historians. The history of the Nāgpur Bhonsales is in itself very obscure, and their Bengal invasions form the most obscure though the most stirring part of it. In fact, it is next to impossible to write a connected account of these conquests if we are to depend on the Marathi material alone. Even correct dates of the various events happening in these invasions cannot be ascertained from the Marathi sources. Fortunately for modern historians it has become possible to fill in these deficiencies by facts gleaned from Persian, Bengali and European narratives. The dates also can be corrected by using the exact European sources. The work of gleaning these facts and dates, begun by Grant Duff the historian of the Marathas more than a century ago, has been well-nigh completed by the Bengal historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkār<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Kalikinkar Datta<sup>2</sup> now. But the work of correlating these foreign sources with the scanty but first class Marathi material, though assiduously attempted by these scholars, has been imperfectly carried out. In the following paper, while depending on the work of these scholars for the non-Marathi material (as they know it first-hand and more intimately), I shall try to correct it in the light of original Marathi material and present this Bengal episode in truer colours and in its correct historical perspective, which both these eminent scholars seem to have missed.

The loss of historical perspective is due to the misapprehension of the Theory of the Maratha State (most scholars probably doubt whether there was any such thing as "a Theory of the Maratha State") and of the revolutionary changes through which the Maratha constitution was passing with the rise of the Peśwas to power. The Maratha State was founded by Śivājī for the resuscitation of declining Hinduism.<sup>3</sup> But for this legitimate noble aim, there could be no moral justification of the Maratha inroads into Muslim-controlled territories. The idea was to weaken the Muslim States by financial exactions and thus to loosen their iron grip over their Hindu subjects, who were expected in their turn to rise against their Muslim rulers and

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<sup>1</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, 1932, Cha. III and IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Alivardi and His Times*, 1939, Cha. III and IV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ājñāpatra* (1926), p. 4.



free themselves after the Maratha example. If any Hindu potentate sided with the Muslim States, he was to be treated as an enemy. In this manner the whole of India was to be liberated from the Muslim rule. The idea of having a *Maratha* Empire over the whole of India was not a fundamental idea in the theory. But as people in all the provinces might not be able to rise up and make a stand against their rulers, the ideal was to be fostered and fulfilled by annexing that region to the Maratha Kingdom or by otherwise bringing it under Maratha control. Independence of all the Hindus was the ideal to be attained and not the mere spread of Maratha rule.

This seems to have been the ideal of Śivājī, as gathered from various documents, and that was the essential Theory of the Maratha State. This ideal was fostered and energetically pursued by the immediate successors of Śivājī, till they had sent to his grave "the Living Pīr" Ālamgir (Aurang-zib) who had the audacity to revive the *jaziya* after having been in abeyance for a hundred years. The ideal of the Islamic State to weaken the infidels by extra-taxation like the *jaziya* was flung back in the face of the rulers of those states in the form of the right to *chauth* and *sardeśmukhi*, demand for more than a third of the revenues of those states. The idea behind the *chauth* was to weaken the Muslim States so that in course of time they might fall and their Hindu subjects be liberated.

If this ideal and theory were to succeed, it was necessary that these things should be made known to all the Hindus all over India and their minds prepared to receive the new message, together with the new order in the political field. This role of the propagandist seems to have been played by the Rāmadāsi order both during and after Śivājī's lifetime. But this order seems to have died out by the time of Śāhu was sent back to create dissensions amongst the Marathas. No disciple worthy of the name of Rāmadās succeeded him ; and his order, founded for the express purpose of creating unity amongst the Marathas, was ironically broken up by quarrels amongst its members. With the return of Śāhu to the Deccan in 1707, the whole ideal of "not becoming servants of the Mughals"<sup>4</sup> under any circumstances, for which the followers of Śivājī had fought for forty years, was changed overnight. The coronation of Śivājī in 1674 had proclaimed the advent of a Hindu Kingdom dependent on no Muslim power ; Śāhu returned as a creature of the Mughal power. The small principality bestowed upon him as his *Swarājya* cannot by any stretch of imagination be called an independent Maratha Kingdom. At most it was an autonomous feudatory principality. Śivājī had created an independent Maratha State to serve as a nucleus round which other Hindu states would come into existence and grow. It was to serve as a rival political centre of rally for Hinduism. This ideal had completely disappeared by this time (1707). Not only had no new Hindu states come into existence, but the duty of protecting the declining Mughal power now devolved upon this feudatory Maratha State. The first

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<sup>4</sup> *Chīṭanis, Rājārām* (1915) p. 76.

direct result of this new dispensation was to destroy the unity of the Sovereign Maratha State. The followers of Śivājī were divided into two parties, one the legitimist which gathered around Śāhu, the other the idealist which remained true to Tārābāī. As the first one under Śāhu was backed by the Mughals, it triumphed and pushed the other into a corner of Mahārāṣṭra. Aurangzib had succeeded in gaining his end, if not in life, at least after death. The Marathas were turned into servants who guarded the Mughal Empire. The result is seen in the continuance of Mughal Raj in Mahārāṣṭra even to this day, in the Dominions of the Nizam.

The fissiparous tendency introduced by the return of Śāhu did not stop with the secession of Kolhāpur. It grew and prospered in the congenial Maratha surroundings, while its geographical configuration encouraged such tendencies. The character of the Maratha people with their isolationist bias, individualist philosophy and clannish temper was a fertile ground for the growth of this noxious weed. The wild growth of this weed destroyed the good-work of Śivājī and the Maratha people in the seventeenth century.

As Śāhu came with a Mughal charter, the stigma attaching to such a charter naturally died down. To get a charter from the Delhi Emperor was no longer an act of high treason or disloyalty. On the other hand, a man able to secure such a title-deed was legally on a par with the Chatrapati himself, whose position also depended on the Emperor's *farmān*! The result in the end was the new and fruitful idea of legalising one's position after first grabbing some land or usurping some right. This new device came to be used more and more in India by all and sundry, whether they were actual conquerors, robbers, grabbers and usurpers, or rascals, scoundrels and scamps.

For let it not be forgotten that what Śāhu, and after him the Peśwas and others, had secured by imperial charters was only the legalisation of what they had conquered or grabbed. The Emperor had himself become a puppet with nothing but the nominal ownership of various lands in the once extensive empire left to him, out of which he would graciously bestow some portions on somebody. In practice he was giving his consent to the robbery of his own possessions.

When the servants of the Empire found that outsiders like the Marathas could swallow provinces with impunity they themselves tried to follow the same line. The Subāhdārs of the various Mughal provinces began to assume local independence, while paying lip loyalty to the Delhi Emperor. The Central Government was not in a position to call these men to account. If there arose some trouble, these governors would bribe some influential party at the court and get the necessary *farmān* to legalise their position. The weak Emperor would himself participate in the spoils, as it was the only source of income now left to him. Thus, when Sarafarāz Khān, the lineal Subāhdār of Bengal was attacked, defeated and killed in battle by Alivardī Khān his deputy in Bihar, the Emperor coolly appointed the victor to succeed as the Subāhdār, after receiving the personal effects of the deceased

Subāhdār<sup>5</sup> ! But his authority was not acknowledged by Rustam Jang, the Nāib-subāhdār of Orissa and a brother-in-law to the deceased Sarafarāz Khān. He tried to invade Bengal but was defeated by Aivardī and had to flee to Masulipatam,<sup>6</sup> where he was welcomed and given an asylum by the great Nizām-ul-Mulk. Mirzā Bāqar Alī, the son-in-law of Rustam Jang, fitted out an expedition in the Nizam's Dominions to regain Orissa, probably with the help (and certainly with the blessings) of the Nizam.<sup>7</sup> For this expedition he also sought and obtained the help of the Maratha Chief, Raghuji Bhonsale. This event took place in May 1741.

With all this political welter in India it was very difficult to say who was the *de jure* ruler of a particular region and who was not, who was the aggressor in a war and who the victim. The *de jure* servants of the same monarch, whether Mughal or Maratha, or some one else, often took part on opposite sides during war. Though Alivardī Khān after successful aggression against his own master, had been appointed Subāhdār of Bengal by the Emperor, Nizām-ul-Mulk, the staunch defender of the Mughal cause in India, did not think it was disloyal to help his rival Rustam Jang. He even went a step further by instigating Raghuji Bhonsale, a chief in the Maratha Confederacy, who were the chief spoilers of the Mughal dominions, to invade Bengal and help him in the same cause ! Though the Emperor had allowed *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* rights to Śāhu, the Maratha monarch, in the whole of the Deccan under certain conditions, the Nizam challenged these rights in practice, as might be judged by his constant tussle with the Peśwa and other Maratha beneficiaries. And still Sir Jadunath Sarkār and Dr. K. K. Datta continue to write that "the Deccan proper was as good as ceded" to the Marathas<sup>8</sup> !

We should judge the Maratha invasions of Bengal in the light of this criticism. Had Alivardī been a real well-wisher and a loyal servant of the Mughal Empire, he would have acted otherwise than he did. A usurper himself, he cannot be looked upon as an innocent and aggrieved party when the Marathas entered Bengal in the company of Bāqar Alī, son-in-law to the dispossessed Rustam Jang, at the instigation of the great Nizam, than whom no better defender of the Mughal cause can be imagined. If we look at it from another point of view, Raghuji Bhonsale was in duty bound to carry out the behest of Nizām-ul-Mulk, being the servant of Śāhu who had pledged himself to serve the Viceroy<sup>9</sup> of the Deccan in return for the right of *chauth* conferred upon him by the Emperor. The discussion under this head is not imaginary. The Nizam seems to have had in mind the idea of taking charge of the revenues of the Bengal province himself, as is mentioned in a Marathi letter.<sup>10</sup> Instead, he chose the alternative of going to the south to set matters

<sup>5</sup> *Alivardī and His Times*, p. 40, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 73. <sup>7</sup> *Alivardī*, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 68, *Alivardī*, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> *Treaties, Agreements and Sanads* (1914), p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, No. 47.

right in the Madras Karnatak, dispatching Raghuji to the more dangerous Bengal. What the exact relations between Raghuji and the Nizam at this time were, and whether they had come to any understanding between themselves on this question of Bengal, it is not clear. But it looks as if the Nizam, fed up with the Delhi affairs after the departure of Nādir Shāh, had finally made up his mind that he must carve out an independent principality for himself in the Deccan, as he had lost all hope of any cure for the affairs at Delhi. The Marathas were the great stumbling block in his path. He had found to his cost that it was not possible to crush them. So his safety lay in setting one Maratha chief against another and trying to weld his dominions into a compact continuous whole. This he now set himself to do.

While returning from Delhi to Aurangabad the Nizam met the young new Peśwa Bālaji Bājirāv alias Nānāsāhib at Donde near Edalābād<sup>11</sup> in Khandesh at the beginning of 1741 and asked him to go North, without fear of the Maratha territories being attacked in his absence. Posing as a generous enemy who would not take unfair advantage of the absence of his rival, the cunning Nizam thus secured a double advantage. He diverted the flood-tide of the Maratha invasion away from his dominions to the north so as to create terror in the minds of his rivals belonging to the Irani Shia party at the court of Delhi. They were Amīr Khān who was the Subāhdār of Allahabad and his partisan Safdar Jang, the Subāhdār of Oudh. The Peśwa was to have in return the good offices of the Nizam and his brother Qamr-ud-dīn the Wazir at Delhi in securing the imperial *farmān*<sup>12</sup> for the Subāhdārship of Malwa, a province already occupied by the Marathas. It also seems that the Peśwa had given a free hand to the Nizam in the affairs of the Karnatak, so as to spite his rival Raghuji Bhonsale, who was just then carrying all before him in the region of Arcot. Raghuji conquered Trichonopoly on 26th March 1741 and made Chandā Sāhib prisoner. Just before this Alivardī Khān had defeated Rustam Jang at Phulwāri in Orissa on 3rd March 1741, who fled for his life in a ship to Masulipatam. The fugitive and the conqueror thus met in the south and entered into a pact. This was the immediate cause of the Maratha invasion of Bengal.

Most historians have taken the big incursion of 1742 as the first invasion of the Bengal *subāh* by the Marathas. They have done this because they (including Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the Maratha historian) have missed a clear but casual sentence in an important letter. Had they noted that sentence, they would have understood who the allies of Bāqar Alī in his expedition for the recovery of Orissa were. It seems that as Raghuji was returning to Satara after appointing Murarrav Ghorpade as the Killedār of Trichonopoly, he was met by some agent of the fugitive Rustam Jang, with possibly the recommendation of the Nizam, asking for military help. So Raghuji

<sup>11</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa's Diaries*, Vol. II. p. 239.

<sup>12</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa's Diaries*, Vol. 15, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> J. T. Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times*, (1882), p. 481.

detached<sup>13</sup> a part of his victorious army to proceed to Orissa in the company Bāqar Alī, along the sea-coast of the Northern Sarkars districts of the Nizam's dominions. As this region, deltaic and marshy, was unsuitable for cavalry movements and as the approaching rainy season was also a most unhealthy time for horses, most of the army sent was infantry,<sup>14</sup> as is noted by the Muslim historians. They went with Bāqar Alī, son-in-law of Rustam Jang, to Orissa and took it, making the governor Saulat Jang, son-in-law of Alivardī, a prisoner. This happened in August 1741. But the event brought Alivardī on the scene with an overwhelming force of twenty-thousand first class cavalry with a good park of artillery. The Maratha troops took to their heels at the very first shock and rushed back to Nagpur via the jungles of Sambalpur in December 1741. This act of theirs has been condemned by Raghuji in strong terms in a letter of 18th September 1742. He calls these run-aways "men who irresponsibly returned back without attending to their duty, as a result of which the whole project miscarried".<sup>15</sup> So this incursion of 1741 into Orissa was the first invasion of the Bengal *subāh* by the Marathas, and not the 1742 expedition, which was sent to retrieve lost honour.

Raghuji, after visiting<sup>16</sup> King Śāhu at Satara on 27th June 1741 and leaving Chandā Sāhib a prisoner there, returned back to Berar. Most of the Maratha troops under him had dispersed to their homes for the rainy season, as was their custom. The Nizam had defeated his son Nāsir Jang at the end of July 1741 and was thus free to meet Raghuji. The latter, however, was in no position to take any advantage of the Nizam's plight. He wanted rest after two successive years of campaigning. He remained watching the political horizon, though both the Peśwa and the Nizam were on bad terms with him. The troops sent by him to Orissa with Bāqar Alī had at first succeeded in conquering that province but afterwards they had fled as already noted above. To retrieve this disaster Raghuji sent his general Bhāskar Rām Kolhatkar to Bengal. He proceeded by way of Ratanpur, Udaipur, Jashpur, Barwā, Doisā and Rāmgarh to Pachet in the Mānbhūm district of Bengal and thus threatened to cut off the homeward march of Alivardī from Orissa to Murshidabad. The story of this second invasion of Bengal, based on Persian, English and Bengali sources, is fully told by Sir Jadunath Sarkār and Dr. Datta in their works and so we need not repeat it here. Only one correction is needed at the end of their account. Bhāskar and his army did not flee to the Deccan, but remained hiding in the jungles of Orissa and Chotā Nāgpur. Thence he asked for reinforcements<sup>17</sup> from Nagpur, in reply to which request Raghuji himself started the day after the Dasara (29th September 1742).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Alivardī*, p. 49; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 73.

<sup>15</sup> Rajawade, Vol. III, No. 222.

<sup>16</sup> Purandare Diary, Vol. VI, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> Rajawade, Vol. III, Nos. 208, 222, 220.

<sup>18</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, No. 27.

The political situation in India was at this time very confusing and at the same time very intriguing. The rivalry between Raghuji Bhonsale and the Peśwa, which had begun with Bājirāv, had continued with a vengeance in the regime of his successor Nānāsahib. It had been fanned by interested parties, the chief amongst whom was the Nizam. King Śāhu himself was using his two servants to keep a balance in the Maratha Kingdom. While as a king he fully understood and appreciated the worth of such a valiant servant as Bājirāv, he did not see eye to eye with him in policy. He loved some men irrespective of their merit and sided with others for reasons best known to himself alone. Fatehsingh Bhonsale was one of the loved ones and was treated almost as a son by the king. Raghuji he liked and so he shielded him whenever necessary. Raghuji's wife was a cousin of the younger and favourite queen of Śāhu, and there was a talk of Raghuji's son being adopted by Śāhu to succeed him.<sup>19</sup> Raghuji seems to have wanted Malwa<sup>20</sup> and the eastern portions of India all to himself, to be his exclusive preserve. The Peśwa had already forestalled him in Malwa and had also begun his eastward thrust by going to Deogaḍh. In this attempt Āvaji Kavde, a general of Bājirāv was defeated and looted by a general of Raghuji. Śāhu rejoiced<sup>21</sup> at this and the Peśwa thought it wise to leave the matter at that. Bājirāv was himself a daring soldier and felt an instinctive admiration for the same merit in others.<sup>22</sup> So just before his death Bājirāv and his diplomatic brother Chimāji had come to terms with Raghuji, who had also shown humility. After this Fatehsingh and following him Raghuji went to Arcot to settle matters in those regions and relieve the Maratha king of Tanjore. They succeeded in defeating the Nawab of Arcot and slaying him, thus creating a wholesome dread for Maratha armies. A result was that Safdarālī, the son of the deceased Nawab, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Raghuji. Raghuji took on himself the responsibility<sup>23</sup> of defeating Chandā Sāhib, the brother-in-law and rival of Safdarālī and with his help of conquering Trichonopoly, and thus of relieving the pressure on the Raja of Tanjore also. As the Nawab of Arcot was treated by the Nizam as his vassal, Raghuji undertook the responsibility of meeting the Nizam<sup>23</sup> also if need be. This arrangement increased the power of Raghuji and disturbed the *chauth-sar-deśmukhī* arrangement fixed by the Peśwa Bājirāv. While talks about this arrangement were going on at leisure with Venkāji Sivadev, the news arrived one after the other, of the deaths of Bājirāv and his brother Cimāji, both dreaded by Raghuji. On receiving this news, Safdarālī, who at first was unwilling to invite the enmity of the Peśwa, openly refused to hand over the annual tribute to the Peśwa's agent Venkāji Sivadev, who appears to be from his letters to have been an over-zealous servant of his master. If this diplo-

<sup>19</sup> *Nagpur Bakhar*, (1936) p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 13, No. 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 15, No. 77.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 82.

<sup>23</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 28, Nos. 9, 10.

mat is to be believed, Raghuji openly rejoiced<sup>24</sup> at the untimely deaths of the Peśwa and his brother. His dazzling success against the Nawab of Arcot had turned his head. "He thought even Indra, the King of the gods, lesser than himself".<sup>23</sup> So this agent suggests the new Peśwa, Nānāsāhib, who had just interviewed the Nizam while returning from Delhi, to instigate him against Raghuji. "If the Nizam comes with an army and intercepts Raghuji while he is cooped in this corner of the Karnatak, he cannot possibly escape alive. Such an opportunity to humble Raghuji will not occur again. Until he is once lowered down and sent into Pātāla (the nether world), he will not come to his senses."<sup>25</sup>

With partisan feelings running so high between the two most important generals of the Maratha Empire, it was difficult to hope for a smooth passage for the ship of the state. It is difficult to believe all that has been written about Raghuji. His putting forth of Bābuji Nāik as a rival candidate for the Peśwaship also seems to be a figment of some partisan brain. There is no evidence of original letters for such a supposition, though it has been mentioned by Grant Duff. If collateral evidence is taken into account, there was not left enough interval of time for Raghuji to come back from the Madras Karnatak to Satara and to carry on the dispute. The battle of Damalcherry took place on 20th May 1740 and Nānāsāhib received robes of Peśwaship at Satara on the 25th June, having arrived there on 7th June. We do not know where the river Sew Ganga (on the bank of which, Grant Duff says, Raghuji left his army) is, but it seems improbable that a general who has gained a decisive victory in a foreign land should have left that region so soon afterwards and not have followed up his victory by occupying that region. There is no mention or even suggestion in Venkaji Sivadev's letters that Raghuji had left the Madras region during the interval between Bājirāv's and Cimaji's deaths, the second of which took place seven months after the first. Altogether it seems that zealous partisans were intent on fanning the rivalry between the two and exaggerated out of all proportion the differences between them.

The cunning Nizam, having dispatched the young Peśwa to the north with sweet words, began to recover the forts and lands occupied by the Peśwa during his absence at Delhi for two years. While engaged in this work, Raghuji came back to Mahārāṣṭra after taking Trichonopoly on 26th March 1741. He had brought the Nizam's overlordship over the Madras Karnatak into jeopardy. So the wily old man, taking advantage of the rivalry, prevailed upon Raghuji to leave the already conquered Karnatak and set out upon the conquest of distant Bengal, with the old man's blessings. Raghuji had already sent troops to help Bāqar Ali and was watching the result as we have already noticed above. He then sent Bhāskar Rām to Bengal at the end of the year, whose work has also been noticed. Raghuji

<sup>24</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 28, No. 11.

<sup>25</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, No. 21.

seems to have received orders of King Śāhu to proceed to Bengal ere this, but for what purpose we have no means to decide.

The Berar and Gondwana having been allotted to the Bhonsale family, it was natural that they should try to spread further eastwards, there being no other Maratha Sardar in that direction. It is not known when exactly Bengal and the eastern *subhāhs* were first allotted by King Śāhu to Raghuji Bhonsale. But certain it is that in 1739 the generals under Bājirāv were intent on blocking<sup>26</sup> the path of Raghuji's generals to Patna in Bihar and there is also a casual mention in 1740 of the *subāh* of Patna being conferred<sup>27</sup> by King Śāhu on the Peśwa. All the regions to the north of the river Narmada<sup>28</sup> were supposed to be the Peśwa's exclusive preserve and there lay the trouble. The *subāh* of Allahabad coming under this category could certainly be included amongst the Peśwa's preserves. But what about the regions further eastwards, for approaching which the river Narmada need not be crossed? Śāhu, it seems, gave a blank cheque for all the further eastern provinces to Raghuji without trying to define their exact extent. The Bengal province included three different *subahs* of the Mughal Empire, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa. Diplomatically the Peśwa was thinking of having his control over the whole north,<sup>28</sup> containing the sixteen Mughal *subhās*. He had established independent political relations with the Delhi court, thus flouting Śāhu's opinions and wishes. Śāhu somehow tried to keep his position and dignity as the King amongst his overbearing and disobedient ministers and generals. He had, however, to give his consent, as graciously as he could manage it, to accomplished facts. Seeing that the Peśwā had spread his armies over regions extending from Delhi to Allahabad and to the south upto Khāndesh, Śāhu pronounced that region to be the Peśwa's sphere. Raghuji was advancing eastwards, so that region became *his* preserve. Śāhu was not so sure or liberal of regions in the Deccan, because there the great Nizam acted as a check.

The diplomatic and constitutional tangle in this Bengal episode arose out of such anomalies. Śāhu had one meaning for the term "Bengal" when he allotted that sphere to the Bhonsales; the Peśwa tried to equivocate so as to fit it in with his own ambitions. Hinganes, who were acting as the *vakils* of the Peśwa at the Delhi court, seem to be responsible for some trouble. The Peśwā was taking upon himself responsibilities of guarding the Mughal dominions in the north, which had neither the previous sanction nor the subsequent approval of King Śāhu. Constitutionally the Peśwa was acting in two quite separate capacities. He was the minister of King Śāhu on the one hand and he was also a guardian of the Mughal Empire on his own account. The two duties were not mutually antagonistic either, for Śāhu also had taken upon himself the duty of guarding the Mughal dominions in the Deccan for *chauth* and *sardeśmukhi*.

<sup>26</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 30, No. 231.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.



Raghuji was not the first person who began the eastward march of the Marathas. His ancestor Parsoji had begun it in the beginning of the 18th century and his son and successor Kānhoji seems to have raided the jungle states of Gondwana, Chattisgaḥ and even Orissa.<sup>29</sup> Raghuji himself might have taken some part in Kānhoji's raids. His eastward career began probably in 1737 and that at the invitation of some of the forest<sup>30</sup> chiefs who were not quite satisfied under the rule of the Muslim *subāhdārs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. These chiefs, being at a distance from the highroads and living in inaccessible hills and jungle tracts, had lived in semi-independence throughout the Muslim period. Some of them were of ancient lineage and were the natural leaders of the jungle tribes, being racially their kith and kin. The chiefs of Choṭā Nāgpur or Rāmgarh were the titular heads of the hierarchy in that mid-region. Raghuji's chief general Bhāskar Rām had gone to the Bastar<sup>26</sup> state in 1739 and had the intention of proceeding to Patna, in what connection we have no means of ascertaining. But it is not unlikely that the new Subāhdār of Bengal who had come to the *masnad* in March 1739, might have sought his help against Alivardī Khān, his deputy in Bihar, who was at this time furiously preparing to attack his master, taking advantage of Nādir Shāh's capture of Delhi and the consequent inability of the Central Government to call these men to account.

To sum up the whole discussion, Raghuji was not at first antagonistic to the Peśwa Bājirāv ; at least not in 1737, when he was going to assist<sup>31</sup> the Peśwa at the siege of Bhopal against the Nizam and had already defeated Shujā'at Khān the Subāhdār of Elichpur (Berar) in that connection. Later on when early in 1739 a general of Raghuji defeated and looted a general of the Peśwa, Bājirāv did not appear to have been exasperated against Raghuji, but was rather ready to treat<sup>32</sup> with him on the subject. This shows that Raghuji's side was correct in that quarrel, a thing also proved by king Sāhu's rejoicing<sup>32</sup> at the event. In the war against Nāsir Jang, the acting viceroy of the Deccan in his father's absence at Delhi, Raghuji seems to have sided with the Peśwa and his brother Cīmāji, defeated<sup>33</sup> a number of the Nizam's generals and looted their territories. Just before Bājirāv's death, Raghuji went to the Madras Karnatak in the company of Fatehsingh Bhonsale, without any fear of the Peśwa's forces stationed near his dominions, which shows that at that time there was no enmity<sup>34</sup> between them. After Bājirāv's sudden demise, although Grant Duff says that Raghuji had hurried back from the Karnatak and tried his utmost to give the Peśwaship to Bābuji Nāik, there is no particular evidence for such an assertion, nor can any circumstantial evidence be cited in its support. It is certain, however, that smaller underlings of both the parties were trying to fan the embers of rivalry and later on succeeded in their attempts. The young new Peśwa Bālājirāv,

<sup>29</sup> Y. M. Kale, *History of the Nagpur Province*, (1934), p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 15, No. 82.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 77.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 85.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 84.

who was more cunning than brave and more selfish than patriotic, sided<sup>35</sup> with the Nizam and allowed him a free hand in the Karnatak, which made all Raghujī's achievements in the south futile, and ultimately changed the history of the south, bringing the English, the French and Haider Ali on the scene, to the complete detriment of Maratha interests. Not stopping with this, he directly took up cudgels on behalf of the semi-independent Mughal Subāhdār of Bengal in order to please the Delhi Court and thus frustrated the enterprise of Raghujī, an event which ultimately changed the history of India. We have now to narrate the events leading to this unhappy event.

We have seen above that the Marathas entered the Bengal *subāh* at the invitation of local parties and potentates who sought their help. Raghujī after his return from the south sent his general Bhāskar Rām to Bengal at the end of 1741. He reached Bengal in April 1742 by way of Choṛā Nāgpur and at first carried all before him. The Maratha army spread over the whole of west Bengal and looted it. But at the end of the monsoon, Alivardī Khān got the upper hand and drove them back into the jungles. Bhāskar did not return to the Deccan as assumed by Sir Jadunath,<sup>36</sup> but from his hiding camp asked for reinforcements from Raghujī.<sup>37</sup> In the meanwhile Raghujī seems to have entered into a pact on 9th July 1742 with Rustam Jang and his son-in-law Bāqar Alī, through Mīr Habīb.<sup>38</sup> The parties to the pact were to proceed to Bengal together and act in full concert in the conquest of that *subāh*. In the regions conquered, Raghujī was (1) to station his collectors for the collection of *chauth* and *sardeśmukhi* ( $25 + 10 = 35\%$ ) out of the revenues, (2) to have two *mahāls* (revenue districts) as full Zamindar thereof, (3) to have a *jāgīr* of 25 lakhs revenue, for guarding the *Subāhdār* against Imperial attack.

In the rainy season of 1742, Raghujī was camping at Undari<sup>39</sup> in south-west Berar. His intention as reported<sup>40</sup> was to proceed to Karnatak if the Nizam assumed the revenue administration of Bengal, but otherwise to proceed to Bengal, which meant that he had an understanding with the Nizam on that matter. The Peśwa was at the time camping in Malwa and conquering those territories. There does not seem to be any rivalry between the two regards the matter of Bengal at this time.<sup>41</sup> But Mahādji Govind Hingane, the Peśwa's priest at Nāsik who had now become his *vakīl* at the Delhi Court,

<sup>35</sup> *Kāvyetiḥāsā-sangraha, Patren, Yādi Vagaire*, (1930), No. 38.

<sup>36</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> Rajawade, Vol. III, No. 208, 222, 220.

<sup>38</sup> *Treaties, Agreements and Sanads* (1914), p. 221.

Note.—The Arabic year quoted in the pact seems to have been wrongly read or copied. The word *salāsa* (three) seems to have been misread *samāna* (eight), giving rise to a difference of five years, a period inadmissible on historical grounds.

<sup>39</sup> Undari is situated 20°-28' N. and 76°-28' E. to the south-east of Buldhānā and to the south-west of Khāmagāv.

<sup>40</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, No. 41.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 27.

was hatching some plot over the Bengal<sup>42</sup> affairs. The poverty-stricken Delhi Court was expecting the annual tribute from Bengal, but Alivardī had pleaded his inability to send it because of the Maratha ravages. Hingane who was negotiating at this time for the Subāhdārship of Malwa in the name of the Peśwa, was asked by the Delhi Court first to prove his loyalty<sup>42</sup> to the Empire by proceeding to Bengal and helping Alivardī to ward off the attack of the Bhonsales. Raghuji had proceeded to Bengal via Jabalpur, Mirzāpur and Gayā.<sup>43</sup> He had with him only a fragment of his army, when he started at the end of September 1742.<sup>43</sup> Monetary difficulties had retarded the recruitment of soldiers to fill in his army. On the other hand, the Peśwa had an army 75,000 strong,<sup>44</sup> made up of the picked cavalry trained and tried under Bājirāv. The young Peśwa's advisers and followers at this time were men who had owed nothing to king Śāhu, but were the Peśwa's *personal* retainers. They had no love for the House of Satara and had no feeling of solidarity with the traditional ideals of Śivāji. The result was that in order to get money they were quite ready to back up the weakling Emperor at Delhi and a usurping Subāhdār against Raghuji, a Maratha general authorised by king Śāhu. This was really a circuitous way of counteracting Śāhu's orders and as such amounted to high treason. But Peśwa Bājirāv had acted similarly before and the son was following in the footsteps of his father, knowing well that the King was too weak as well as too mild to punish his disobedient servants. Pilāji Jādhav,<sup>45</sup> Malhārāji Holkar,<sup>46</sup> Rānoji Śinde,<sup>47</sup> Mahādobā Purandare,<sup>48</sup> were all creatures of the Peśwa and as such were not likely to care much for Śāhu's opinion. The Emperor had at first ordered Safdar Jang,<sup>49</sup> the Subāhdār of Oudh, to proceed to Bengal to help Alivardī, but Alivardī feared his own displacement by accepting help from such a quarter. He begged the Court to recall him, and Safdar Jang had to return from Patna in January 1743, after having waited there for two months. The Turānī party of the Wazir and the Nizam, who had feared the rise of the Shias in the elevation of Safdar Jang, had contrived this recall. Instead they arranged for the Peśwa's help<sup>50</sup> and so the Peśwa started from Jātwāda in the middle of January. His rapid march with 75,000 cavalry seems to have created terror in the mind of Safdar Jang and he probably beat a hurried retreat to save complications in his own province, which included the holy city of Benares, on which the Marathas had set their heart.

<sup>42</sup> *Aitihāsika Patravayahara* (1933), No. 79; Rajawade, Vol. VI, Nos. 144, 145, 146, 170; *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 15, pp. 80, 88-89.

<sup>43</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, No. 27; Rajawade, Vol. III, Nos. 208, 222, 220.

<sup>44</sup> *Purandare Daftar*, Part I, No. 150.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 152.

<sup>46</sup> *Sindesahi Itihasacin Sadhanen*, Part II, No. 32.

<sup>47</sup> *Sindesahi Itihasacin Sadhanen*, Part I, No. 8.

<sup>48</sup> *Purandare Daftar*, Part I, No. 150.

<sup>49</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 15, pp. 88-89.

After performing pilgrims' rites at Allahabad (Prayāg<sup>51</sup>) and Benares,<sup>52</sup> the Peśwa arrived at Gayā on the 24th of February<sup>53</sup> and stayed there for more than a week for further rites. Raghujī Bhonsale was at the time encamping some hundred miles further on. Leaving his army, Raghujī came to Gayā all by himself to see the Peśwa and to know his intentions. But nothing came out of the meeting and Raghujī left Gayā four days later.<sup>54</sup> From this visit it is clear that Raghujī bore no enmity to the Peśwa and was ready to settle the Maratha policy jointly and amicably, short of leaving the Bengal *subāh*, where his army gained a footing after terrible sacrifices. But the Peśwa and his advisers were in no mood to allow anything to Raghujī, but were determined to get all advantages for themselves, and they cared nothing for the Maratha name and interests. They proceeded further, committing all sorts of atrocities<sup>55</sup> on the way in a land which they had ostensibly come to protect. Raghujī's armies were also doing the same, but at least he had openly arrived as an invader. The Peśwa met Alivardī in the vicinity of Plassey,<sup>56</sup> where ironically enough Nemesis was to decide the destiny of the house of the Peśwas some years later, though none understood the significance of the event at that time. The Peśwa squeezed as much money<sup>57</sup> as he could from Alivardī as also a promise of *chauth* for the *subāh* to King Śāhu in future. The Peśwa then left Alivardī behind, by rapid marches closed upon Raghujī and put him to flight. Raghujī had not quite sufficient force to meet the Peśwa's overwhelming force of tried veterans.

Though defeated, Raghujī did not run back pell-mell<sup>58</sup> to Nāgpur as is suggested by most historians. He had left his best general Bhāskar Rām behind to follow the Peśwa guardedly at a distance. Bhāskar Rām returned to Nāgpur not by way of Orissa as said by Dr. Datta, but through Choṭā Nāgpur, Bihar and Bāghelkhand along the Chapara-Seoni road.<sup>58</sup> The Peśwa's return route, though difficult to identify from the list of the camping villages given in Peśwa's diary, lay not south of the Damodar river through Mānbhūm and Ranchi districts, but north of that river through Hazārībāgh and Palmau into the Shāhābād district north of the Son. The Peśwa at first pursued Raghujī through Bīrbhūm, Bardwan, Bānkūrā and Mānbhūm, till he entered Hazārībāgh in the vicinity of the sacred Pārswanāth Hill. The Paragana Vishnupur<sup>59</sup> in the diary is situated on the Barakar river and the

<sup>51</sup> *Purandare Daftar*, Part I, No. 150.

<sup>52</sup> *Peśwa's Diaries*, No. II, p. 242.

<sup>53</sup> *Peśwa's Diaries*, *Loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> *Purandare Daftar*, Part I, No. 152.

<sup>55</sup> Rajawade, Vol. VI, No. 170, p. 275.

<sup>56</sup> *Alivardī*, p. 86, (on English authority).

<sup>57</sup> *Āitihasika Patravayavahara*, No. 79.

<sup>58</sup> Rajawade, Vol. III, No. 217.

<sup>59</sup> Visnupur in the Peśwa's Diary should be the Sanskritized form of Bisanapur, situated at 24°-13' N. and 86°-1' E. north of the Barakar river; some twenty miles to the north-east of Pārswanāth Hill.

village Govindpur<sup>60</sup> named after that lies between Pārswanāth and Hazārī-bāgh, nearer to the latter town.

After his return to Nāgpur, Raghuji sent a report of the whole affair to Śāhu who called him to the Court. But he was waiting for Bhāskar Rām to return. The Peśwa entered Bundelkhand at the beginning of June and reached Poona at the end of July. Bhāskar returned back to Nāgpur by the middle of July and Raghuji soon after proceeded to Satara. The Peśwa also followed him there to meet the charges of Raghuji. To judge from the result, the Peśwa seems to have received good castigation at the hands of Śāhu and was forced to come down from his high-pitched ambitions. Śāhu gave his decision in favour of Raghuji on 31st August 1743. The Mughal *subāhs* of Oudh, Bengal, Orissa and Bihar except for certain districts of twelve lakhs revenue to the east of Patna, were allotted to Raghuji as his sphere and the Peśwa was forbidden to enter those regions.<sup>61</sup>

The Peśwa must have chafed under this decision, but he had to bow before it for the present and conform to the general tenor of the decision as long as Śāhu lived. He had to bow before the storm because Śāhu at this time (August 1743) had himself felt mortified at the old Nizam's descent into the Madras Karnatak<sup>62</sup> and his capture of Trichnopoly<sup>63</sup> from Murarrav Ghorpade. Śāhu had rightly felt that this result was due to the Peśwa's behaviour. He had made common cause with the Nizam to the detriment of Raghuji's interests which coincided with the general interests of the Maratha Empire. Śāhu had sent Raghuji and Fatehsingh Bhonsale to Trichonopoly primarily for saving his kinsman the Rajah of Tanjore from the clutches of Chandā Sāhib and incidently to relieve the pressure on the other Hindu potentates in the south. These regions had either been conquered by Śivāji, Sambhāji and Rājārām or had been made to pay tribute. So Śāhu thought of these as a part of Śivāji's Swarājya and regarded the full sovereignty over them as belonging to himself. The Nizam on the other hand treated them as forming part of the Deccan *subāhs* over which he was the viceroy. When the Nizam, taking advantage of the absence of the main Maratha army in the South, descended into the Karnatak, all the smaller potentates acknowledged him as a suzerain and even Murarrav Ghorpade, who had been left in charge of Trichonopoly in 1741, thought it wise to surrender it than to cross swords with the Nizam. Murarrav was given the *jāgīr* of Gutti, which still remains in his family. It should also be noted that Nizam's chief supporters in this campaign were his two Maratha Sardārs Cāndrasen Jādhav—the late hereditary commander-in-chief of the Marathas, and Jānoji Nimbalkar,<sup>64</sup> a particular friend of the Peśwa Bālājirāv, whose *jāgīr* had been

<sup>60</sup> Govindpur—both Kalān and Khurd, showing that the village is old—23°-57' N. and 85°-42' E., some thirty-five miles to the east of Hazārībāgh and forty miles north-east of Rāmgaḍh.

<sup>61</sup> *Ālīhāsika Patravayavahār*, Nos. 35, 36.

<sup>62</sup> *Madras in the Olden Times*, p. 625.

<sup>64</sup> *Madras in the Olden Times*, p. 616.

<sup>63</sup> *Śāhu Diary*, No. 73,

looted<sup>65</sup> by Raghuji while going to the south in 1740. The Nizam had gained by diplomacy and a mere show of power in four directions. He had had Safdar Jang recalled from Bihar and so lessened the power of the Shia party. He had regained Karnatak for which Raghuji had laboured for two years. He had turned the floodtide of Maratha armies away from his dominions to fight each other and weaken themselves in far off Bengal, at the same time weakening Alivardi who had been raised to the Subāhdārship of Bengal by the Shia party at the Court of Delhi. All this was the result of the selfishness, spite and short-sightedness of the Peśwa.

After this constitutional victory at the Maratha Court, Raghuji sent his general Bhāskar Rām to Bengal at the end of the year 1743, with an overwhelming force. They ravaged West Bengal and occupied it. Alivardi used strategem to counteract this invasion. He opened negotiations, called Bhāskar and his generals to an interview and treacherously massacred them all (March 1744), which led to the dispersal of the Maratha army which returned to Nāgpur. Sir Jadunath attributes this act as a reply to the 'Punic bad faith' of the Maratha race.<sup>66</sup> Had Alivardi practised this stratagem against the Peśwa, who had promised Alivardi without any authority to do so it could have been looked upon in a different light. But it is difficult to justify the act as practised against Bhāskar, who had promised nothing to Alivardi and was acting as an invader pure and simple. The logic of cheating somebody because someone else has cheated you we are unable to understand. Least of all can such an argument be brought forth in favour of Alivardi, who had elavated himself at the cost of his master.

The murder of Bhāskar his best and most daring general and twenty other army chiefs along with other members of the army must have stunned Raghuji when the news of it arrived at Nāgpur. His Bengal adventure had proved unlucky and had cost him a lot during the three years it had lasted. He was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Peśwa on the other hand was not whole-heartedly acquiescing in Śāhu's decision. He was planning how best to circumvent that award with safety. While trying to take lawful possession of all that was allowed under the award, he did not fail to instruct his military governors to push forth as much as they could beyond the sanctioned regions. Thus though Śāhu had specifically forbidden the Peśwa to send troops beyond the districts allowed him in Bihar, still the Peśwa instructed Sawantravs<sup>67</sup> to proceed to those regions with troops and do their best to occupy the lands beyond the Ganges which had been clearly allotted to Raghuji. Not only that, but he was found to be sending his *vakils* to Alivardi and intriguing against Raghuji all along. He also found excuses for acting in this manner. Alivardi's associates, the Afghan generals Mustafā Khān and others, had become dissatisfied with him because he had not allowed them their expected and promised share of power and wealth. Mustafā had prac-

<sup>65</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 15, No. 85.

<sup>66</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 103.

<sup>67</sup> *Peśwa's Diaries*, III, No. 10.

tised treachery on Bhāskar for which he was to get from Alivardī the Nāib-subādārship of Bihar. But after unexpected success in the undertaking, Alivardī refused to make good the promise, with the result that Mustafā resigned his service and rebelled.<sup>68</sup> He naturally invited the help of Raghuji, who as naturally jumped at the invitation. The Peśwa here found an opportunity to help Alivardī, ostensibly against the Afghan rebels but really against Raghuji.<sup>69</sup>

In the 1745 campaign Raghuji himself started with twenty thousand horse, twenty-five thousand infantry and a park of artillery consisting of three hundred guns.<sup>70</sup> He besieged Katak and took it in three months. Durlabharām, the Nāib-subāhdār for Orissa, was made prisoner. While talks of releasing him for a ransom of seven lakhs were going on, the ferocious behaviour of the Marathas in cutting off the noses<sup>71</sup> of two hundred prisoners stopped the negotiations. Durlabharām was sent back to Nāgpur where he lived as a prisoner for two years. Raghuji left Mīr Habīb in charge of Orissa with a thousand horse and two thousand troops to guard the fort of Barabati at Katak, and proceeded to Bardwan, where he secured seven lakhs revenue from the treasury. By this time Mustafā Khān had been killed in Bihar and Alivardī was back to guard Bengal. So Raghuji encamped in the Rāmgarh jungle for the rainy season for about a month and then proceeded to Gayā in September. He looted the surrounding area for two months. While Raghuji was haggling for tribute from the chief of Bhojpur, Alivardī came upon him. Turning back Raghuji surrounded Alivardī with his ten thousand horse and an Afghan army of four thousand under Mustafā's son. Alivardī was hard pressed but he managed to escape to Patna.<sup>72</sup> Raghuji left him there and ran back with a picked army to loot Murshidabad, Alivardī's capital in Bengal. He was able to loot only the outskirts, for Alivardī had rushed back to save his capital. So Raghuji fell back upon Bardwan, whence he was driven off by the army under Afghan sardars sent by Alivardī. While returning to Nāgpur after leaving Mīr Habīb to harass Alivardī, Raghuji was himself robbed in the same narrow pass in which he had formerly looted others.<sup>73</sup> So he returned to Nāgpur empty-handed without even funds for paying his army. He was so hard pressed by the creditors who had financed this campaign that he had to set out to squeeze the money in the surrounding area.<sup>74</sup> This happened in the monsoon of 1746. Raghuji had completely failed in his attempts and he began to think that without the Peśwa's help<sup>75</sup> it was impossible for him to cope singly with the Bengal problem.

In the rainy season of 1746, the Peśwa was in Satara engrossed in the domestic politics of Śāhu's Court. His chief assistants Jayāpā Sinde and

<sup>68</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>69</sup> *Aitihāsika Patravayavahar*, Nos. 79, 98, 60.

<sup>70</sup> *The Marathi Magazine Citramaya Jagat*, Vol. I, No. 5 (May 1910), p. 70.

<sup>71</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 27, No. 11.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 11.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 10.

<sup>75</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, Nos. 35, 37, 38.

Malhārrav Holkar with the clever Diwān Rāmachandra Bābā, were engaged against the Bundelas whom they defeated and put to flight. The Bundelas sent their envoy Suratsingh<sup>76</sup> to Raghuji to help them in their need. Raghuji refused to be thus drawn into a quarrel with the Peśwa. But the Peśwa who had promised help to Alivardī as an agent of the Delhi Court over the head of King Śāhu, sent his ambassadors<sup>77</sup> to the court at Murshidabad. The Emperor Muhammad Shāh<sup>78</sup> had sent letters to Alivardī to send the *chauth* for Bengal and Bihar to Delhi where it might be handed over to the Maratha *vakil* of the Peśwa. So when Raghunāth Jayrām opened talks of the *chauth* for Bihar only for the Peśwa, Alivardī, who was very shrewd, tried to mix up the issue of the *chauth* for Bihar and for Bengal with the Emperor's orders in such a manner that ultimately he did not send anything to anybody.<sup>79</sup>

Sir Jadunath has rightly translated the diplomatic passages from the letters of Raghunāth Jayrām and Hingane, but he seems to be unaware of a third ambassador, more important than these two, having been sent to Alivardī. This was Amritrav Śankar Citnis alias Dinkarrav,<sup>80</sup> who was an

<sup>76</sup> *Selections from Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, Nos. 37, 40.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 29, 49 ; Vol. 45, pp. 84-85.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Nos. 4, 10.

<sup>79</sup> While discussing these talks, Sir Jadunath has wrongly translated a sentence, exactly reversing the meaning. Where his translation is 'Patna is mine (Alivardī's), Bengal too is mine', the correct sense as well as the translation should be 'Patna is theirs (Peśwa's), Bengal is theirs' (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 128).

<sup>80</sup> Amritarāv's name occurs in original letters from 1739, when he congratulates Cimāji Apa, Bājirāv's brother, as a most intimate servant, on his conquest of Wasai (Bassein) from the Portuguese (*P. D.*, 16, No. 178) to his death in a rash assault on Tirupattur in North Arcot District (*P. D.*, 28, No. 217) in 1758. Peśwa Nānāsāhib expresses deep sorrow at the death of this devoted, brave and intimate servant of the State. Says he, "No man of the type of Amritarāv can be found. He served this Kingdom for a long time taking great pains in all he did and showing great dash in his work. The state is bound to support his only grand-son, Haibatrav, in consideration of his important services." Amritrav's only son Śankararāv had also died in battle on 28th January 1752, when the Nizam had invaded Poona District (*Purandare*, I, No. 372, p. 280). Amritarāv seems to have been proficient in Persian and hence was sent on inter-provincial diplomacy at the various Courts in India, great and small. Being in the personal service of the Peśwa, he was approached by various parties for putting in a good word on their behalf in their dealing with the Peśwa (e.g., *P. D.*, 21, No. 1 where Nāro Śankar requests him to do some favour). He seems to have accompanied the Peśwa to Bengal in 1743 (*vide* Sir Jadunath's translations of the *akhbārāt*s in the December 1931 issue of the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, p. 350, where he is styled son of the Peśwa's Diwan as well as his agent). In 1745-6 he is found arranging a treaty with Khema Sāwant of Sāwantwādi (*P. D.*, 24, No. 43). In August 1746 he was appointed to the Court of Alivardī Khān in Bengal and he started from the Deccan on 31-10-1746 (*P. D.*, 45, pp. 84-85). While proceeding to Bengal, he was to see the various officials and potentates along the way there, at Allahabad, Benares, Bhojapur, Patna. Besides he was to meet the Peśwa's generals Holkar and Sinde in Bundelkhand and settle their differences while discussing with them the various confidential matters of State to decide on the future policy thereof. He reached the



intimate of the Peśwa Bālāji and was usually sent on delicate missions requiring confidence and tact. The Peśwa's position regarding the Bengal affairs was very delicate. King Śāhu had committed himself by allotting Bengal to Raghuji. But it had become plain now that Alivardī was more than a match for Raghuji, who was consequently unable to collect and send any monies to Śāhu. The financial stringency at the Satara Court and the consequent squabbles had well-nigh driven King Śāhu mad.<sup>81</sup> The Peśwa was equally helpless and hence sat tight, fed up with these home affairs. In this quandary Śāhu seems to have allowed the Peśwa some latitude or free hand in dealing with the problem of the Bengal dues, if he could anyhow procure monies for redeeming the Court debts. But here the Peśwa had to deal with an astute man like Alivardī. Alivardī had been disappointed in the past by the Peśwa's behaviour and promises which he was unable to fulfil. The Delhi Court was equally suspicious. Alivardī would not consent to anything now unless Raghuji's annual<sup>82</sup> visits were finally stopped once and for all. The Peśwa had ordered a diplomatic move of the armies of Sind and Holkar to Gayā<sup>83</sup> in Bihar with a view to prevent Raghuji from sending troops to Bengal again. This he was able to do because these two generals were already campaigning in nearby Bundelkhand. But in the previous year, the Peśwa had failed<sup>84</sup> to send any succour to Alivardī in his fight against Mustafā Khān or Raghuji. His keeping back from the Bengal affairs for four years

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Maratha Camp on 4th January 1747, successfully induced Malhārrāv and Rāmachandra Bābā to settle their differences about the policy to be followed in Rājaputānā (*P. D.*, 2, No. 28), and then proceeded to Murshidabad. There he found that Alivardī was doubting the word of the Peśwa to protect him against Raghuji. He then seems to have returned from Bengal and was on his way to Poona when he was stopped at Sironj in Malwa by the Peśwa's postman with orders to return to Bengal and settle its tribute at fifteen lacs (*P. D.*, 27, No. 16 dated 7-4-1747). He seems to have continued as Peśwa's *vakil* at Murshidabad till after Śāhu's death, whence he is found congratulating the Peśwa on his successful coup at Satara and taking over the reins of the Maratha Empire in his hands (*Itihāsa Sangraha, Aitihāsika Tīpanī*, Part I, No. 42 dated 8-5-1750, from Murshidabad). From 1753 when the Peśwa began to invade the south, Amritrāv is found working in those regions with the Peśwa, Sadāsivrāv Bhāu and Balantrāv Mehendale. He tried his best to bring Murarrāv Ghorpade into a line with the Peśwa after the Savnūr Campaign of 1756. Hundreds of such distinguished and devoted servants of the state lie unnamed in history, though their work in the background was no less important than the work done in the lime-light by others. "A Dictionary of National Biography" on the British model is a first necessity of Maratha History. References to Amritrāv Sankar's activities are found in *Purandare Daftar*, Part I, pp. 62, 79, 210, 270, 280; *Kāvyetihāsa-Sangraha, Patren-yādi Vagere* (1930), Nos. 57, 64; *Aitihāsika Patravvyavahar* (1933), Nos. 42, 51, 60; *Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 28, Nos. 5, 119, 158, 171-176, 186, 199, 217, 234, 247, 249 and other places.

<sup>81</sup> *Kāvyetihāsa Sangraha, Patren, Yādi Vagere*, Nos. 54, 55, 59; *Aitihāsika Patravvyavahar*, Nos. 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 53, 59, 61, 65 and 76.

<sup>82</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 2, Nos. 4, 10.

<sup>83</sup> *Kāvyetihāsa Sangraha, Patren, Yādi Vagere*, No. 64.

<sup>84</sup> *Aitihāsika Patravvyahār*, No. 60.

from 1743-46, had made his word valueless in the eyes of all concerned. Taking advantage of the plight of Raghuji and Alivardi, the Peśwa wanted to revive faith in his promises made during the last four years. With this end in view, he wrote two or three dispatches to Rāmachandra Bābā to proceed to Patna. This would, he argued, bring him several advantages. (1) It would revive faith in his word; (2) put a stop to the talk of the people that Peśwa dare not, under Śāhu's decree, send his troops to Patna; (3) Raghuji's position would become untenable by lowering him in the eyes of his partisans; (4) the Peśwa's prestige both in the internal politics of the Maratha Empire and the external politics of the Indian continent would go up; (5) it would give occasion to demand monies from the Emperor; (6) it would give the credit for the Bengal treaty to the Peśwa, taking it away from the list of Raghuji's achievements.<sup>85</sup> But though this point of proceeding to Patna was discussed during two years 1746-47, the armies of Sinde or Holkar never went up to that city. Jayāpā Sinde wrote at the end of April 1747 that he was returning to Malwa instead of proceeding to Bengal as no army had turned up on that side,<sup>86</sup> meaning that as Raghuji's army had not entered Bengal, no occasion had arisen for them to go to Alivardi's aid, as promised by the Peśwa. It is clear from this that no troops from Nāgpur had entered Bengal or possibly even Orissa under Jānoji up to April 1747 and hence Alivardi's campaigns<sup>87</sup> against him in March 1747, described on the authority of *Siyar-ul-Mutakakhhirin* and other Persian chronicles by Sarkār and Datta, seem imaginary. Jānoji must have come some time later.

It seems that Peśwa's generals had not proceeded to Bengal or plunged into its affairs because the Peśwa's position at the Satara Court had become precarious. It was at this time that Śāhu had suspended<sup>88</sup> the Peśwa from his high office for a few months; neither were his affairs in the Deccan running smoothly. He had sent his cousin Sadāshivarāv Bḥāu to that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted by Śāhu to his cousin Sambhāji of Kolhapur as his sphere of influence.<sup>89</sup> The Nizam had sent his son Nāsir Jang and Bābuji Nāik, who was Śāhu's agent for the *chauth* of the Karnatak, in the same direction.<sup>90</sup> The Portuguese at Goa, with the loss of Bassein rankling in their mind, had made common cause with the French and were at this time invading Sāwantwādi and thinking of sending ships to the north.<sup>91</sup> It was not impossible for a collision to occur under such circumstances. Added to this there was no unity even amongst the Peśwa's generals.<sup>92</sup> They held opposite opinions on matters of moment. Hence the Peśwa

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 48.

<sup>86</sup> *Sindeśāhi Itihāsacin Sādhanen*, I, No. 59.

<sup>87</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 137; *Alivardi*, p. 102.

<sup>88</sup> *Aitihāsika Patravayavahār*, Nos. 65, 76, 61 and 75.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 56.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 42.

<sup>91</sup> *Aitihāsika Patravayavahār*, Nos. 55, 58.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 41, 76.

had asked Rāmachandra Bābā to bring Malhārrav to the south. To counteract the influence of Raghuji, Fatehsing and Bābuji Nāik at the court of Satāra ; and to undermine their position in the Karnatak were the Peśwa's aims.<sup>93</sup>

For Raghuji, Bengal had become a matter of honour by now. Year after year, he sent his sons with armies to invade Bengal and to bring Alivardī down on his knees. But they had scarcely succeeded, except for the fact that they had occupied Orissa continuously for the most of that period. Help from foreigners in the shape of arms and ammunition seems to have been Alivardī's strong point together with his dogged tenacity and singleness of purpose. Raghuji was no match for him. Only if the Peśwa had made common cause with Raghuji and directed his forces to the east instead of to the west, where a formidable and capable opponent was looming up in the person of Abdāli, Bengal would have become a province of the Maratha Empire and the British Power would not have arisen in this protected corner of India. But such a consummation was impossible with disunion amongst the Maratha generals.

Disappointment in getting his son adopted by Śāhu, the deaths of the great Nizam and King Śāhu, the hopelessness of Maratha Court politics after Śāhu, and the Peśwa's growing power added to his comparative failure in Bengal, sobered down the intractable Raghuji at last and he came to terms with the Peśwa, leaving the Peśwa free to deal with the Court as he liked and allowing Raghuji to settle the dispute with Alivardī as he thought best. The result was the well-known agreement<sup>94</sup> of *chauth* for Bengal, between Alivardī and Raghuji, settled in 1751, which left Orissa up to the river Suvarṇarekhā under the control of Nāgpur, while leaving Bengal and Bihar free for a paltry sum of Rs. 12,00,000 a year, not an enviable return for ten years of arduous labour on the part of Raghuji. But a weary old man could not expect more. He had to rest satisfied with the idea that at least one great place of Hindu pilgrimage viz. Jagannāth Puri, had come into his possession.

The Peśwa had relinquished his claim on Bengal for the time being to tide over the troubles after Śāhu's death, but when he became free and strong once more, he again began to cast his eyes on that rich province. Money greed was the one besetting sin of the Peśwa Nānāsāhib. From 1754 when he became a king-maker for Delhi as well as plenipotentiary for the Maratha Empire by Śāhu's will, till his death in 1761, he was urging his generals to proceed to Bengal<sup>95</sup> and take over that province. After the Black Hole affair, he had sent letters to Clive expressing his readiness to help the English against the French and the Nawab.<sup>96</sup> But the opportunity never recurred again for the Marathas to proceed to that distant province. The

<sup>93</sup> *Kāvyetiḥāsa Sangraha, Patren, Yādī Vagere*, Nos. 56, 59, 60, 61, 62.

<sup>94</sup> *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 166.

<sup>95</sup> *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, Nos. 28, 77. *Selections from the Peśwa Daftar*, Vol. 2, Nos. 80, 104. *Kāvyetiḥāsa Sangraha, Patren, Yādī Vagere*, Nos. 165, 166, 167, 171.

<sup>96</sup> *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, Part 3, December 1936, p. 388.

Peśwa and his generals became entangled more and more in central and north-western India till they finally broke upon the rock of Pānipat. The unnecessary rivalry and enmity between Raghuji and the Peśwa had cost the Maratha power very dear. It had loosened their grip over the Madras Coast and Bengal, thus indirectly paving the way for the British Power.

Something should be said about the comments of Datta and Sarkār as to the disastrous economic effects of these Maratha invasions. It is not for a Maratha writer to be apologetic in this matter. But he can point out certain other facts pertinent to the subject. One primary and glaring fact to be noted by all the students of Indian History is that notwithstanding the much-talked of looting propensities of the Maratha armies, the various Maratha states or peoples were never financially well off. They always lived almost from hand to mouth, even in their most glorious days, except perhaps under Śivaji. Nādir Shāh and Ahmed Shāh Abdālī returned laden with spoils but their Maratha contemporaries Bājirāv and Rāghobā were almost overwhelmed with debts. Raghuji was chronically overburdened with debts. His invasions had to be financed from home funds and debts grew alarmingly. His projects miscarried mainly on account of money stringency. The simplicity of Maratha life was proverbial and had become a subject of derision throughout India especially amongst the luxurious Muhammedan Courts. And still the Maratha potentates were practically always found in debt. No doubt the Marathas have never been noted for their commercial acumen and their native land is not very fertile. Still the riddle of this contrast between their simplicity and poverty, loot and debt, will have to be explained. They were not able to build luxurious palaces, richly endowed temples or costly works of art and architecture like the Taj or the Gol Gumbuz. The old homes of renowned generals in Poona and Satara, Baroda and Nāgpur, were ordinary houses, to judge from their remains. The better sort of mansions in Baroda and Gwalior are creations of the British Period. All this proves that not much money had flowed into the coffers of the Marathas. It means that notwithstanding their loot in the technical sense they were not as efficient and ingenious squeezers of riches as the Afghans of Ahmed Shāh or the Irani hordes of Nādir Shāh ; much less were they like the officers of the East India Company in the period of Clive and Hastings. We suggest from these undeniable facts that the historic Marathas were neither ruthless nor cunning, and in fact were more humane than most other people under similar circumstances.

This can be supported in other ways. The Marathas have never butchered men in cold blood like Abdālī in Mathura and Brindavan or Nādir Shāh in Delhi. They have not treacherously murdered envoys after calling them for interviews, nor have they assassinated unguarded persons by hiring ruffians, nor have they massacred their kith and kin for gaining power or crown like many Muslim potentates and Rājput princes, though they themselves were victims of all these tricks. If words in any language show the racial traits, the Marathi phrase for such despicable deeds shows it. All such deeds are termed *Mogalāi maslat* or *Mogalāi kāvā* in Marathi. When

a single murder like that of Nārāyanrāv Peśwa by Sumersingh Gārdi did occur, the person morally responsible for it, Rāghobā, was hunted out of society by the unanimous voice of the whole race even though it necessitated a prolonged and costly continent-wide war, the First Maratha war, which lasted for more than a decade.

Another point that strikes a Maratha writer as odd is the utter degradation of the Bengali Hindu as proved during these invasions. We have said something in the beginning as to the ideal of the Maratha State as founded by Śivāji. It was to regenerate the Hindu race all over India, by encouragement if possible, by invasion if necessary. In the eighteenth century the Marathas had certainly deviated from this right path and acted in a manner not directly conducive to the great ideal. Still they prided themselves on being Hindus and hence longed to have all the holy places of the Hindus freed from Muslim control, and patronized Brāhmaṇās as the repositories of Hindu culture, irrespective of what part of India they came from. The Marathas might not have been able to conquer Bengal outright, but still they had prepared the ground for the local Hindus to rise up against their Muslim rulers if they had so desired. This did happen in Rājputānā, Bundelkhand and the Panjab. The Marathas might have been severely defeated at Pānipat as a result of their invasion of the Panjab, but the Sikhs took advantage of the situation created by the Maratha occupation of the Panjab for more than a year, rose up in a body and ultimately drove back the foreigners, establishing their own rule in their place. The Rājputs and the Bundelas freed themselves from Mughal tutelage. But no Bengali Hindu zamindar was found bold enough to rise against Alivardī. Had the Bengal Hindus been enamoured of their Muslim rulers, they would not have gone over to the English at the first opportunity and helped them to turn out the Nawābs. The poignant tragedy of this Bengal episode lies in this lamentable outcome of it. The Marathas broke their own legs and burnt their own fingers over this affair, while the men to profit were the foreign English. The supineness of the Bengali Hindus in those crucial times has created a problem in that province which has not yet been completely solved. This is a matter for regret to all concerned, including the Marathas. But what the Marathas cannot understand is the groaning of Bengali historians at the misdeeds of the Marathas during these invasions and their sigh of relief for the final deliverance at the hands of the English, while they have not a word to say against the behaviour of their own people during that critical epoch, behaviour which fixed the yoke of foreign rule on India's neck. Surely the whole epoch is not for anybody to be proud about.

# LITERARY PERSONAGES OF AHMADNAGAR

By

C. H. SHAIKH.

The present city of Ahmadnagar was founded in 1495 A.D. by Ahmad Nizām Shāh Bahrī (1490-1508), the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty in the Deccan. Under him and his immediate successors, the city soon grew, by leaps and bounds, into a magnificent capital which rivalled in splendour and eminence the old capital towns of Baghdād and Cairo.<sup>1</sup> Along with political power the Nizām Shāhī court continued, for some time, to be flooded with persons of literary merit from all quarters of the Islāmic world. Poets and writers, historians and biographers, readers of the Qu'ran and theologians, jurists and lawgivers, politicians, administrators and statesmen, warriors and swordsmen,—all of these found a munificent patronage in this small but significant court. In the present article, I will attempt to give a bare sketch of the literary personalities of Ahmadnagar, along with their work as also the specimens, if possible, of their prose or poetical composition. I may as well mention here that the personalities to be mentioned in this article shall be those who were either born at Ahmadnagar, or have resided at that place for any period of time, or merely visited the town from any point of view. This would, of course, require us to consider all those literary personalities who wrote in any language—Arabic, Persian or Hindustānī (Urdū-Dekhānī). But since I have already sorted out and dealt with Arabic poets and writers in my paper "Some Arabic poets and writers of the Deccan",<sup>2</sup> I will not deal with those here. The order in which I propose to deal with these personalities will be, as far as possible, chronological.

Among the literary personalities of Ahmadnagar mention must first be made of that great personality, Shāh Tāhir Husainī, who was instrumental in spreading Shī'ism in the Deccan. Well-versed in all the branches of learning then known to the Muslims, Shāh Tāhir was also a great warrior, statesman and administrator. He came to Ahmadnagar in 928/1521 at the invitation of Burhān Nizām Shāh I (914-961/1508-1553), and soon gained an immense influence over the monarch. It was at his request that the king had a College built at Ahmadnagar for the spread of Shī'a religion, and named at *Langar-i-Duwāzda Imām* (it is still in good condition, but known as *Bārā Imām-kā Kotla*). For this college were brought from Irāq, Arabia, Persia and Upper India a number of men of learning, who were cordially

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<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> It was announced for reading before the Islāmic Culture Section of the All India Muslim Educational Conference, Session 51, held in December 1940 at Poona. I hope to have it published within the near future.

received, and who started imparting Shī'a learning to those who sought it. In addition to this, the king also built a special *Madrasa* for princes within the precincts of what was then known as the *Bāgh-i-Nizām* (where later on the present fort of Aḥmadnagar was built). Soon after the king had a special mosque also built at the same spot (in *Bāgh-i-Nizām*) for the use of Shāh Ṭāhir. Later on, another palace was allotted for the exclusive residence of Shāh Ṭāhir, in that part of the town which was afterwards named *Shāh Haider-kā Mohalla*, after Shāh Haider, the son of Shāh Ṭāhir. Upto 1881<sup>3</sup> there were traces of this magnificent edifice visible, but now, beyond a single stone wall nothing is left of Shāh Ṭāhir's Palace and Mosque. After an eventful career Shāh Ṭāhir died at Aḥmadnagar in 956<sup>4</sup> A.H./1549 A.D. and was buried at first in the royal cemetery, *Bāgh Rawḍa*, at Aḥmadnagar; later on his descendants had his bones sent to Kerbalā to be interred there.

Notwithstanding his multifarious social, political and religious activities, Shāh Ṭāhir was, indeed, a prolific writer. Besides a voluminous *diwān* of Arabic and Persian poetry, he is credited with a number of interesting works of which the following deserve mention<sup>5</sup> :—

1. *Sharḥu'l-Bāb'il-Hādī 'Ashara*, a commentary on Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Hillī's (d. 726/1325) work on the *Principles of Religion*.
2. *Sharḥu'l-Ja'fariya*, a commentary on al-Karkī's (d. 945/1538) work on the Imāmiya method of Prayer.
3. *Hāshiyatu'tā Anwār'i't-Tanzīl*, a super Commentary upon Baiḍāwī's famous work. It tries to interpret it in the Imāmiya style.
4. *Al-Hāshiya 'alā'l-Muḥākamāt*, a gloss on the *Muḥākamāt* of Quṭbu'd-Dīn ash-Shirāzī (d. 710/1310), which discusses the controversial points arising between the two commentaries of Ṭūsī and Rāzī on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, there is mention of, and a brief note on, this Palace and Mosque of Shāh Ṭāhir, at page 698. In *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, which is a Hindustānī translation of the *Ta'rikh-i-Shihābī* of Qādi Shihābu'd-Dīn (there exist two copies of this work on the history of Aḥmadnagar at the Islāmi Library, Aḥmadnagar; there is also an autograph copy of it present in the Sir Sālār Jung Library, Hyderabad (Deccan)), there is also an account of this palace of Shāh Ṭāhir at p. 77. *The Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar* was lithographed at Aḥmadnagar in 1305 A.H.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (p. 325), he died in 953 A.H./1545 A.D. This contention is supported by a verse which contains four chronograms relating to the death of Shāh Ṭāhir cited by the above work :—

عارف اسرار علم - کاشف اسرار ملک - واقف آثار دین - مانع اسرار ملک  
 953                      953                      953                      953

But Ferīḡhta (Vol. II, p. 229) gives 956 as the year of Shāh Ṭāhir's death. His contention is supported also by Shāh Ṭāhir's own work, the *Faṭḥ Nāma* which was completed in 955 A.H.

<sup>5</sup> I am reproducing the list of Shāh Ṭāhir's works from Ferīḡhta (Vol. II p. 230), *Taqḥkira-Shurā-i-Dakan* (Vol. II, p. 714), Khān Bahādur Hidayāt Husain's "Shāh Ṭāhir" (Ross Vol. pp. 147-160), etc.

5. *Al-Hāshīya 'alā'l-Majisī*, a gloss on Ṭūsī's commentary on Ptolemy's *Kitabū'l-Majisī*.
6. *Hāshiyatu 'alā Sharh'il-Ishārāt* a super commentary upon Ṭūsī's commentary upon the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā.
7. *Hāshiyātu'sh-Shifā*, a gloss on the fourth and last part of Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1036) encyclopaedic work, dealing with Metaphysics. This part is named as the "Ilāhiyātu'sh-Shifā."
8. *Hāshiyātu'l-Muṭawwal* a super commentary on at-Taftāzā'īs (d. 792/1390) *al-Muṭawwal* on Qazwīnī's treatise on rhetoric called *Takhlīṣu'l-Miftāh*.
9. *Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz*, a commentary on Maḥmūd Shabistari's famous mystical poem. According to *Ferishta* and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, this commentary is the work of Shāh Ṭāhir, but according to the author of the *Natā'iju'l-Afkār* (quoted in the *Sukhan-warān-i-Balānd Fikr*, Madras 1937, p. 19) it is the work of Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistari himself. The author of *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā i-Dakan* (Vol. II, p. 887) attributes it to Khāwja Ahmad Fānī (please see his account below).
10. *Risāla-i-Pālkī*, a treatise upon palankeen.
11. *Tuhfa-i-Shāhī*, a super commentary upon 'Alī al-Bakḥshī's commentary upon Ṭūsī's *Tajridu'l-Kalām* (on Scholasticism).
12. *Inshā-i-Shāh Ṭāhir*, a volume of letters of which extracts are given in *Ferishta* (Vol. II, p. 203). Full names of those to whom the letters were addressed are given in *Bankipore Suppl. Cat. of the Persian MSS.*, Vol. II. p. 96, No. 2121.
13. *Fath Nāma*. It gives an account of the conquest of Sholāpūr by Burhān Nizām Shāh I. See Ibid., p. 94, No. 2119. Printed in the *Journal of the R. A. S. of Bengal*, Vol. IV, Letters, 1938.

It might be pointed out that Nos. 1-8 are in Arabic, while the rest are in Persian.

In addition to these, the *Majālisu'l-Mu'minān* mentions a few others which are of a secondary character.

As we said before, Shāh Ṭāhir was a good poet and composed at ease in Persian as well as in 'Arabic.' I give here some specimens of his Persian poetry.

- I. From a qaṣīda in praise of the prophet and the Imāms :—

"Chū 'andalīb dar 'āyad saḥar ba nāla-i-zār  
 Zi khāwb-i-nāz kunad ghuncha rā ṣabā bīdār.  
 Ṣabā nihad ba lab-i-ghuncha lab ba ghāyat-i-shawq  
 Shamāl dast zanad az tarab ba shākh-i-čanār.  
 Ba diḥ zabān kunad 'āyāt-i-šanrā tafsīr,  
 Agar kunand ḥadīthi zi sūsan istifsār.  
 Hazār qatra-i-shabnam darūn-i-ghuncha nihān  
 Chunānki dar dil-i-dānā jawāhir-i-asrār.



Barihna gaṣhta sar-i-kūh az 'amāma-i-barf  
Magar ba mātām-i-barr-i-zamīn zada dastār.

II. From a qasīda in praise of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1586) :—

'Bāz waqt ast ki bar ṭabaq-i-taqāḍā-i-falak  
Afganad bar sar-i-dīwān-i-chaman gul tūshak.  
'Ān chaman gulshan-i-madh-i-shah-i-'ālī qadar ast  
Kaz falak bahr-i-ṭawāf-i-darash 'āyand malak.  
Murtaḍā pādshah-i-ṣurat-o-ma'nā ki darū  
Nasha'-o-rābiṭa-i-ṣuwarī wa ma'nā bishak.  
Har kasī ra ba kasī dast-i-tawāsul muḥkam  
Laisa wa'llāh-i- siwā ḥubbika li mutamassak.  
Tāhir az dhillat-i-īṣyān ba tū 'āwurda panāh  
Fikr-i-'ū gar na kunī kānā mina'dh-dhull-i-halak

III. From another qasīda :—

Maḥmil-i-mihr chū 'āyad ba shabistān-i-ḥamal,  
Lāla fānūs bar afrūzad-o-nargis mish'al.  
Gul chū khurshīd bar 'āyad saḥar az maṭla'-i-shākh.  
Chūn shafaq jalwa kunad lāla dar aṭraf-i-jabal.  
Fikr 'āhang-i- tamāshā-i-gulistān dārad  
Ḥaḍrat-i-shāh-i-falak zīnat-i-khurshīd -i-'amal.

IV. From another qasīda :—

Kujā shud Farīdun-i-farkhunda sirat  
Kujā raft Kaikhusraw 'ān shāh-i-'ādil.  
Rawānast paywasta az shahr-i-hastī  
Ba mulk-i-'adam az pa-i-ham qawāfil.  
Hamān gūr kaz faid-i-faql-i-ilāhī  
Shudī bahrmānd az qubūl-i-faḍā'il.  
Ba kilk-i-badī'u'l-bayān-i-mā'ānī  
Dar aqsām-i-ḥikmat nawishtī rasā'il.

V. From his Ghazals :—

- (a) Jalwa-i-zulf-i-shāhidī burd dil-i-ramīda rā  
Pai ba kujā barad kasī murgh-i-ba shab parīda rā.  
Wah ! chī shawad agar shabī bar lab-i-man nihī labī  
Tā ba lab-i-tū bisparam jān-i-ba lab rasīda rā.
- (b) Dargham-i-'ū ladhdhat-i-'ishq (better 'aish : happiness) as dil-  
i-nāshād raft  
Khū ba gham kardīm chandānī ki 'aish az yād raft.

VI. From his Rubā'iyāt :—

- (a) Mā'im ki hargiz dam-i-bigham na zadīm  
Khurdīm basī khūn-i-dil-o-dam na zadīm,  
Bī shu'la-i-'āh lab zi ham fagashūdīm,  
Bī qatra-i-ashk chashm barham na zadīm.

- (b) Gar kasb-i-kamāl mīkunī mī gudharad  
 War fikr-i-mahāl mīkunī mī gudharad ;  
 Duniyā hama sar ba sar k̲hiyāl ast mahāl  
 Har naw 'k̲hiyāl mīkunī mī gudh arad.

*Translation :*

1. When the nightingale raises its plaintive tone in the morning, the morning breeze awakens the bud from its beauty-sleep. The morning breeze places its lip, out of excessive longing, upon the lip of the bud (i.e., its petals) ; the northern breeze, in joyful ecstasy, extends its hand to the hand of the poplar. With ten tongues (i.e., in ten different languages) the *sūsān* flower comments upon the symbols of creation, if it is subjected to a query.

In the heart of the bud are concealed a thousand dew-drops, just as there are to be found in the mind of a man of learning gems of (divine) secrets.

The head (i.e., the peak) of the mountain has been stripped naked of its turban of snow : perhaps it has thrown down its turban in mourning for the Benefactor of the world.

II. Again it is high time that the rose cast its baggage upon the head of the palace of the garden, as a consequence of heaven's demand.

That plot is the rose-garden of the praise of the exalted king, for the circumambulation of whose doors angels come down from the sky ;

Murtaḍā, the Master of Form and Essence,—the undoubted producer, and the connecting link, of Form and Essence.

Everyone gets his hand strengthened by the support of someone (else), but to me by God ! there is no place of support except thy love. Ṭāhir has come to your protection on account of the disgracefulness of his sins, If you do not favour him, he will be annihilated in disgrace.

III. When the litter of the Sun comes to the night-chamber of the (zodiacal sign) Aries,

The tulip puts on (its) lamp and the narcissus illumines the candle.

Like the sun, the rose comes out from the horizon of the branch ;

Like the twilight (at the setting of the sun), the tulip exhibits its radiance upon the mountain sides.

Longing (lit. anxiety, thought, etc.) thinks of strutting into the garden, (into) the presence of the king of the sky, the decoration of the sun of action.

IV. Where has the happy-natured Farīdūn gone ?

Where has the just king, Kaikhūsraw, departed ?—

Caravans are continuously proceeding, one after another, from the city of existence to the kingdom of non-existence.

Enjoy (lit. take), (therefore), all that which has been allotted to you by the grace of God, as a sign of the acceptance of your good deeds.

You have composed (a number of) treatises on the various branches of philosophy, with pen of elegant ideas,

V. (a) The display of the ringlet of a beauty has carried away the heart of a lover ;

How far can anyone chase the bird that has escaped at night ?

What matter, if you one night put your lip upon mine, so that I may entrust my dying soul to your lips' care ?

(b) In grief for him, the pleasure of love has departed from the dejected heart,

We have accustomed ourselves with grief so much that pleasure (itself) has disappeared from our memory.

VI. (a) It is we, who have not breathed a single breath without grief ;

We have swallowed a lot of heart-blood, but have not dared to complain (lit. breathe).

Without the flame (i.e., smoke) of sighs we have opened our lips, (but) We have never opened our eyes without tears.

(b) If you achieve perfection, it will depart,

If you think of an impossible thing, it will depart ;

The world is, from head to foot, an impossible thought,

Any thought that you entertain will depart.

The next in order of chronology is Sayyid Qāsim Aṣṣalān, who was a native of Maṣḥad. He came to India during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, at whose Court he remained for some years. Then he came to Gujarāt and took service in the king's court at Aḥmedābād. Then he right away left for Aḥmadnagar, where he was honoured by the Nizām Shāh who also persuaded him to stay for ever at his court. He did not, however, stay, and chose to visit the Bijāpūr court. From Bijāpūr he went to Golconda where the Qutb Shāh received him most respectfully. Finally he returned to Aḥmadābād where he died in 1015 A.H./1606-7. The author of the *Subḥ-i-Gulshan* (quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan* I, p. 211) mentions his death to have taken place at Lāhare in 1905 A.H./1684-85, but according to the *Riyāḍu'sh-Shu'arā* (see Ibid.), his tomb is situated in Aḥmadābād.

Aṣṣalān was famous for his poetry and distinguished himself in composing chronograms and in calligraphy. The following is the specimen of his composition :—

'Ah-i-dilam gar athārī dāsh<sup>ti</sup>  
 Shām-i-umīdam saharī dāsh<sup>ti</sup>.  
 Gird-i-sarat gashtī wa kardī ṭawāf  
 Ka'ba agar bāl-o-parī dāsh<sup>ti</sup>

*Translation :*

If the sighs emanating from my heart had any effect

The evening of my hope would (perforce) have had a dawn.

If the Ka'ba had wings and feathers,

It would have hovered over your head, and circumambulated round it,

Khāwja Aḥmad Fānī, who was the native of Dīpḍār in Shīrāz, is the next to be considered. He completed his education at his native place, and then came over to the Deccan, where he entered the service of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I (965-988/1558-1580 A.D.), the king of Bijāpūr. He soon persuaded the king to send for his own former tutor Shāh Fathu 'llāh Shīrāzī,<sup>6</sup> who was brought at a cost of 40,000/- Hons. On the death of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh this Fathu 'llāh Shīrāzī joined the court of Akbar.

His pupil Fānī was deeply learned and inclined towards mysticism. He soon left Bijāpūr and came over to Aḥmadnagar, where Burhān Nizām Shāh II (998-1003/1591-1595 A.D.) gave him the post of the Nāzīr-i-Sulṭanat (Superintendent of Political Department).<sup>7</sup>

During his stay at Aḥmadnagar he became a great admirer of Mullā Shaykh Aḥmad Najafī with whom he revised what he had learnt before of the traditionalistic as well as rationalistic books : it is said that this revision only made him a confirmed Sūfī. During the reign of the grandson of Burhān Nizām Shāh II, he was given the post of the Sūbadār of Berar.<sup>8</sup> The last portion of Fānī's life was spent in retirement, in contemplation and mystic practices. Among his works the following deserve note :—

- (i) A Gloss (*Hawāshī*) on Jāmī's *Nafahātu'l-Uns* ;
- (ii) *Sharḥ-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz*, which is also attributed to Shāh Ṭāhīr (see above). But according to the author of the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ra-i-Dakan*,<sup>9</sup> this is Fānī's work.
- (iii) *Faṣlu'l-Khiṭāb*.
- (iv) *Sharḥ-i-Khuṭba-i-Bayān*. Nos. iii and iv are probably on rhetoric.
- (v) and a *Dīwān* of poems.

Fānī died at Aḥmadnagar at the age of 69 in 1016 A.H./1607 A.D. The words *khudā shīnās* give the exact date of his death.

The following are the specimens of his poetry :—

- (i) Yak jur'a ki az ḥarīf-i-mastat birasad  
Pas chāshnī-i-dam-i-*alastat* birasad,  
'In jam mihāda and bar ṭāq-i-baland,  
Pā bar sar-i-khīsh nih ki dastat birasad.
- (ii) Dar 'ā'ina khāl-i-pušt ar bīnī  
Yak chāshm ba pūshī wa ba dīgar bīnī :  
Kūrat binad har ānki bīnad zi qifā,  
'Inast mithāl-i-khair-o-sharr gar bīnī.

<sup>6</sup> For his biographical sketch, see 'Azād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*.

<sup>7</sup> Gawhar, *Sukhanwarān-i-Baland Fikr* (Madras, 1937), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ra-i-Dakan* II, p. 887. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid*.

*Translation :*

(i) If a draught comes to you from the intoxicated friend,  
 You will, indeed, then have a relish of the breath of "am I not?"<sup>10</sup>  
 They have placed this cup on a high arch,  
 Put therefore, your feet upon your head so that you might be able to  
 reach at it.

(ii) If you can see in the mirror the mole on the back of your eye,  
 You will then close one of your eyes, and see with the other.  
 He who sees you from behind considers you blind :  
 This is merely an illustration of good and bad : only if you realise it.

Next in chronological order comes Mīrzā Ḥayātī who was a native of Kāshān. In the early part of his career he had a rationalistic bent of mind and busied himself in rationalistic pursuits, to the effect that he was declared a heretic.<sup>11</sup> He left Kāshān in the company of a goldsmith's son of whom he was very fond, and arrived at Quazwīn, where he mixed with people who were notorious for their heretic inclinations. When the inhabitants of Kāshān presented a group of heretics to Shāh Tahmāsp the Ṣafawid, the latter sent them in prison. Ḥayātī was one of them. After two years, however, he was released and went to Shīrāz where he stayed for two years. In 986 A.H./1578 A.D. he returned to Kāshān, having repented of, and abandoned, all heretic pursuits. Then he came to the Deccan and was received nobly by Burhān Nizām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar.<sup>12</sup> Here he spent his most happy days, but as his fame as a poet reached the ears of the emperor Jehāngīr who invited him, he had to leave Aḥmadnagar.

In 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. when Amīr Khusraw's *Tughluq Nāma* was brought to the notice of Jehāngīr, the latter liked it immensely, but as a chapter was missing from the poem, the emperor ordered the missing chapter to be composed by the poets of his court ; all started versifying the relevant chapter, but Ḥayātī's alone was selected as the best by the emperor. He was ordered to be weighed in gold. It is said that six bags containing in all 6000 gold *aṣhrāfīs* were quite equal to Ḥayātī's weight ; all this amount was given to the poet as a reward for his poem. This incident was commemorated by Sa'īdā-i-Gilānī in the following verses<sup>13</sup> :—

Chūn Ḥayātī rā ba zar sanjīd shāhīnshāh-i-'aṣr  
 Pādshāh-i-'adl gustar, shāh-i-gardūn iqtidār ;

<sup>10</sup> This is one of the oft-met phrases in Persian, 'Arabic as well as 'Urdu Literature. It refers to the روز ميثاق when God assembled all the spirits of the future world and said : "Am I not your Lord?" All the souls replied in one voice, "Yes."

<sup>11</sup> *Tadhkirā-i-Shurā-i-Dakan*, I, p. 375 ; 'Azād, *Khizāna-i-'Amīra*, p. 192 ; *Sukhanwarān-i-Baland Fikr*, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> This is found in all the *Tadhkiras* quoted above,

Shāh i-Nūru'd-Dīn Jehāngīr ibn-i-Akbar pādshāh,  
 'Āftāb-i-haft kishwar sāya-i-parwardigār.  
 Bahr-i-ta'rīkhash barū-i-kaffa-i-mīzān-i-charkh  
Shā'ir-i-sanjīda-i-Shāhī raqam zad rūzgār.

(1019 A.H. / 1610 A.D.)

*Translation :*

When in gold was Hayātī weighed by the Emperor of the time, —the distributor of justice,—the emperor who is as powerful as the sky,  
Shāh Nūru'd-Dīn Jehāngīr, the son of the emperor Akbar,  
 The sun of the seven climes, the shadow of God.<sup>14</sup>

As a chronogram of this incident, Time wrote upon the pan of the balance of the sky "the poet weighed by the king."

The words Shā'ir-i-sanjīda-i-Shāhī give 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. as the date of this incident.

According to the *Tadhkirā-i-Shu'rā-i-Dakan*<sup>15</sup> Hyātī died about 1053 A.H. 1643 A.D.

The following are the specimens of his poetry :—

- (i) Fighān ki ranjish-i-jānān ba 'ān maqām rasīd  
 ki har ki kard gunah az man intiqām kashīd.
- (ii) Dar dil-i-man dard afzūdī wa mī gū'ī manāl  
 'ātashī dar jānam afgandī wa mī gū'ī masūz.
- (iii) Khā..-i-kū-i-tū zi sail-i-maza purnam kardīm  
 ta ghubārī batū az rahgudhar-i-mā na rasad.
- (iv) Mī numāyam shād khud rā garchi mī mīram zi jawr  
 tā nayāyad rahm dar khātīr jafākār-i-marā.
- (v) Dar balā-i- 'Āshiqī dil yārī-i-man mīkunad  
 jān fidā-i-'ū ki jānibdārī-i-man mīkunad.
- (vi) Bahr-i-shūkhī kū nadānad dūstī az aṣl chīst  
Khalq rā bā khud Hayātī az chi dushman karda'ī.
- (vii) Bi la'l-i-tū gar khun rawad az chashm-i-tar-i-man  
shādam ki nayāyad digarī dar naẓar-i-man.
- (viii) Tarsam ki shawad yār ghamin ghair shawad shād  
 ay bād makun jānib-i-'ān kū khabar-i-man.

*Translation :*

- (i) Woe! the wrath of the beloved has reached such a stage,  
 That whosoever committed any error, she sought the revenge from me.
- (ii) You have added to my heart's pain, and yet you say "do not cry,"  
 You have set fire in my heart, and yet you say "do not burn."
- (iii) We have made the ground of your lane wet with the stream of  
 tears,

<sup>14</sup> The usual attribute of a king (vide the phrase السلطان ظل الله في الارض)

<sup>15</sup> I, p. 376.

So that dust from our passage<sup>16</sup> might not come to you.

(iv) Although I am dying of tyranny, I show myself happy, so that my oppressor might not feel pity for me.

(v) My heart helps me in the test of love,  
May my life be a ransom for him, for he supports me.

(vi) For an indolent creature who does not realise what friendship is,  
Why have you, O Hayātī, made the entire world your enemy?

(vii) Without (i.e., in separation from) your ruby, if blood trickles out from my wet eyes,

I am, nevertheless, happy that no other person comes in my eyes (i.e. I cannot think of falling in love with another).

(viii) I fear that the beloved might become sad, while rival become happy,

O wind, carry not my news to that quarter !

The next in order, but the greatest of all the poets and writers who flourished in the Deccan, is Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Nūru'd-Dīn, famous as Ṣuhūrī. He was a native of Tarshīz in 'Irān. After completing his education, Ṣuhūrī took to the profession of a *kātib* : it is said that he copied, no less than a hundred copies of the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafā*.<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding his erudition and skill, Ṣuhūrī suffered from poverty. He had, therefore, to leave his native town in search of livelihood. He first came to Aḥmadnagar and resided as a guest with the poet Malik Qummī, who later on gave his daughter in marriage to him. When Faiḍī, the learned poet brother of Abū'l-Faḍl, the talented minister of Akbar, came to Aḥmadnagar on a political mission he found Ṣuhūrī and Malik Qummī at the head of the court-poets ; in fact he pays a glowing tribute to their poetical talents in his letter to the emperor in words such as these :—

“ Dar Aḥmadnagar dū *Shā'ir-i-Khākī* nihād, *ṣāfi mashrab* and, wa dar *shī'r* rutba-i-'ālī dārand ; Yākī Mullā Malik Qummī ki ba kas kamtar *ikhṭilāt* mī kunad, wa hamīsha maḥa-i-tarī dārad. Dīgar Mullā Ṣuhūrī ki baghāyat rangīn-kalām ast wa dar makārim-i-aḥlāq tamām, 'azīmat-i-'āstān-būs dārad.”<sup>18</sup>

Faiḍī enjoyed at Aḥmadnagar the company of these two poets and became a friend of them ; they used to correspond with each other and send gifts of their compositions when they were ready.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This phrase *tā ghubārī ba tū az rahgudhar-i-mā na rasad* is capable of another translation for, *ghubār* might as well be taken for “ *ghubār-i-khāṭir* ” ; while the word *rahgudhar* might as well stand for “ mode of conducting oneself, or behaviour.”

<sup>17</sup> *Bahārīstān* (quoted in *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ar-i-Dakan*, II, p. 764).

<sup>18</sup> This report of Faiḍī to the emperor Akbar is given at length in Muḥammad Husain 'Azād's *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (Lāhore, 1898) at pp. 397-417.

<sup>19</sup> When the famous *Sawāfi'u'l-Ilhām*, the undotted commentary of Faiḍī, was received by Malik Qummī and Ṣuhūrī in 1002 A.H./1593 A.D., they both com-

On Malik Qummī's departure to Bijāpūr, Ṣuhūrī also went to that place and remained for some time as a guest of the court-physician Mīrẓā Muḥammad Yūsuf.<sup>20</sup> He was hospitably entertained by the physician and was also introduced by him to the king Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (1580-1627) who conceived almost an affection for Ṣuhūrī. Under his patronage Ṣuhūrī produced the finest gems of Persian poetry as well as prose. Among his works the following may be mentioned :—

- (i) *Mīnā Bāzār*
- (ii) *Gulẓār-i-Ibrāhīm*, composed in partnership with his father-in-law, Malik Qummī, at the order of the king ;
- (iii) *Khāwn-i-Khālīl*, also written at the king's order and in collaboration with Malik Qummī.
- (iv) A *Dīwān* of Ghazals, qaṣīdas, Rubā'iyāt, etc.
- (v) The famous *Sāqī Nāma*, considered to be the best of its type in Persian literature. This was dedicated to Burhān Nizām Shāh II (999-1003/1590-1594) of Aḥmadnagar, who sent elephants fully loaded with valuable presents to Ṣuhūrī as a reward for this poem. It is said that the reward reached Ṣuhūrī when he was enjoying tobacco in a *Hammām* or a Coffee-house. When the bearers demanded receipt, Ṣuhūrī scabbled on a piece of paper "*Taslīm kardand, taslīm kardam.*" (i.e., they paid homage to me, I entrusted to them).<sup>21</sup>
- (vi) *Ruq'āt*, a collection of his letters, and
- (vii) *Abdāliya*.

Ṣuhūrī's works have been lithographed in India a number of times. His prose works have been annotated by Abu'l Yamīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq b. Muḥammad Ishāq Ḥusainī as-Sūrātī (lith. at Cawnpore, 1873).

Ṣuhūrī was killed in the Deccan in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D.<sup>22</sup> His works are too well-known to need a specimen here ; we have consequently not attempted to give any specimens of his poetry.

The next in importance is his contemporary and father-in-law, Malik Qummī, who as his name shows, belongs to Qumm. From his childhood he had inclination towards poetry, and spent his time in mixing with the poets of the time. He then went to Kāshān where he enjoyed the company

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posed quatrains to commemorate its composition. Six of their quatrains composed on this occasion are given in the *Tadhkira Shu'ra-i-Dakan*, II, p. 772.

<sup>20</sup> Gawhar, *Sukhnawārān-i-Balad Fikr*, p. 22. According to the author of the *Tadhkira-i-Hamisha Bahār* (quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ra-i-Dakan*, II, pp. 764-765), Ṣuhūrī composed a qaṣīda in praise of this court-physician, using almost in every verse some technical terms from the science of medicine. (Some verses from this poem are given in the above work). It pleased him so much that he decided to introduce Ṣuhūrī to the king.

<sup>21</sup> 'Azād, *Khiṣṣāna-i-'Āmīra*, p. 314.

<sup>22</sup> 'Azād, *Saru-i-'Āzād*, p. 34.



of poets. Then he came to Qazwīn and resided there for about four years. In Ramaḍān 987 A.H./1579 A.D. he left Qazwīn for Aḥmadnagar where Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh (973-995 A.H./1565-1586 A.D.), the *ḍiwāna* (mad) king, and after him Burhān Nizām Shāh II (999-1003/1591-1595) accorded him a happy patronage.<sup>23</sup> Then he went to Bijāpūr to the patronage of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II (988-1037/1580-1627 A.D.), where the best of his works were composed, either in collaboration with Zuhūrī or on his own.

Besides a bulky *ḍiwān*<sup>23a</sup> of poems, Malik Qummī, as we have said before is the author jointly with Zuhūrī of a number of other books we have mentioned elsewhere. He was assassinated along with his son-in-law Zuhūrī in a Deccani rising in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D.<sup>24</sup> The words "*Ū sar-i-Ahl Sukhan būd*" is the chronogram of his death.<sup>25</sup>

As a specimen of his poetic composition I would like to give the Persian poem<sup>26</sup> which Malik Qummī composed in praise of the *Baghai-Farah Bakhsh*<sup>2</sup> of Aḥmadnagar :—

" Ay tu behisht-i-barīn in chī shukoh ast o shān  
 Pishgahat shah nishīn bārgahat shah nishān.  
 Bazm-i-turā hasht khuld shuqqa-i-az pishgāh  
 Bām-i-turā nuḥ falak pāya-i-az nardbān.  
 Kūs-i-taḥakkum bizan hīn ki dirakhtān-i-sarw  
 Šaf zada az chārsū bar šifat-i-chākarān.  
 Ham nam-i-faiḍ-i-azal bā guharat ham nishīn  
 Ham gul-i-rū-i-šafā bā aṭharat taw'amān.  
 Tā siparad rāh-i-tu Ka'bā bighalaṭad ba sar  
 Tā nigarad sū-i-tū charkh biyuftad sitān.  
 Saqf-i-tū bar bād dād rif'at-i-Khargāh-i-charkh

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>23a</sup> Copies of this are to be found in MS. at the Br. Mus. as also at the 'Aṣfiya Library, Hyderābad (Dn.).

<sup>24</sup> Huart, Article on Zuhūrī in the *Encycl. of Islām*, IV, 1241.

<sup>25</sup> Gawhar, *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> This poem is also to be found in *Ferishta* (Newal Kishwar Ed.), II, pp. 143-144; Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Hyderābad, 1936), pp. 538-539. It might be interesting to note that the author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Shihābī* (of this unpublished history two copies are present in the Islāmī Library, Aḥmadnagar) gives another qaṣīda in praise of this famous garden.

<sup>27</sup> This famous garden was originally entrusted for building to Ni'mat Khān Samnānī by the wazīr Changīz Khān, but when it was ready the king did not like it. As a consequence of it, the garden was ordered to be demolished and a new one built in its place. Ni'mat Khān, was also dismissed from his post of the Superintendent of this garden. Ultimately under Šalābat Khān's supervision the garden of Farah Bakhsh was built. (There is a hand-picture of this garden in the *Ta'rikh-i-Shihābī*). For further details about it please see, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, pp. 703-704; Mirikar, *Aḥmadnagar chey Prāchin Itihāsa* (Aḥmadnagar, 1919), pp. 47-51; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 11-12; *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, pp. 36-38; etc. The Bāgh-i-Farah Bakhsh is at present among the "protected monuments" of A'nagar.

Tāq-i-tū bar khāk rikht 'āb-i-rukḥ-i-kahkashān.  
 Sumbul-i-bustān-i-tū ṣaid-i-ṭarab rā kamand  
Khār-i-gulistān-i-tū chashm-i-ḥasad rā sinān.  
 Charkḥ zi gard-i-rahāt dūkhṭa bar tan ḥarir  
 Mushtarī az qubba'at mānda ba sar ṭailsān.  
 Yāfta dast-i-qaḍā az gil-i-saqfat sipar  
 Sākhta turk-i-qadar za'brū-i-ṭāqat kamān.  
 Az guhar-i-faiḍ-i-tū abr ba dast-i-ṣabā  
 Tuḥfa firistad ba baḥr hadya firistad ba kān.  
 Luṭf-i-tū gar dar khiyāl biguzarad andiṣha rā  
 Chihra-i-mā fi'ḍ-ḍamīr dīda ba binad 'ayān.  
 Gar kunad abrū baland Shāhid-i-Taṣwīr-i-tū,  
Khāma-i-Bihzād rā tāb dihad dar banān.  
Ghuncha-i-taṣwīrat ar ishgīfad az abr-i-kilk  
 'Uqda kunad khanda rū dar gulu-i-za'farān.  
 Bas ki zamīn naqsh bast waṣf-i-turā dar ḍmīr  
 Mī damad az jirm-i-khāk sabza ba shakl-i-zabān.  
 Gar ba 'anāṣir dihad luṭ-i-tu sarmāya'ī  
Khāk dihad murda rā zindagī-i-jāwidān.  
 Faiḍ-i-hawāyat agar māya dihad bād rā  
Thiqḥ-i-jibilli barad az tan-i-kūh-i-girān.  
 Sadda-i-tū Kā'ba wār ma'man-i-faṭḥ-o-ṣafar  
 Tāq-i-tū mihrāb wār qibla-i-pīr-o-jawān.  
Khāk-i-subuk rūḥat ar surma dihad bād rā  
 Bar naẓar-i-khākiyān khāwb na gardad girān.  
 Kasb-i-hawā gar kunad bād zi daryāchi at  
 Dar badan-i-khākiyān 'āb shawad ustaḥḥāwn.  
 Az dar-o-bāmat mudām faiḍ-i-azal mīdamad  
 Chun gul-i-'aish az dil-i-khushraw-i-Hindūstān.

*Translation :*

O highest heaven ! what a magnificence and grandeur !

Thy court is the king's seat, thy (central audience) hall replete with  
regal emblems !

The eight heavens form merely a portion of thy courtyard,

The nine skies are merely the first rung of the ladder of thy terrace.

Beat the drum of command ! behold ! the cypress trees

Have arrayed themselves into rank like (obedient) servants.

The ocean of eternal blessing has also associated itself with thy nature  
(essence),

The rose of pure complexion has become twin with thy effect.

The Ka'ba rolls on its head with a view to cut thy distance

The sky reclines with a view to have a glance at thee.

Thy ceiling has given to the winds the loftiness of sky's tent

Thy vaulted arch has poured on dust the water (i.e. the lustre) of  
galaxy's face.

Thy garden's hyacinth is a lasso for the game of joy,  
 Thy orchard's thorn is a spear for envy's eye.  
 The sky has stiched its silky garment from the dust of thy path,  
 Jupiter has left a hood upon its head from thy dome.  
 Destiny's hand has moulded its shield from thy ceiling's clay  
 Fate's Turk has prepared his bow from thy arch's eye-brow.  
 It is from the essence of thy bounty that the cloud has, with the hands  
 of the morning breeze,  
 Sent a gift to the ocean and, a present to the mine.  
 If the thought of thy kindness were to occur to the mind of imagination,  
 The eye would see clearly the face of what is in the mind.  
 If the beauty in thy picture-gallery were to raise her eye-brows,  
 It would make Bihzād's brush recoil in his fingers.  
 If the bud in thy picture-gallery were to blossom on account of the  
 cloud of pen,  
 Smile would (for ever) be bound to the throat of saffron.  
 Since the earth has for long cherished thy image in its heart,  
 Green herbage grows from the soil (lit. the body of the earth), in the  
 shape of tongues (to praise thee).  
 If thy kindness were to lend capital to the Elements,  
 The earth would grant eternal life to the dead.  
 If thy atmosphere's bounty were to provide commodity for the wind,  
 It would remove from huge mountains their inborn heaviness  
 Thy barrier, like the Ka'ba, is a refuge for victory and triumph,  
 Like the *mīhrāb*, thy arch is the *Qibla* of the old as well as the young.  
 If thy soft dust were to work as a collyrium for the wind,  
 In the eyes of the earthly ones, slumber will never be heavy.  
 If from thy tiny sea the wind were to obtain its desire,  
 Water in the bodies of the earthly ones would turn into bones.  
 From thy door and terrace eternal blessings emanate  
 Just as from the mind of the king of Hindūstān the rose of happiness  
 blooms.

(To be Continued).

## MISCELLANEA

### MAZDAKISM—A PLEA FOR A BETTER ESTIMATE<sup>1</sup>

By

H. P. MEHTA.

It is surprising to note that there occurs no mention of Mazdak<sup>2</sup> and Zaratusth of Khurragan who were undoubtedly two of the earliest communists of the world, in the histories of communism written by European scholars. In the *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Manichæism, a movement which preceded Mazdakism, is wrongly associated with principles of communism ; and Mazdakism, one of the earliest attempts at establishing communal order in the East has been sadly omitted. Even among the oriental scholars of the past and the present, it is the custom to dismiss Mazdak as a heresiarch and to glory in his destruction with his followers by Noshirwān the Just. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the just King obtained the sobriquet of *Anushak-ruban* from the priests only on account of his treatment of the Mazdakites,<sup>3</sup> although Taraporewala is disinclined to accept this view.<sup>4</sup> It may be argued in defence of the contention, that the Sasanian priesthood likewise bestowed the title of "the Wicked" upon Yazdegird I, for his anti-Zoroastrian proclivities, and not for any special wickedness on his part. It is necessary to bear in mind that neither the Zoroastrian writers who have written in Pahlavi and Persian, nor the Arab historians have been able to give us a true and critical judgment on Mazdak and his doctrines, the former on account of their religious prejudices and the latter, through want of original sources, which were completely destroyed by Noshirwān. *Vandīdād* characterises Mazdak, as "the ungodly Ashemaogha who does not eat," and Pahlavi books have nothing but abuses to offer to this great man, who first preached the ideal of brotherhood and the principle of community of wealth and property long before Marx and Lenin ever dreamt of them. I am inclined to believe with Browne that if the original sources were preserved and all the religious biases dispensed with, we should be able to do better justice to Mazdak.<sup>5</sup> In these days when social principles are gaining ground and one country in the world has already begun to achieve the ideal first preached by Plato, it is time we made attempts at establishing a true and just appreciation of Mazdak, the Great Communist of Irān.

"Mazdak," observes Taraporewala, "might be called the first Bolshevik in history. In many respects Bolsheviks might be regarded as lukewarm when compared with him."<sup>6</sup> For a correct estimate of Mazdakism, it is necessary to realise that it is essentially communist rather than religious in character. The religious garb was given to it only to appeal to the Persian idealism and thus achieve the communist object. Nöldeke remarks that what distinguishes Mazdakism from the organized socialism of modern times is its religious cloak, a peculiarity in which it resembles

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to my tutor Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala for his very valuable guidance and suggestions in the composition of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Mazdak, the son of Bamdādh preached in Irān during the reign of Kobād (488-531 A.D.) the communal doctrine originally propounded by Zaratusth of Khurragan two centuries before.

<sup>3</sup> Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, "*Noshirwan the Just*", in the *Sānj Vartamān Annual*, 1939.

<sup>5</sup> Browne, *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Taraporewala, *Ibid.*

all oriental movements of the same kind.<sup>7</sup> Religion was only the instrument by which he tried to accomplish the social revolution.<sup>8</sup> Christensen, however, supported by a *sh-Shahrestāni*, believes that Mazdakism was above all a religious movement and its social precepts were originally a very secondary feature; and both these scholars are only content with tracing Mazdakism as a growth and offshoot of Manichaeism. The case for this argument falls through when we glance at the history of Mazdakism and especially the statement of Tabari, in which the social principle by far eclipses the religious:

"Among the commands which he (Mazdak) laid upon the people and earnestly enjoined was this that they should possess their property and families in common; it was, he said, an act of piety that was agreeable to God and would bring the most excellent reward hereafter; even if he had laid no religious commandments upon them, yet the good works with which God was well pleased consisted in such co-partnership. . . . They (the Mazdakites) asserted that God placed the means of subsistence (*arzāq*) in the world in order that His servants might share them in common but men had wronged one another in that respect."<sup>9</sup>

It would be no exaggeration to assume that had Mazdak put forth his doctrine as a purely social reform, and not as a religious reform upon the then existing Zoroastrianism, perhaps he would have met with considerable success. It was easy for him to convert King Kobad, but not the priests who wielded large political powers. Rather, the latter took the theories of Mazdak as a direct challenge to their position, and it was their staunch and bitter opposition, combined with strong leadership of Noshirwān that brought about the downfall of the communist and his adherents. The root cause of the downfall was not so much the disruption of the state and society, as the direct blow which Mazdakism aimed at the power of the priests and the nobility.

While the principle of the community of wealth may be readily conceded, we are not certain through lack of material, from what point of view, did Mazdak regard the principle of the community of wives.<sup>10</sup> Whatever be the view point of Mazdak in the abolition of marriage, we are told that a good deal of social chaos was created by the practical application of his theories. The mob, seizing the opportunity are reported to have entered the houses of private personages and deprived them of their womenfolk and property. Noshirwān in his speech to the priests and nobles after his coronation dwells upon the ruin of the state religion and the heavy losses incurred by them.<sup>11</sup> Nicholson points out that the systematic regulations which he made for the purpose of compensating the sufferers, establishing the position of children of doubtful origin etc., show that the social revolution must have developed considerably and that the upper classes bore the brunt of it.<sup>12</sup> From all these facts, it appears that Mazdak did not conceive his scheme with thought and care, neither did he know how to organize and develop the movement, like Marx<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 465.

<sup>8</sup> R. Bruce Taylor in his article on "Communism" in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* remarks that Communism has always appealed to religion and most of the communistic attempts have been religious in their initiation.

<sup>9</sup> Nöldeke's Translation of Tabari, *Tārīkh ul Umam wa'l Mulūk*, pp. 154 and 145.

<sup>10</sup> Some scholars uphold that Mazdak did not preach the community of wives at all; it was a later innovation of the enemies of Mazdakism to cast a slur upon the system.

<sup>11</sup> Nöldeke's Translation, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Reynold A. Nicholson, article on "Mazdak" in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>13</sup> "Communism", says R. Bruce Taylor (*loc. cit.*), "has no economic literature . . . . it has appealed to the brotherhood of man, it has adduced the undoubted anomalies of the present condition of things. But it has produced nothing in its justification that has had the same economic grip as Marx's 'Capitalism'. Com-

and Lenin respectively. He was not even a philosopher like Plato or his precursor Zaradusht of Khurragan content to work out on paper a theory of the ideal communistic state. He was a militant social reformer but he deplorably lacked the abilities of an organizer or administrator and that is another major reason why his movement was foredoomed to failure.

The ascetic and humanitarian element in Mazdakism is usually regarded as its religious basis. Mazdak is said to have forbidden the slaughter of cattle for food and enjoined upon his followers to keep away from envy, greed and wrath. I am inclined to believe that the ascetic and particularly the humanitarian aspect in question, is only an extension of the communism as preached by Mazdak. The theory of communism as explained by Mazdak to Kobad in *Shāhnāma* clearly indicates that communism rests upon the practice of virtues in the light of which it would not be desirable to take the life of cattle for food. This commandment gave great offence to the orthodox priesthood, who sacrificed cattle to propitiate the Amshās-pands and the Izads.

The real religious apparatus of Mazdak was his Dualism, based upon Zoroastrian Dualism, but more inclined towards the pessimistic type of Mani. Like Mani, he preached that the diversity of things in the universe springs from the mixture of the principles of light and darkness;<sup>14</sup> but he strongly believed that the defeat of the powers of darkness by the powers of light, which was truly the aim of Zoroaster, could only be achieved by the acceptance and practice of communism. The main point to remember is that he put forth his religious system definitely as a reform upon such Zoroastrianism as was practised in his times. Nicholson also observes that in the main, he appears to have held fast to Zoroastrianism and no reliance can be placed on the statements of ash-Shahrestānī and later writers who credit him with cosmological speculations closely akin to those of Mani.

The rise and fall of Mazdak stands for an important phase in the history of Irān and is indicative of the state of Iranian society of those times. Prophets and reformers manifest themselves at a time when they are needed. The coming of Mazdak shows that there was something wrong in the political and economic structure of Irān.<sup>15</sup> As pointed out by Taraporewala from the death of Shāhpūr the Great to the coming of Noshirwān, there ruled a line of inferior monarchs (with the exception of one or two), who could not exercise adequate control and check over extravagant powers of the priests and the nobles. Irān was suffering heavily under the throes of a feudal system in much the same manner as England did prior to the Wars of the Roses. The priests extended no toleration and the nobility no consideration to the masses. In the matter of religion, the Achaemenians were

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munistic literature has been the product of the dreamers. That is not to say it has been without its far-reaching influence. The dreamers after all have been behind most of the great events in history. But it is proof that Communism as a theory is not to be criticized only from the economic standpoint. It has made its appeal to that in human life which goes deeper than the postulates of economics".

<sup>14</sup> Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Dickens in his *A Tale of Two Cities* gives a beautiful passage on the nature of social revolutions in general. Referring to the tumbrils that carry the prisoners to the guillotine, he says:—

"Six tumbrils roll along the streets. Change these back again to what they were, thou powerful enchanter, Time, and they shall be seen to be the carriages of absolute monarchs, the equipages of feudal nobles, the toilettes of flaring Jazebels, the churches that are not my Father's houses but dens of thieves, the huts of millions of starving peasants ! . . . ."

And yet there is not in France, with its rich variety of soil and climate, a blade, a leaf, a root, a sprig, a peppercorn, which will grow to maturity under conditions more certain than those that have produced this horror. Crush humanity out of shape once more under similar hammers and it will twist itself into the same tortured forms. Sow the same seed of rapacious licence and oppression over again, and it will surely yield the same fruit according to its kind".

definitely more tolerant than the Sāsānians, and among the Sāsānians, even those who were tolerant like Yazdegird I and Hormuzd IV were directly opposed by the clergy. The power of the clergy over the Sāsānian monarchs was so great that besides controlling the home and foreign policy of the country, they could even depose and set up monarchs. The intolerant attitude of the clergy, coupled with gross materialism which they introduced in the religion, may safely be regarded as one of the major causes of the downfall of the Sāsānian Empire. In the period with which we are dealing, the masses must have been greatly tyrannised as is shown by the manner they rallied round Mazdak and the excesses committed by them through the sudden grant of freedom. If popular tradition could be relied upon, Firdawsi's account of the conversation between Mazdak and Kobad and how the former procured grain for the starving population, is enough testimony to the economic chaos prevalent in Irān. The masses were allowed to starve during the famine whereas the granaries of the King and the nobles were replete with corn, till they were thrown open to them by the witty plan of Mazdak. Had it not been for the wise organisation of Noshirwān, a social revolution would have been imminent and the fall of the Sāsānian Empire would have come a century earlier.<sup>16</sup>

The fall of Mazdak is self-evident. It was chiefly due to the lack of thought, acumen and organisation on the part of Mazdak and his followers. No doubt, he was faced with very formidable opposition, chiefly, from the clergy, which required great tact and insight to handle. There was nothing radically wrong with the system; perhaps the community of wives was too strong a dose for the times. If a man of Kobād's intellect and capabilities could be won over to the communal principles,—and it must be remembered that the King was sincere in his profession of the new faith,—his reform must have appealed to the masses as well as to the educated in general. However, we must concede that the reform was too idealistic for the times and it was this feature combined with the flaws of the practice of the reform which caused its downfall. Unfortunately for Mazdak, the greatest enemy of communism was Noshirwān. The great King, despite his proverbial justice and charity was too capitalist-minded to look favourably upon the communist principle. Moreover, he was antagonised to the movement on account of the violent application of communism, which was a main feature of the weak rule of Jāmāsp. He had witnessed the disastrous results to property and the organisation of the family. These abuses were not the direct result of the legal measures adopted by Kobād towards establishing a communistic order in his country. They were the outcome of the excess committed by the masses during the rule of Jāmāsp and the second rule of Kobād. Kobād himself was frightened to see the condition of the country on his return from imprisonment. Besides, he could no longer afford to support Mazdak, (though in his heart of hearts he remained a communist to the end of his life) because he found it necessary to come to an agreement with the nobility and the clergy in order to face the war with Byzantium. Noshirwān availed himself of the situation and resolved to destroy the Mazdakites wholesale. He had another reason also to avenge himself on Mazdak, which is mentioned in the Book of Mazdak, a Pahlavi work of fiction<sup>17</sup> like *Katila wa Dimna*. Mazdak clinging to his principles, had refused to take as his wife the mother of Noshirwān,

<sup>16</sup> The fact that mighty Sāsānian Empire crumbled to pieces at the very first touch of the growing unity of the Arabs, is enough testimony to the economic and political degradation which had been slowly undermining the very foundations of Sāsānian society. It was not the warlike superiority of the Arabs, but the internal rot which brought down the fabric of the Sāsānian Empire. Two centuries earlier the Sāsānians could successfully withstand the more formidable attacks of the Romans, the Turks and the Ephthalites; but fortunately for the Arabs, Iranian society was rotten and corrupt when they launched their invasion.

<sup>17</sup> Translated into Arabic prose by Ibn-al-Muqaffa' and into Arabic verse by Abd-al-Hamid al Lahiki.

offered to him by Kobād. It was in vain that Mazdak tried to win over Prince Noshirwān to his side and it was the latter's strong and resolute personality which caused the destruction *en masse* of the sect.

To an Iranist, the two schismatic movements of Manichæism and Mazdakism are of great importance, inasmuch as they throw a flood of light on the state of Zoroastrianism of the times. As a matter of fact, these may be regarded as the signs of religious discontent and fervour of the ages. A good deal of work has been done in Manichæism,<sup>18</sup> whereas comparatively scant attention has been paid to Mazdakism, which in my opinion, is the more important, as it is directly concerned with Zoroastrianism and bears no connection with Christianity as does Manichæism. Moreover, Mazdakism offers a key to a better understanding of the religious and social history of Irān, as its traces are observed in a majority of the movements from Ismāilism down to Bābism. Mazdakism may be regarded as the fountain source of all these movements and hence its importance cannot be overestimated.<sup>19</sup> Because Mazdakism proved an utter failure is no excuse for the indifference shown towards the movement and its founder. If the contemporary sources on the subject were available, perhaps the attitude of the scholars would have been different. In this connection, Browne takes up the analogous movement of Bābism and asks the scholars, what would be their judgment of the Bābis if they solely depended on the highly-coloured and malicious presentations of their doctrines and practices, contained in such official chronicles as *Nasikhlu't-Tawārīkh* of the court historian Lisānu'l Mulk of the talented Riza-qulī Khān's supplement to the *Rawzat-u's-Safā*, or even if presumably unprejudiced Europeans who were dependent for their information on the accounts current in court-circles.<sup>20</sup> Same is the case with Mazdakism, which has left no independent records; the contemporaneous records were entirely destroyed by Noshirwān and all that has been written later is definitely recorded by hostile agencies, and upon them are based the statements of Greek, Syriac and Arabic writers.

In conclusion, let us hope that both the Eastern and Western scholars, will in future, betake themselves to the unravelling of this question which has been enshrouded in the dim wrists of history and thus throw more light on the movement and its great founder, who certainly deserves a juster appreciation and a better notice than what is given at present.

<sup>18</sup> The latest and most comprehensive work on Manichæism is "Researches in Manichæism with Special Reference to Turfan Fragments" by A. V. Williams Jackson, New York, 1932.

<sup>19</sup> Among those who embodied the salient teachings of Mazdak are the Rawandis, Babak, called al-Khurrami, and Muqanna, the Veiled Prophet of Khurasan.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, *Ibid*, Vol. I, 170.

## PĀRASĪKA AND SĪMHALA

By

H. D. SANKALIA.

Pārasika and Sīmhala are known in ancient Indian History to refer to Irān or Persia and Ceylon respectively. The object of taking up a fresh discussion about these is a statement in the *Report of the Baroda Archaeological Survey* for 1939 (a review of which appears elsewhere in this number of the Bulletin) that Pārasika, occurring in a grant of the Kadamba King Śaṣṭha II refers to the Parsis, who are supposed to have been living somewhere on the Western coast and to have "become turbulent."



Not only does this identification seem to be wrong having been made without taking into consideration the context in which it is mentioned, but all the subsequent inferences are ill-founded.

The word *Pārasika* occurs in the following context :—

*Saurāṣṭra-Āṅga-Kaliṅga-Mālava-Mahārāṣṭra-Āndhra-Vindhy-ādhipān  
Kāñci. . . . vidhvamsya pādātikaiḥ |  
jītvā Siṁgha(ha)la-Pārasika-Kanakadvīp-ādhipān ambudhau  
sajjibhūtabhātair vahitranivahaiḥ prāptah Prabhāsam nṛpaḥ ||*

Translated literally the passage means that the King (*Śaṣṭha*) having destroyed (*vidhvamsya*) the rulers of *Saurāṣṭra*, *Āṅga*, *Kaliṅga*, *Mālava*, *Mahārāṣṭra*, *Āndhra*, *Vindhya*, *Kāñci*, (and) having conquered at sea the rulers of the islands of *Siṁgha(ha)la*, *Pārasika* and *Kanaka*, arrived at *Prabhāsa* with his fleet.

Before identifying *Pārasika* and *Siṁghala* three points have to be remembered

- (1) the position of *Śaṣṭha*, (who was a *feudatory* Kadamba King), in the contemporary politics of India ;
- (2) the number and geographical extent of the countries mentioned by the inscription ;
- (3) the geographical position of *Pārasika* itself.

With regard to (1) and (2) it should be borne in mind that in spite of *Śaṣṭha*'s boast of having conquered a number of far-flung countries, he and all his predecessors and successors were *Mahāmaṇḍeśvaras*, (feudatories) of the Western *Cālukyas* of *Kalyāṇ*. It is probable however that *Śaṣṭha* obtained a temporary suzerainty over *Koṅkan* and parts of *Mahārāṣṭra*, defeating the various *Silāhāra* families ; and further that he assisted his overlord the *Cālukyan* emperor in defeating or levying tribute from some of the kings of the countries mentioned as conquered by *Śaṣṭha* himself. But it is doubtful if the *Cālukyan* emperor himself could have really gone as far as *Siṁghala* (*Ceylon*), the *Persian Gulf* or conquered *Saurāṣṭra*. For he was at this period surrounded by powers, viz., the *Cālukyas* (or *Solankis*) in *Gujarāt*, the *Paramāras* in *Mālwa*, the *Kalacchuris* in the *Central Provinces* and the *Colas* in *Karṇāṭaka* and further South.

The statement in the inscription seems therefore to be greatly exaggerated, and conventional. The source (?) of this convention can be traced, as I have tried to show below.

The third point does not seem to have been considered at all by the *Baroda Archaeological Survey*, otherwise they would not have said that *Pārasika* refers to the *Parsis*, and further that "the *Parsis* of those days had become turbulent and were anxious to assert themselves".

For the inscription refers to the *adhipa* of *Pārasikadvīpa*, and not to *Pārasikān*, that is merely the country of the *Pārasikas*. Now neither history nor tradition knows of a *Parsi King* on the *Western coast*, though *Parsis* are known to have colonized some islands and other places there. Nor have we heard of a *Pārasika* island in its vicinity. To what does then *Pārasika-dvīpa* refer? The writer is unable at this stage of his research to identify it for certain. But this much is undoubted that the entire expression *Siṁghala-Pārasika-Kanakadvīpa* seems to be borrowed from the grants of the *Western Cālukyas*. There *Satyāśraya Vinayāditya* (c. A.D. 680-696) is said to have levied tribute from the rulers of *Kavera*, *Pārasika*, *Siṁghala* and other islands,<sup>1</sup> after he had defeated the army of the King of *Kāñci*.

What is remarkable is that the position of *Pārasika* is identical, viz., between *Siṁghala* and *Kanaka* (?) in our inscription as well as in the *Cālukya* grants,

<sup>1</sup> *Vokkaleri Plates, IA., VIII, p. 26.*

whereas the third island, which reads like Kanaka in our inscription, is sometimes written as Kāmera,<sup>2</sup> or Kerala<sup>3</sup> in other Cālukya grants.

Both Pārasika and Kāmera, Kavera, or Kerala were left unidentified by Fleet.<sup>4</sup>

Vinayāditya might have conquered or marched as far as Sīnhala or received tribute from him and other frontier kings, just as Samudragupta is said to have done, for in the 7th-8th century the Pallavas and the Cālukyas were the two most powerful rulers in South India, the paramountship changing now and then between them.

What could be Pārasika, some island in the Indian Ocean, or in the Persian Gulf or on the Western coast? The second alternative would refer to some island such as Ormuz, which is on the Persian Gulf. During this period it was first under the Sāsānian Emperors and under Khusrāv Noshīrwān (A.D. 531-78), the Persians were said to have been masters of the commerce of the Eastern Seas, whereas Khusrav II (Parvēz) (A.D. 591-628) is supposed to have sent tributes to Pula-keśin II. The island was later captured by the Arabs.<sup>5</sup> This identification seems at first far-fetched, but it cannot be ruled out completely when we take into consideration the might of the Cālukyas and the contacts established by them.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from this Pārasika or Ormuz, even Kālidāsa's Pārasika seems to be approachable from the sea as well as from the land. For the way in which it is mentioned by the poet

*Pārasikān tato jētum prastathe sthalavartmanā,*

emphasizing the route, implies, I think, the existence of the other route, viz., the sea.

For the other island I am unable to suggest any identification at present.

If, however, all the three islands have got to be placed somewhere on the Western coast, near Bombay, then we might adopt the suggestion of Mr. MORAES.<sup>7</sup> While trying to identify Laṅkā mentioned with reference to the conquests of Śaṣṭha II in a later grant of the dynasty,<sup>8</sup> he suggested that Laṅkā was a metaphorical designation of Goa, and this probably was the reason why the Śilāhāras of Koṅkan were called "the best of the Sīnhala Kings".<sup>9</sup>

The Kanaka (?) dvīpa of the Gaṇdevi record might be the Kavaḍi<sup>10</sup> or Kāpard-dika-dvīpa<sup>11</sup> whose ruler was defeated by the Kadambas. It was the hereditary province of the Northern (Koṅkan) Śilāhāras, and said to comprise the territory adjoining the Salsette island.

The remaining island, Pārasika-dvīpa, might be some island near Thana, its memory being retained by one of the hills called Pārsik<sup>12</sup> (through which the G. I. P. mail trains now run).

The ruler or rulers of all these islands were the Śilāhāras, the actual reigning king being Arikesarin (A.D. 1017), Cittarāja (A.D. 1026), or Mummuni (A.D. 1059). They were constantly at war with another branch of theirs, the Southern Śilāhāras, which is said to be annihilated by A.D. 1010. And they in their turn were defeated and made to pay tribute by the Kadambas of Goa.

<sup>2</sup> Nerur Plates of Vijayāditya, *IA.*, IX, p. 127, l. 17 and p. 131, l. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127, n. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *BG.*, I, pt. ii, 368.

<sup>5</sup> It was then under Yezdagird III (A.D. 631-51), the last of the Sāsānians.

<sup>6</sup> For other earlier references mentioning this contact see *BG.*, XIII, ii, p. 421, n. 1. The *Gazetteer* further cites in support of this theory, certain sculptures from a cave at Lonād, betraying Persian influence. These are briefly described with two photos in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India (Elura Cave Temples)*, Vol. V, pp. 53-54, pl. xlv. From the photos, however, the view expressed in the *Gazetteer* cannot be supported.

<sup>7</sup> *Kadamba Kula*, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> Narendra Inscriptions, *EI.*, XIII, p. 309; Degave Ins., No. 1 and *JBBRAS.*, IX, p. 267.

<sup>9</sup> Kharepatan Pls., *EI.*, XII, p. 292.

<sup>10</sup> Degave Ins., No. 1, *JBBRAS.*, IX, 266.

<sup>11</sup> *EI.*, XIII, 309.

<sup>12</sup> I am indebted to Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala for this suggestion.

Assuming now that these identifications are correct, we cannot still say that the Gaṇdevi inscription refers to the Parsis. What, at the most, we might say is that there was an island (?) of Pārasika on the Western coast, so called in imitation of the island on the Persian Gulf. That it might have been inhabited by the Persians (not necessarily Parsis) is also likely, because from an early period contact with Irān existed, more especially after the 6th century, when this contact became very close. This increasing Iranian influence was perhaps the reason why Sanjān,<sup>13</sup> which is so called in a 9th century inscription, came to be known as Hañjamana<sup>14</sup> or Hanyamana<sup>15</sup> (if we consider these places as identical) in the 11th century.

<sup>13</sup> Sanjan Pls. of Amoghavarṣa (ś. 793) *EI.*, XVIII, p. 235.

<sup>14</sup> Grant of Anantadeva, *IA.*, IX, pl. iii, l. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 361.

## THE EARLY BEGINNINGS OF MARATHA NAVY

By

B. K. APTE.

The loot of Basrur (Barcelore)<sup>1</sup> on the 8th February 1665 marks a turning point in the naval career of Shivaji. It was a deed befitting the daring of a first class sea-power. The immense booty he gained in one day was the result of his surprise attack and the agility of his navy, comparable only with the quickness of his cavalry. Though in this campaign of Basrur Shivaji had no engagement with the Portuguese or the English, it is of specific significance because of its purely naval character. He had repeatedly attacked the more strategic sea-point, the impregnable Janjira, but those attacks were of a *dual* character, that is, both by land and sea. It was the first and last occasion in his whole career when Shivaji went abroad.

This bold action obviously manifests a stage of the navy as at least past its infancy. But to trace the root of Shivaji's navy we must recede in point of time.

Four years prior to the plunder of Basrur, Shivaji had set out for the conquest of South Konkan. Petty chiefs and their small principalities fell one after another before his mobile forces, till at last his swelling territory reached the borders of Sawantwadi State.<sup>2</sup> His men even conquered and quitted the fort of Kudal, into the details of which we need not enter. By the April of 1660 Shivaji had invaded the coastal strip from Dabhol to Kudal.<sup>3</sup> The port of Dabhol was under his banner by January or February of 1661 (*Jedhe Shakavali*).

The earliest evidence regarding the shipbuilding activities of Shivaji is available from a letter written by the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal,<sup>4</sup> dated 6th of August 1659. Therein he reports to the King that he has ordered his Portuguese Captain to smother the movements of newly built gallivatas at Kalyan, Bhiwandi and Panvel by obstructing their exit. It is evident from this letter, that

<sup>1</sup> Spelt in older books as Barcelore. In Marathi it is बसन्नूर.

<sup>2</sup> Conquest of Kudal is a matter of dispute. *Jedhe Shakavali* says, "Khawas-Khan went to Kudal, Shivaji slew Baji Ghorpade and fought with Khawas who fled from the field." Pingulkar in his History of Sawantwadi State puts the date of the treaty between Shivaji and the Desais of Kudal, Khem Sawant and Lakham Sawant, as 5th March 1659.

<sup>3</sup> *Shivakalin Patra-Sara-Samgraha* (Dutch correspondence), I, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Shivakalin Patra-Sara-Samgraha*, I, p. 172.

Shivaji must have started shipbuilding industry, though on a small scale, some time before the actual appearance of the ships in the above mentioned ports.

Kalyan and Bhiwandi, we know, were captured as early as the 24th of October 1657.<sup>5</sup> And the genius of Shivaji could not have failed to appreciate the importance of a navy, when Kalyan and Bhiwandi, situated on the coast of Thana and well-known for trade and shipbuilding activities, were in his possession. So it is more than probable that Shivaji should have floated the keel of his first vessel on the waters of Kalyan or Bhiwandi, just after the 24th of October. This beginning in its matured state assumed the form of a fine navy and struck terror into the hearts of even the Europeans that infested the Western seas of India.

A more authentic witness in support of the assertion made, can be brought from a letter written by Aurangzeb to Shivaji, dated April 23rd, 1657.<sup>6</sup> Aurangzeb wrote that Shivaji's envoy Sonaji was assured by the Imperial Government, that all the prayers of the Maratha Chief would be granted, namely (1) a formal recognition of his right to all the Bijapur forts and villages under his actual control and (2) the annexation of the port of Dabhol and the territory belonging to it. Such a legal sanction gave Shivaji a right to lead incursions into the kingdom of Bijapur, which he had already penetrated without waiting for anybody's permission. Moreover the recognition of the second request indicates, how very anxious the Maratha Chief was to acquire a port, rightly recognising its importance, for assuring a firm hold over the waters of the western sea.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be maintained that Shivaji started his navy from very humble beginnings just after the seizure of Kalyan and Bhiwandi—24th of October 1657, and before the 6th of August 1659.

One more indirect reference has been found, which also points to Shivaji as somewhat of a pioneer of the Maratha navy.

Pandurang Pisurlekar in his Article on the "Extinction of the Nizamshahi", in the *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*,<sup>7</sup> has quoted the minutes of a Portuguese translation dated 2nd of October 1636. Its contents show, how Shahaji when pressed hard by Randullah Khan, the Bijapur General and Khan-i-zaman of the Mughal Empire, in his fruitless endeavours to revive the shattered Kingdom of the Nizam Shah, sought refuge with the Portuguese, begging a place of safety for his wife and children in the fortress of Chaul. The Portuguese Council held for the consideration of aiding Shahaji, thought it wise not to shelter him rather than risk the double fury of the two Shahs. The Portuguese were ready to help him on his way to Danda with all precautions and Shahaji was permitted to receive even the ladies of his family, if they were not there already. But if already received they were to be given passage on vessels by the same way of Danda or where he thought best.

Shahaji at this dire hour was more than convinced of the importance of some spot on the sea-coast, and thus automatically of the necessity of a navy, as a protection when attacked by land.

But how far Shivaji, then a boy of not more than six at the most, could have remembered such a sad plight of his family might be a matter of dispute. However, judging from his eventful career and from what we know of his prodigious memory he must not have missed the significance of this calamity befalling his family. It seems also very likely that Shahaji must have related this incident to his favourite son.

Whatever the source, this disaster must have had its psychological effect on the mind of the young Shivaji, the future founder of Maratha Empire and the Father of the Maratha Navy.

<sup>5</sup> *Shivacharitra Pradip* (Jedhe Shakavali), p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Shivakalin-Patra-Sara-Samgraha*, Vol. I, p. 159,

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 44-46.

## POONA IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD

By

M. A. CHAGHATAI

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes : " The first question that here arises is, whether Poona is an ancient town. Historically it is not known to be in existence much before the time of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire. Is there any documentary evidence to show that Poona was known before the Muhammadan period ?" <sup>1</sup> Mr. A. Rehm has pointed out with reference to these remarks of Dr. Bhandarkar that according to Ptolemy it was called " Punnata ", although other historians identify it with a place in the Mysore State ; and it is certainly found on the maps made in the middle of the second century.<sup>2</sup> But we are here concerned exclusively with *Poona in the Muslim Period* before the establishment of the Maratha empire.

First in 1294 Malik Alau 'd-Din Khalji marched to Devgir without the permission of Sultan Jalalu 'd-Din Khalji, when Raja Ram Dev of Devgir submitted and Alau 'd-Din returned laden with spoils.<sup>3</sup> After his accession in 1295 Sultan Alau 'd-Din Muhammad Shah Khalji sent his second expedition against Devgir in west Deccan under Malik Naib Kafur on 19th Ramzan, 706 A.H./24th March, 1307 A.D. and Rai Ram Dev was captured and set free.<sup>4</sup> In the third expedition against Telingana in the east Deccan towards Warangal, on 25th Jumada, 709 A.H./31st October 1309 A.D. the Khalji forces first reached Kandhar<sup>5</sup> from whence they reached Naldrug.<sup>6</sup> So from place to place they arrived at Arangal (Warangal) and at last after marching towards Ma 'bar they stationed at Kannur.<sup>7</sup> The Raja Ladder Dev had engaged to send an annual tribute to Alau 'd-Din Khalji.<sup>8</sup> On their return they took the route through Devgir and Dhar and reached Delhi on 14th Jumada II, 711 A.H./30 October 1311 A.D.<sup>9</sup> In short, the result of all these expeditions was the subjugation of all the four Hindu Kingdoms of the south—The Yadava (Devgir) ; Kaktya-Telingana (Warangal) ; Hoysala kingdom of Dvarasamudra ; and the Pandya kingdom of the extreme south.<sup>10</sup> Apart from this Alau 'd-Din Khalji's conquest of the whole of the Deccan brought about the unification of northern India and southern India, which had been lying isolated from each other for centuries. Mussalmans also tried immediately to establish law and order in the chief conquered cities of the Deccan through their representatives as is evident from other sources also. Thus as at Vijayapuri (Bijapur) we find Sanskrit and Persian inscriptions on the pillars

<sup>1</sup> Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *The Antiquities of the Poona District* ; Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 231-38.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. A. Rehm, *How Old is Poona?* The New Review, Calcutta, July 1940, pp. 34-41.

<sup>3</sup> *Khazainu 'l-Futuh* of Hazart Amir Khusrau, Trans. by Prof. Habib, Madras, 1931, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58. Prof. Habib has taken Khanda instead of Kandhar, as pointed out by Prof. Shirani in his criticism on Habib's translation of the *Khazain*, Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Feb. 1936.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58. Prof. Habib is mistaken. It is not Nilkanth, it ought to be Naldrug. Both Kandhar and Naldrug are places of great importance.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98. Prof. Habib has taken as Kandur, it ought to be Kannanur as identified by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Madras, 1921, p. 197.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-73, and *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica Series), p. 330.

<sup>9</sup> Zia Barni, p. 330.

<sup>10</sup> *Khazainu 'l-Futuh*, pp. 80-111 ; and Zia Barni, pp. 328-9, 330-33, and *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, by Agha Mahdi Husain, London, 1938, p. 82.

of a mosque built in 1320 by Malik Karimu 'd-Din, the governor of the city during the reign of Sultan Qutbu 'd-Din Khalji. Revaiya, the carpenter, was the architect of this mosque.<sup>11</sup>

In 1327 Sultan Muhammad Tughluq made his plans to transfer his capital from Delhi to Devgir.<sup>12</sup> This was politically (as also for other reasons) justified, if we carefully review the incessant incursions of the Moghols from the north. He gave Devgir the new name of Daulatabad.<sup>13</sup> Isāmi, the author of *Fatuhu 's-Salatin-Shah Nama-i-Hind*, says that in 1340 Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Tughluq Shah having settled his affairs at Daulatabad resolved to march his troops towards Kondh- yana (Kondhana) which was then ruled by Nag Naik, the chieftain of the Kolis.<sup>14</sup> When he came to know of the invasion of the Sultan he became restless. He shut himself in the high fort owing to fear of destruction. When the forces of the Sultan besieged the mountain fort, "it looked on account of panic like a straw." After eight months' siege negotiations were begun and the Rai Nag Naik came before the Sultan and sued for pardon. The Sultan withdrew his forces and returned to Daulatabad.<sup>15</sup>

If we carefully scrutinise the Survey Map of India,<sup>16</sup> we shall immediately realise that if one intended to go from Daulatabad to Kondhana either in the ancient days or even to-day one must pass inevitably through Poona. Therefore we may safely assert that if Poona possessed any importance in those days, it was necessary for the Mussalmans to conquer it before they had reached Kondhana.

Kondhana lies on the south-west of Poona at a distance of about twelve miles.<sup>17</sup> It remained part of the Muslim Deccan Kingdom and played an important part in their history, as we find it clearly mentioned in 976 A.H./1567 A.D. when Ali Adil Shah, provoked by Murtaza's persistent hostility, invaded his kingdom and captured the fortress of Kondhana and sent troops under Kishwar Khan towards Bir. Kishwar Khan defeated some of Murtaza's troops and built the fort of Dharwar.<sup>18</sup> Later on Shahji Bhonsla was driven to seek refuge under Bijapur government, and took service of Muhammad Adil Shah and then Kondhana and Purandhar were in his possession. Kondhana was then named Simhagadh by Shivaji.<sup>19</sup>

The expansion of Islamic world owes much to the silent and peaceful propagation of Islam by Muslim saints and pious people who side by side with the warriors of Islam helped in establishing their faith in India. In the case of the Deccan also we find similar saints and their works of great importance.<sup>20</sup> A group of pious people under the instructions from Nizam 'd-Din Auliya of Delhi started from Delhi; Sheikh Burhanu 'd-Din at the head of four hundred disciples reached Daulatabad.<sup>21</sup> He willed that Sheikh Zainu 'd-Din should succeed him on his death. The latter founded Burhanpur named after his predecessor, Sheikh Burhanu 'd-Din. He himself is lying buried, not far, at Zainabad, named after himself.<sup>22</sup> Similarly Sheikh-Salahu 'd-Din Ghazi Chishti known as Sheikh Salla, son of Sheikh Abdulla, a native

<sup>11</sup> Dr. M. Nazim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoir of A. S. I. No. 49, p. 25, and G. Yazdani, E. I. M., 1927-28, p. 16. *An Inscription of Alau 'd-Din Khalji from Rakkasji in the Bijapur District.*

<sup>12</sup> Zia Barni, p. 473.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Isami, *Fatuhu 's-Salatin Shā Nāma-i-Hind*, ed. by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra, 1938, p. 417.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 417-18.

<sup>16</sup> Survey Map of India, No. 47. M/1 and F/15.

<sup>17</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. III, p. 441.

<sup>18</sup> *Burhan-i-Maathir*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1936, p. 444, and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 451.

<sup>19</sup> James Grant Duff, *A History of the Marathas*, London, 1826, Vol. I, p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> Arnold, T. W., *The Preachings of Islam*, London, 1913, pp. 270-71. Isami, pp. 437-41, also Zia Barni 441. Farishta (Urdu) Vol. II, pp. 636-54.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 654-55.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 655.

of Ghaur was among those fourteen hundred disciples of Sheikh Nizamu 'd-Din of Badaun who had settled in different towns with the object of spreading Islam. Accordingly Sheikh Salahu 'd-Din settled at Poona where he died on 6th Sha 'ban, 759 A.H./14th July, 1358 A.D., and he used to live there with his disciples.<sup>23</sup> His disciples erected a mausoleum over him on the bank of the river Mutha. After him another Sayyad Hisamu 'd-Din *Qattāl* Zanjani came to Poona. He belonged to the group of Makhdum Mir Ashraf Samnani. He died in 793 A.H./1390 A.D. and his mausoleum is situated not very far from that of Sheikh Salahu 'd-Din on the same bank of the River Mutha.<sup>24</sup>

The tombs of these two Sheikhs on the Mutha show that these were originally Hindu temples of the same type as we find in western India between 10th and 12th century. Fortunately many details of Hindu iconography can still be traced. Besides this, anyone who has carefully studied the monuments of the Bahamani kings either at Bidar or in other parts of the Nizam's dominions, will be immediately struck with the gateway of Sheikh Saladu 'd-Din's shrine having a pointed arch and two sculptured lions on both the spandrels with paws in a crouching attitude, placed symmetrically, which tell us that this shrine must have been either repaired or renovated by some governor under the royal command of one of the Bahamani kings. The Bahamanis had adopted this Persian lion (*sharza*) on the gateways of their monuments as their symbol, after the tradition of ancient Persians. Moreover we know that when Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the illustrious minister of the Bahamani kingdom, drafted the new scheme during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah under which the territories were divided into eight provinces instead of four. Bir and other districts including the present Poona were added to the estates of Nizamu 'l-Mulk and its management was entrusted to his son Malik Ahmad, the founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar.<sup>25</sup>

In 1009 A.H./1600 A.D. the Mughal forces took Ahmadnagar. Bahadur Nizam Shah was imprisoned. Murtaza Shah II ascended the throne at Daulatabad.<sup>26</sup> But the places round Ahmadnagar had already begun to fall before the arms of the Mughals. So far we have not been able to find any actual mention of Poona (Puna) by name, yet we are fortunate that the *Akbar Nama* tells us: "On the 11th Mihr, 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. the fort of Puna was captured. It is one of the famous forts of Birar, and is situated on a hill. It has a river on three sides which is never fordable."<sup>27</sup> Under the Mughals from the days of Akbar the country was divided into districts or *sarkars*. The districts were also distributed among *parganas* or sub-divisions, *qaryats*, *mahals* and *talugas*. Accordingly the '*Ain-i-Akbari* furnishes a clear mention of Puna, then in the *sarkar* Kallam.<sup>27a</sup> *Parganas* like Talegaon, Waigaon, Bela etc. are mentioned also in the same *sarkar*.<sup>28</sup>

After the conquest of Ahmadnagar Khwaja Beg Mirza Safwi held its command up to 1610<sup>29</sup> after which the Mughals sustained a defeat<sup>30</sup> and in 1620 Shah Jehan was sent to the Deccan to deal with Malik Ambar who came there twice.<sup>31</sup> By that

<sup>23</sup> Sayyad Imamu 'd-Din Ahmad of Gulshanabad (Nasik), *Barkatu 'l-Auliya*, 1322 A.H., Delhi, pp. 20-21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. I am grateful to K. B. Prof. Ah. Abdul Qadir Sarfaraz of Poona for the loan of this important book from his library.

<sup>25</sup> *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II., p. 219.

<sup>26</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III., p. 4666.

<sup>27</sup> *Akbar Nama*, Calcutta, (Bibliotheca Indica Series), Vol. III, p. 743 (Text); English translation of *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III., p. 1111.

<sup>27a</sup> *Sarkar Kallam*—Modern Kālamb, a small village on the Poona-Junnar road about 13 miles south-east Khed and 4 miles north of Manchar (B. G. XVIII, iii, 232).

<sup>28</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, Calcutta Indica Series, Vol. I, p. 482 (Text), and English Translation of *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 235.

<sup>29</sup> Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 323.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 376.

period the Maratha family of the Bhonslas acquired importance. In 1039 A.H. Shahaji Bhonsla, the son-in-law of Jadu Rai, the Hindu Commander of the Nizam Shah's army, came in and joined A'zam Khan (Iradat Khan). After the murder of Jadu Rai, Shahaji broke off his connection with the Nizam Shahi dynasty and retiring to the districts of Puna and Chakan he wrote to A'zam Khan, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. Then Shahaji came and joined him.<sup>32</sup>

In the month of *Shawwal*, 1042 A.H./April 1634 A.D. the Mughal army captured Daulatabad. It was considered to have been achieved by the help of Divine power because it was captured within a short period. Shah Jehan spent the rainy season at Ahmadnagar and he deputed Khan Zaman to Kandhar, Lahrasat Khan to Dharwar and Daler Himmat to Poona and Chakan.<sup>33</sup> But in 1046 A.H./1636 A.D. when Khan Zaman came back to his army, he came to know that Shahaji had not the heart to render his services to Adil Khan and that he also did not like to surrender Junair and other forts to the imperial forces. So with the intention of crushing Shahaji, Khan Zaman hastened to Junair. Shahaji was then in the neighbourhood of Puna. On his arrival at Kharonadi<sup>33a</sup> he was detained on its banks for a month on account of heavy rains. When the water subsided he crossed the river and encamped on the banks of the Ainda near Lohgaon. Shahaji, who was then at Lohgaon, at a distance of seventeen *kos*, immediately on hearing this news hastened to mountains of Kondhana (Simhagadh) and Nurand. Because between Shahaji and Khan Zaman's army there were three swollen rivers the Ainda, Mutha and Mula, Randaula<sup>34</sup> had already written to Khan Zaman that the keys of all the forts captured from Shahaji would be sent to him and that he should not come forward till he heard further. Therefore Khan Zaman sent an officer to consult with Randaula. After having received a letter from Randaula he crossed the river Ainda according to his instructions.<sup>34a</sup> After a long struggle and pursuit Shahaji was compelled to make his submission to Adil Khan and to surrender the fort of Junair. Shahaji was sent to Bijapur in company of Randaula and Khan Zaman after achieving this success returned to Daulatabad to Prince Aurangzeb.<sup>35</sup>

After the dominions of the Nizamul-Mulk dynasty had come into the possession of Shah Jehan, a friendship was established between Shah Jehan and Adil Khan. The latter proposed to exchange of some of the sub-divisions of Bijapur which had come in the hands of the emperor instead of those which formerly belonged to Nizamul-Mulk. At this time two paraganas named Puna and Supa became the *jagir* of Shahaji Bhonsla; and his son Shivaji, on behalf of his father became their manager and he managed well.<sup>36</sup> But in the same year when Aurangzeb came to know of Shivaji's violence against Afzal Khan, he immediately directed Amirul-Umra Shaista Khan to march towards Puna and Chakan, which in those days were Shivaji's residence and stronghold.<sup>37</sup> So the imperial forces paused and at length they reached Puna and Shivapur.<sup>38</sup> The imperial forces took both the forts and held them.

<sup>32</sup> *Muntakhabul 'l-Lubab of Khawfi Khan*, Vol. I, p. 435 and *Badshah Nama* Abdul Hamid Lahori, Vol. I., p. 327.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 516.

<sup>33a</sup> Kharonadi is the modern Karha river which flows through Saswad and Barāmāli. The Ainda is the Indrāyaṇi river.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225 (Pt. II, Vol. I).

<sup>34a</sup> Randaula Khan son of Farhad Khan was one of the *Khanzads* (domestics) of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur. Owing to his various successful activities he was entitled *Rustam Zamān*. He had the fiefs of Hogiri and Rai Pak. Among his great deeds his expedition against Karnatak in 1637 is well known (Vide, *Muhammad Nama* of Zahur b. Zahuri, MS. Bijapur Museum, p. 146 and *Basātimī's Salātin* of Ibrahim Zubairi, Hyderabad Dn., pp. 317-20).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> Khwafi Khan, Vol. II., p. 113.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.



After a great struggle Chakan also fell and then it was named Islambad. Shaista Khan, after taking several forts, proceeded to Puna and lodged in a *havehi* (house) which was built by Shivaji.<sup>39</sup>

In 1075 A.H./1664 A.D. Shivaji surrendered and Raja Jai Singh was sent to the Deccan. He went to Puna and he arranged the affairs of that district.<sup>40</sup> The fort of Rajgad, which Shivaji himself held and the fort of Kondhana (Simhagadh), in which his wife and his maternal relations resided, were both invested and the besiegers pressed the garrison hard.<sup>41</sup> The Raja Jai Singh promised him security for his life and honour, on the condition of his going to wait upon the Emperor, and agreeing to enter into his service.<sup>42</sup> Shivaji then approached with humility.<sup>43</sup> After this Shivaji showed great valour against the Mughals and this history is dealt with fully by the historians. He died in 1090 A.H./1680 A.D.

In 1114 A.H./1702 A.D. the Prince Muhammad Mohi'u'l-Millat son of Prince Kam Baksh son of Aurangzeb died at Poona in his teens and he was buried in the precincts of the shrine of Sheikh Salahu'd-Din and Aurangzeb changed the name of Poona to Mohiyabad.<sup>44</sup>

In 1707 Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji was married to the daughter of the Jadhav of Sinkhed and of Sindia, the patil of Kinnarkhed. Aurangzeb conferred on him the districts of Akalkot, Aindapur and Supa in Puna with many other districts. Aurangzeb amongst other presents to Shahu gave him a sword he had himself frequently worn.<sup>45</sup> In 1708 Shahu was established at Satara and died in 1749 after which Poona came under the Peshwas and became the capital of the Maratha power.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

<sup>45</sup> Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 415.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51p.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 39.

## OBITUARY

### SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

7th January 1851—8th March 1941.

With the death of Sir George Abraham GRIERSON, reported on the 8th March 1941, passes away the grand old man of Indian Linguistics, the creator of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, author of the *Bihar Peasant Life*, and compiler of so many grammars of known and unknown languages and editor of the great *Kashmiri Dictionary*, just two months after he completed his 90th year.

Coming to India in his 23rd year as a member of the Indian Civil Service, already a student of Sanskrit and Indian Culture, he devoted himself with a worthy zeal to the furtherance of his knowledge of Indology in its various aspects. One of his earliest papers is on the Rangpur Dialect published in 1877; this was at a time when he was deeply interested in literary criticism as applied to Sanskrit and Modern Indian Vernaculars. From 1881 most of Sir George's work was primarily confined to the different aspects of Indian linguistics. His *Bihar Peasant Life* was published in 1885. The *Linguistic Survey of India* consisting of eleven volumes bound in 20 parts was published between 1903 and 1928. Only eight years ago saw the completion of his great *Kashmiri Dictionary*, and the last volume of the *Indian Antiquary* in 1933 contained the final part of his work 'on the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars' which was to form the basis of a magnum opus in BÜHLER'S *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*. On his 80th year the newly formed Linguistic Society of India offered him the manuscripts of several papers contributed by some of the greatest linguists then living in all parts of the world, and later published in the *Bulletin* of the Society during 1931-36.

In Europe, the recognition given to the pioneer activities of Sir George are beyond computation; he held honorary doctorates from the Universities of Halle, Dublin, Cambridge and Oxford; he was Fellow of the British Academy, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Honorary Fellow of several learned societies. He received the Order of Merit in 1928, and several high Government honours and academical distinctions, and in 1936, on the occasion of his 85th year, he was the recipient of a volume of *Indian and Iranian Studies* to which every scholar of note contributed his paper, making it the greatest offer of its kind. Owing to advancing age Sir George retired from active work about six years ago, and the mantle of the great doyen of Indian Linguistics has fallen since 1928 on Professor R. L. TURNER, the present Director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, for completing the *Linguistic Survey of India* with a comparative etymological dictionary of Indo-Aryan. But until the last Sir George was the very picture of courtesy and no letter remained unanswered, and gifts of books and papers were always gratefully acknowledged. In his death Linguistics lose a great exponent and a versatile scholar who dominated this field for more than half a century.

S. M. K.

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### N. K. SRINIVASAN

We regret to announce the sudden death of Mr. N. K. SRINIVASAN, an external research scholar of the Department of Dravidian Linguistics, which occurred on the 3rd December 1940. He had joined our Institute only last August. He had been

working on "the Morphology of Old Tamil". He was full of promise and it is certainly remarkable that even within the very short period during which he was connected with our Institute he was able to present certain interesting results of his investigations. These are contained in a paper published elsewhere in this journal. Prior to joining our Institute, he had graduated from the Annamalai University in 1931 and then passed the Vidvan Examination. He also took the B.O.L. degree of the Madras University. He was a Research scholar in Tamil for some time in the Annamalai University during which period he worked on the Tamil poet Oṭṭakkūttar. He was also of great help to Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI, Reader in Tamil at the University of Madras, in the task of editing several important Tamil classics.

Our grief is profound at his premature death and our sympathies go to the bereaved members of his family.

C. R. S.

## REVIEWS

*The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhāvati in Baroda State*, Gaekwad's Archaeological Series, Memoir No. III. By Jñānaratna Dr. Hiranand Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt., Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, pp. i-v+1-49. Plates I-XXI, Baroda 1940. Price Rs. 5-8-0.

This is a 'revise' of Burgess and Cousens' "*The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat*". In doing so Dr. Śastri has hunted up references to Dabhoi or Darbhāvati from the *Romaka siddhānta* and some Jaina works and inscriptions of the Caulukya (Vāghelā) period. It should be mentioned, however, that though the antiquity of Dabhoi can thus be traced back to the 6th century through literature, no reference is made to it in the inscriptions of the several dynasties, particularly, the Gurjjaras, Maitrakas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, that ruled in Central Gujarāt in the early mediaeval period. Nor is it referred to in the inscriptions of the Solankis themselves. It is likely, therefore, that the place acquired more importance, as the legends about it suggest, early in the Vāghelā period.

Dr. Śastri has further tried to fix the date of the whole building (the temple of Vaidyanātha) by identifying the name of the architect, which is inscribed on the inner balcony of the building, now known as the Kālikā Mātā temple, with that mentioned in the *praśasti* of Someśvara, composed in the reign of Visaladeva (c. 1243-1261 A.D.).

The rest of the book is devoted to the brief description of the architecture of and the sculptures on the several gateways of the Vāghela fort and to later Muslim and Maratha epigraphs at Dabhoi. Scholars interested in the study of Gujarāt architecture and sculptures would have welcomed some more detailed photographs dealing with these subjects from this beautiful mediaeval monument. Nevertheless they would be thankful to Dr. Śastri for taking up the 'revise' work and the State authorities for sanctioning it, as the book by Burgess and Cousens has become extremely rare.

H. D. SANKALIA

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*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State*, for the year ending 31st July, 1939, by Jñānaratna Dr. Hiranand Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt., Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, 1940. Pp. 1-43, and 6 plates. Price Rs. 3-12-0.

The work of the Department consisted in the year 1938-39 in the Protection and Conservation of Monuments and Exploration and Research. As a part of the second category of work, exploratory excavations were continued at the Gohilwād Timbo in Amreli and the Sahasraliṅga Talao at Pāṭan. Besides the recovery of some sculptures and brick foundations nothing of importance to the mediaeval history of Gujarāt can be reported from the Pāṭan excavations, whereas the work at Amreli has not produced anything of greater worth than what was obtained in the previous seasons.

Among the monuments inspected in the Mehsana district some detailed information is given about the temples at Lākroḍā, Vasai, Vijāpur, Mahudi and Vihāra. But even this information is vague and at times based on insufficient evidence. For instance, the monument at Vasai is described as "an interesting Śiva temple built in the usual style of the *Sikhara* shrines". Without a proper description of

the *śikhara* it is impossible for readers, in absence of its photograph, to imagine what kind of *śikhara* it must be, for there are several kinds of *śikharas*. We are then told that there is a shrine of Varāha at Vijāpur, and that "the worship of Varāha seems to have been very popular in Northern India during the mediaeval period...." All this is unwarranted, because the subsequent description does not show that the image of Varāha formed the cult image in the shrine. Unless this can be ascertained, it is difficult to assert that the *worship* of the *Varāha-avatāra* had become popular, merely because a number of images of the deity, which are mostly carved on the outside walls of temples, are found from Gujārāt. It only proves the popularity of this image of Viṣṇu. The cult and mere representation of an object are two different things.

Likewise a factual description of a 16-handed deity would have been better than a quotation of a *dhyaṇa* describing Virupākṣa.

In the epigraphical section, the recovery of a 11th century record from a temple in Gaṇdevi is to be welcomed. It is the second inscription of Śaṣṭha II of the Goa Kadambas, the first being the one published by Mr. Moraes.<sup>1</sup> The record is important because it lends additional support to the statement in a later grant of this dynasty that Śaṣṭha had gone to Saurāṣṭra for the *darśana* of Somanātha;<sup>2</sup> whereas it confirms the view of Mr. Moraes that Śaṣṭha II ruled for a long time,<sup>3</sup> because the Gaṇdevi inscription is dated in S. 964, that is, 35 years after the Marcella Plates.

Besides this, there is another additional piece of information, not mentioned so far in the published records of the dynasty. This is the reference to the conquest of the islands of Simhala, Pārasika etc. Dr. Hiranand Sastri identifies Pārasika of these with the Parsis, who are further presumed to have "become turbulent at this time." This identification and presumption seems to be wrong, as I have shown in detail elsewhere in this Journal. Here it may only be said that the inscriptional reference implies the country of the Pārasikas and not the people, and such a country having independent existence near about Gaṇdevi is not known from history or even Parsi tradition, much less the statement that Parsis had become turbulent at that time.

Of the other two epigraphs, one Valabhī and the other Gujārāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the mention in the latter of a RgVedi Brāhmaṇa deserves to be noted. For so far the writer has been able to collect only a few of such references<sup>4</sup> to Brāhmaṇas professing this Veda, a fact showing the dearth of these Brāhmaṇas in ancient Gujārāt.

H. D. SANKALIA

<sup>1</sup> *Kadamba Kula*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *EI.*, XIII, p. 302. 1. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat*, Appendix, pp. 66, 67, 71, 74.

*The Indian Journal of Social Work.* (A Quarterly published by the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay).

It is a matter for congratulations that the authorities of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work have decided to publish a journal setting forth the experience of its staff and students in practical sociology.

The first volume is devoted mainly to the question of the juvenile in industry and the problem of juvenile delinquency. In the first article J. M. Kumarappa has given a very clear and lucid account of the legislation about child labour in this country. In the next two articles two past students of the Institute have given a picture of the exploitation of the child in two industries. In the fourth paper Clifford Manshardt, the Director of the Institute has critically surveyed the Bombay Child-

ren Act. These articles make one realise forcibly that there is a very great discrepancy between the many excellent laws in our statute books and the civic sense of the people. We are living in an age in which the old foundations of life in community have been exploded beyond repair owing partly to natural decay and partly to the deliberate suppression by foreign rule. Only in recent years has the bulk of social legislation grown; but the agencies of social control and public opinion which could have made social legislation successful are absolutely wanting. When the Government makes laws to help the destitute and the juvenile delinquent, the good is done without awakening the conscience of the community. The administration of these acts suffers from institutionalism and officialism. The juvenile destitutes and the delinquents become a new caste wearing a particular dress and learning certain mannerisms like salaaming and clicking the heels. The aim of the act should be to socialise completely these units which have for one reason or another fallen out of the community of interests which we call 'society.' This can best be achieved by giving these children opportunities to mix on an equal footing with children of their own age in institutions managed by the people. In Government institutions children speaking different languages and belonging to different cultural provinces are all hustled together so that the product which comes out is truly vicious—a child which belongs to no society, and no culture and which cannot assimilate itself readily to any community whatever. The article by Mr. Masani reveals the new avenues for social workers. Mr. Masani has successfully avoided all the colourful and extravagant claims of the school which makes political capital out of the teachings of Kretschmer's *Körperba und Körpertypen* or books like *Glands, regulating personality*. From body type to racial type and racial mind is but one step but Mr. Masani has avoided that and given an objective review of factors moulding the child's personality. A more detailed case study from his clinic should be most welcome.

The other articles are very readable but show now and then a pedantic use of classification rather than a true understanding of facts. Such are articles by Kokila Doraiswami and Ladli Nath. But these are students who have just stepped into real life and are applying their knowledge with earnestness to the problems before them. I may say that their very academic pedantry is their charm! All our best wishes for this new journal and the Institute which has given it birth.

The third number of the journal is devoted mainly to the social and economic problems of rural India. There are detailed studies by the students and the teachers in the institute on various aspects of this problem. Mr. Mehta's article on "the villager in the city" is a thoughtful contribution. Mr. Velayudhan's study of the "Pulayans of Kalady" gives an idea of the lowest depths of poverty which a human group can reach. Mr. Ba Kin's article on the village in Burma is rather sketchy. There are two surveys of the villages of Padali and Timbi, both carried out conscientiously. Prof. Manshardt is reviewing the activities of the central and the provincial governments towards bettering the agriculturist's lot in India. It is very regrettable that almost no mention is made of the co-operative institutions and their failure in India. Such a study is urgently needed.

The first article by Dr. Kumarappa is entirely different to all others and strikes a jarring note in an otherwise harmonious volume. It reads more like a fervent enunciation of a religious doctrine rather than an outline of an economic policy based on dispassionate consideration of historical facts. It opens with a nostalgic reference to the three institutions of the caste, the joint-family and the village-system and gives a completely idealised and false picture of these and the human groups controlled by them. According to Dr. Kumarappa India was once organised into selfless human societies, wherein the individual sought the common good and wherein bloodshed and killing were unknown, and where entirely self-sufficient villages existed. This picture of India is utterly wrong and misleading. The caste-system may have inculcated democratic behaviour within the caste, but it always fostered exploitation

and aggression against other castes. To the rivalries in Hindu joint family we owe our greatest poems the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The *Bhagavadgītā*, the gospel of the followers of *ahimsā*, was preached by the Lord Krishna to Arjuna to help him to overcome the disinclination to kill his kinsmen, young and aged, hated or revered. Never had India achieved the ideal of the completely self-sufficient village, nor had the social and political thinkers of ancient India ever striven for creating such atomic primitive communities.

The article is full of contradictions. After stressing the principle of *ahimsā* Dr. Kumarappa suggests the gentle punishment of "outcasting" for anybody who buys goods made outside the village. In the ideal village of the future "each unit (village) will be using goods produced by itself." "If a person wished to increase his business so as to supply also the needs of others not belonging to his unit he will find that no one will buy his goods." If articles produced elsewhere are more attractive than those produced locally, they will not be allowed to flood the local market, but the local artisans shall be required to improve (p. 298). "It will not do for the village producer to seek to cater to demand from mills or from abroad" (p. 304). How are we to reconcile such a village economy with the following reference? "In the past the (village) industries of cotton, silk, carpet, brass and ivory work were the envy of the world." Were these products manufactured by the villagers for their own consumption?

Dr. Kumarappa dreams of national unity and prosperity arising out of villages which shall be almost entirely self-sufficient, which do not produce for others, nor buy from others. This amazing system will certainly lead up to what the author calls "poverty in this world's goods," but shall certainly not lead up to the building of any "spiritual values"; nor can it lead to an organically united society, where co-operation and exchange enrich the material and cultural life of the people.

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